“I Talk It and I Feel It”:
Language Attitudes of Moroccan University Students

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Abstract

The diversity of languages in Morocco provides an interesting case study for many sociolinguistic issues. Modern Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, Tamazight, French, English, and Spanish are all spoken by significant portions of the Moroccan population. The linguistic history of Morocco weaves together language coexistence, struggles for linguistic dominance, shifts in language policy in education, language endangerment and revitalization, and the use of language to define national identity. This work explores these themes through surveys on language attitudes and use completed by Moroccan students at Mohammed V University in Rabat in the spring of 2012.

The first three chapters of this work explain the historical background of sociolinguistics issues in Morocco in order to provide the context. The first chapter lays out the current linguistic situation in Morocco. In the second chapter, we examine the use of language policy in education to shape language attitudes, and the third addresses the history of the Amazigh movement, concluding with the recognition of Tamazight as an official language in the 2011 constitution.

In the remaining chapters of this work, we discuss the results of our fieldwork at Mohammed V University in Rabat in the spring of 2012. We compare students’ responses to questions about their use and perception of Spanish, English, Moroccan Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, French, and Tamazight by gender, region, social class, and major. We use these results to illustrate current patterns of thought that educated, urban youth use to reason about language, to draw conclusions about the efficacy of the Amazigh movement, and to make predictions about the future linguistic situation in Morocco. We end by describing a new language ideology, shaped by the values of universal human rights, that is influencing language values and decisions in Morocco.
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1 Introduction

What do the languages we use reveal about us? They may show our education level, our gender, or the region in which we were raised. They may hint at our social class, or even our profession. Perhaps they expose how we are hoping to portray ourselves, what we want out of a conversation, what we think of our listeners, as we use a formal register, or an informal one, as we use a dialect to include some listeners and exclude others, or as we speak a language that we have mastered and others have not. Or perhaps our language choices reveal more about the society in which we live: what languages are mandated in what settings, which groups prefer certain languages, and what languages are looked on favorably by our fellow citizens.

Consciously or unconsciously, we make decisions about language every day: to use this register over that one, this dialect with some listeners and not others, this language here and not there. At a larger level, of course, other agencies are making language decisions as well, as governments declare official languages, schools select languages to teach in and languages to teach about, and language planning institutions shape and standardize languages themselves.

In Morocco, the process of making language choices, both at an individual and at a national level, is complex and influenced by many factors. Issues of religion, national identity, and culture weigh in, as do pragmatic appeals to utility, to trade, and to politics. What languages mean, and thus, what they convey, is constantly shifting, as languages rise and fall in prestige, as new languages are introduced, and as the values upon which languages are judged change. Morocco has a long history of multilingualism, from its time as a center of trade in Roman times, to the successive waves of immigration from Egypt, from Spain, from the Sahara, and the influx of European languages during the colonial era. Yet the history of language coexistence in Morocco is also a history of language competition and struggle, as language is used to create
national identities, to overcome colonization, and to assert the differences between cultures within and without the country.

In this work, we examine the factors that go into making language decisions in the complex linguistic setting of Morocco, both at the individual and the national level. We begin by setting out a history of language use and policy in Morocco, first by describing the major languages themselves, and then by narrating the national policy decisions that have created this situation. We give a history of language policy in education and of the Tamazight movement to provide context for our discussion, before turning to the results of our own fieldwork at Mohammed V University in Rabat.

In our research, we first examine individual language use in order to learn about the language decisions that our participants are making in daily life. We look at the perceptions of speakers of different languages, at the prestige of various languages, and at which languages students use in which situations. From looking at individual language usage and the societal role of language, we turn to how students think about languages in specific contexts, as we examine students’ opinions about several current linguistic issues, like the role of language in education, and the recognition of official languages. Finally, we seek to understand the values and beliefs upon which students base their language decisions, in order to illustrate why students believe what they believe about language, and how these beliefs are shaped.

It is our belief that without understanding the underlying values upon which language decisions are being made, it is impossible to really understand why people use language the way they do. While the ideological motives of officials in charge of language policy, like government actors and language policy institutions, are important and have been examined in the context of Morocco, the beliefs that motivate individual speakers in their reasoning about language are also
fascinating. It is for this reason that our study incorporates qualitative as well as quantitative data, and why, particularly in the last few chapters, we quote at length from our respondents. Their own words about language, we found, are at times even more informative about their beliefs and feelings about language than their use of language is. It is in speakers’ descriptions of their feelings about language that we will really learn about why they speak the way they do, for the way they reason about language is fundamentally shaped by the way they see the world in which they speak. Society, national policy, and the background of the speaker all influence language usage and attitudes, but this is because these forces shape the speaker’s values and beliefs about language. In turn, the values of the society and of the shapers of language policy control language decisions as well. Ultimately, then, in order to make predictions about how language attitudes and usage in Morocco may change in the future, we must first try to understand how the values that lie at the root of language choices are evolving. If we can understand the values that underlie the language ideologies in Morocco, we can also understand not only how they influence individual language decisions, but how they influence language decisions at a societal and national level as well.
2 Language in Morocco

The linguistic situation in Morocco is complex and diverse. Multilingualism is common in much of the country and is the norm in urban areas and among upper class Moroccans, while rural populations with less access to education remain largely monolingual. The languages spoken in homes are Moroccan Arabic and the Amazigh languages, while the languages used for business, education, and other formal purposes are Modern Standard Arabic, French, and Spanish. English is a common third language, but other foreign languages are popular as well. In general, multilingualism is seen as an important asset for employment. It is also mandatory for education, as the languages spoken in the home are historically unwritten, so knowledge of a second language is necessary for literacy. In the following sections, we discuss two important aspects of language use in Morocco and then provide descriptions of the most common languages used in the country.

2.1 Multiglossia

The linguistic situation in Morocco has been characterized by triglossic, diglossic, or multiglossic by various authors. It is widely accepted that there is a diglossic relationship between Moroccan Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic, as in most Arabic-speaking countries; this situation is as old as the presence of Arabic in the country (Benmamoun 2001: 98). However, various new intermediate forms of Arabic have also been identified in Morocco. For instance, Youssi describes the situation as a triglossia between Moroccan Arabic, Middle Moroccan Arabic, and Literary Arabic (1995: 29-30). Ennaji and Sadiqi, on the other hand, posit a quadriglossia with Moroccan Arabic, Educated Spoken Arabic, Standard Arabic, and Classical Arabic (Ennaji 2005: 49). Ennaji describes the emerging middle variety of Educated Spoken

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1 Formerly known as Berber.
Arabic (or Modern Moroccan Arabic) as “an intermediate variety between Standard and Moroccan Arabic... spoken by intellectuals in informal settings” (2005: 47). However, Laroui dissents, claiming that the distinguishing characteristic of a true diglossia is the lack of an elite class that exclusively uses the high variety, and that Educated Spoken Arabic, used exclusively by well-educated Moroccans, is not a true component of the multiglossia (Laroui 2011: 82). Other descriptions of the multiglossia attempt to incorporate the colonial languages, Spanish and French, and the pre-Arabic indigenous languages, Tamazight, into the picture as well.

Despite these disagreements, the basic traits of the multiglossia in Morocco are generally agreed upon. Moroccan Arabic and Tamazight are the low varieties, associated with “informal settings, illiteracy, and day-to-day activities” (Ennaji 2005: 47). The middle variety or varieties, Modern Standard Arabic, Educated Spoken Arabic, Media Arabic, etc, are associated with “the media, education, and literacy”, while Classical Arabic is the high variety that is associated with “religion, classical poetry, and erudition” (Ennaji 2005: 47). French is sometimes classified as a middle variety and sometimes as a high variety, for while it is associated with culture and intellectualism, it has no religious associations, and it is also used extensively in business and the media. The use of each of these languages will be described in greater detail below.

2.2 Codeswitching

Codeswitching is the use of two different codes in one conversation, where codes may be different languages, or different styles or dialects of the same language. It is different from merely borrowing certain words or phrases from one language into another, because it assumes that the speaker is fully competent in both languages. Codeswitching is fairly common in Morocco, although Ennaji notes that codeswitching is the most prevalent among the upper and
middle classes in Morocco, particularly among urban residents, because lower class and rural Moroccans are not exposed to other languages to as great an extent (Ennaji 2005: 145). Codeswitching between Moroccan Arabic and French is particularly popular among educated upper class Moroccans. Trodgill reports that it is “a sign of higher status and prestige to be able to juggle between two languages (French and Arabic)” (cited in Errihani 2008: 34).” However, several studies have found that attitudes towards codeswitching are often negative, as it is may be seen as an impure form of language used because the speaker has not mastered one or both of the languages (Bentahila 1983: 38). Bentahila found in his study that respondents described codeswitching as less patriotic and more influenced by colonialism than using French (1983: 114). Codeswitching may also be seen as pretentious, as it is used to mark education or status.

The most common situations for this kind of codeswitching are with friends, with professionals, and at work, while in situations like education and home, which are strongly marked by the habitual usage of a certain language, codeswitching is used less frequently (Bentahila 1983: 78). Other kinds of codeswitching besides French-Modern Standard Arabic are common as well: for instance, Tamazight speakers may codeswitch from Tamazight to Moroccan Arabic when speaking with their friends, especially in urban areas, and speakers may switch from one variety of Moroccan Arabic to another. While attitudes towards codeswitching may be negative, codeswitching is an interesting and frequent phenomenon in Morocco.

2.3 Language Descriptions

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2 One respondent summed up all the vices that are generally attributed to those who codeswitch: They (Moroccans who code-switch between Arabic and French) have no sense of patriotism because they abandon their true language and speak French and Arabic together, so that the language is torn apart, and they think that they are modern and superior to others. They want to show their personality, and if they are questioned about Arabic, it may turn out that they don’t know the answers. Thus they are not well educated because they have abandoned Arabic, and the cause of all this is that they have been influenced by colonization (Bentahila 1983: 111).
2.3.1 Moroccan Arabic

Moroccan Arabic (MA) is the most widely spoken language in the country. *Ethnologue* puts the number of speakers at nearly 19,000,000 inhabitants, or close to two-thirds of all Moroccans (Lewis 2013); Youssi claims that 90% of Moroccans speak it (1995: 29-30). Moroccan Arabic is a Semitic language that differs from Modern Standard Arabic in its simplified pronoun system, shortening of vowels, and simplified conjugations. There is considerable borrowing from Tamazight and French into the language. Moroccan Arabic is referred to as Darija, meaning dialect, within Morocco, but as this term is used in other countries to mean their own dialects, we use the term Moroccan Arabic instead.

There are many different dialects of Moroccan Arabic within the country, but in general, all are mutually intelligible. Some dialects have higher prestige than others. Most notably, the Fassi dialect, from the Fez region, is thought to sound cultured and intellectual, and provides upward mobility for its speakers. “One would argue,” writes Errihani, “that being from Fez and being able to speak the Fassi dialect has more value than speaking French because unlike French can be acquired through schooling, the Fassi dialect is an inherited type of cultural capital: there are no schools in Morocco that teach the Fassi manners and the proper Fassi accent” (Errihani 2008: 69). The other dialect of note is Hassaniya, spoken in the far south. It is one of the most different dialects; in fact, speakers of Hassaniya will describe it as a language, although this has as much to do with the pejorative connotations associated with the term dialect in Morocco as it has to do with the actual classification of the language. Errihani claims that even Hassaniya is understood all over the country (2008: 33). Ennaji agrees, describing Hassaniya as the Saharan dialect of MA and stating that all dialects of MA are mutually intelligible to Moroccans (Ennaji 2005: 59). As of 1995, Hassaniya was spoken by about 40,000 Moroccans (Lewis 2013).
Moroccan Arabic has low prestige in Morocco. It is seen as an improper or vulgar form of Classical Arabic, tainted by a long history of borrowing from French, Spanish, and Tamazight. Mouhssine explains the negative attitudes towards MA as a way of preserving the purity of MSA: the high form of Arabic can only be kept polite and sacred if all that is profane is assigned to MA (1995: 52). MA is seen as a particularly modern corruption of the traditional, pure MSA: the fact that a colloquial form of Arabic has always existed alongside the literary form is largely ignored (Mouhssine 1995: 53). The stigmatization of MA is furthered by the fact that MA is not in any way a language of education: it is neither the language of instruction nor a written language. Monolingual MA speakers are, for this reason, those who have not had access to formal education.

Moroccan Arabic is generally an unwritten language. It is not taught in schools, and few Moroccans choose to write it. In recent years, some language activists have begun to advocate for the use of Moroccan Arabic in written domains generally reserved for MSA. There have been several attempts to launch newspapers, magazines, and novels in MA, with mixed results (Laroui 2011: 69). These efforts may indicate an increase in the prestige of the language. While the handful of Moroccan Arabic publications print in the Arabic alphabet, young Moroccans have begun using a new Roman alphabet orthography for text messaging and online communications like social networking sites.

Moroccan Arabic is the language of informal communication, used at social gatherings, in the street, and in some types of media. While most official broadcasts are done in Modern Standard Arabic, daytime talk shows and soap operas are often broadcast in Moroccan Arabic, in order to better simulate casual conversation and to appeal to women, who have a lower rate of literacy (43.9% compared to 68.9% for men in 2009; World Factbook). Television shows
produced in other countries are generally dubbed in Moroccan Arabic and popular music, particularly rap, uses Moroccan Arabic.

2.3.2 Modern Standard Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic is a formal language used in Morocco in written communication and for educational, religious, and official purposes. It is a Semitic language spoken internationally in over twenty countries, but it is not the language of the home in any country. However, MSA enjoys high prestige in Morocco and wide use in the media, education, and religion. It has been the official language since 1962 (Virasolvit 2005: 40).

About 40% of the Moroccan population is competent in Modern Standard Arabic, while only 20% can read or write Classical Arabic, the most formal form (Youssi 1995: 29-30). As Ennaji describes it, “the majority of schooled people have only a passive knowledge of Classical Arabic in the sense that they understand Classical Arabic speeches and texts, but they can neither speak it nor write it without making pronunciation and grammar errors or without making mistakes of interpretation” (2005: 53). Classical Arabic is a fossilized language that does not allow for changes in lexicon or grammar, whereas Modern Standard Arabic is an evolving language that has new lexical items, phonological changes towards MA, and changes in syntax and semantics towards European languages (Ennaji 2005: 55). Laroui also notes that declensions are less pronounced and SVO word order is more accepted in MSA than in CA (2011: 58). Classical Arabic, as the language of the Qur’an, is important in religious life, while Modern Standard Arabic, the modernized version, is used for offical communication, education, literature, and communication between educated people from different Arabic-speaking countries. For the purposes of this paper, we group Classical Arabic and Modern Standard
Arabic together, because our respondents tended to refer to both languages indiscriminately as Fusha, or *el-lorat-el-fusha, the pure Arabic language.*

While linguists generally accept that Moroccan Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, and Classical Arabic fulfill different roles in Moroccan life, in our fieldwork, respondents often utilized the blanket term Arabic. The distinction between Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic is not made because speakers may not feel that there is a difference, as both languages are considered Fusha; the distinction between Modern Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic, on the other hand, is commonly made by referring to the former as Fusha and the latter as Darija, but was considered unnecessary by many respondents because they felt that context made clear which language they meant. The blanket usage of *el-lorat-el-fusha* or even simply *el-lorat-el-Arabbiya* to refer to any of several Arabics spoken in Morocco has caused some difficulty in interpreting responses. As Ennaji remarks, “there is a common failure to specify what is meant by “Arabic”: is it Classical Arabic, Standard Arabic, or Moroccan (Dialectal) Arabic? It is surely not the last one, given the official negative attitude towards this ‘low’ Arabic variety” (Ennaji 2005: 17). As Laroui comments, although linguists distinguish between the two varieties, “it is not the case for Moroccans in their daily life, who designate both Classical and Literary Arabic (MSA) by the name fusha” (2011: 82, translation mine). For this reason, we choose to use the term Modern Standard Arabic for both the high and intermediate varieties. In interpreting our responses, we assume that both Arabic and Fusha refer to Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic, unless context makes it clear that another usage is intended.

Modern Standard Arabic is the language of instruction in primary and secondary school. It is also used in the media for formal purposes like news broadcasts, religious programs, and political addresses. Newspapers and literature are published in Modern Standard Arabic, and
most written communication is done in Modern Standard Arabic. Modern Standard Arabic has high prestige because of its religious associations: as Laroussi writes, “Classical Arabic, as the language of the Qur’an and the language of classical literature, possesses a… very important literary heritage. The functions that use this variety, in particular the liturgical function, are valorized” (quoted in Virasolvit 2005: 40). Most resistance to the use of other languages is based on the fact that Modern Standard Arabic is the language of the Qur’an.

Despite the high status of the language itself, competency in MSA does not necessarily earn the speaker the high status that the knowledge of a European language would. In fact, Errihani claims that “Classical Arabic’s status is not class-based: it is rather indicative of a high level of religious and literary scholarship, which does not necessarily translate into higher social class, nor does it translate into upward mobility. Like Classical Arabic, knowing Modern Classical Arabic does not lead to a higher socio-economic class” (2008: 60). While the gist of this claim, that despite the religious respect bestowed on MSA, knowledge of the language does not necessarily guarantee upward mobility, is correct, competency in MSA is nonetheless a marker of a certain level of education, because literacy requires knowledge of MSA. However, Errihani is also right to assert that “in Morocco, the higher people’s social status is, the less likely they are to be fluent in MSA. In fact… upper class Moroccans tend to be less competent in MSA and more fluent in a foreign language, in other words in French” (2008: 60). The uneducated monolingual speakers of Moroccan Arabic or Tamazight have this one trait in common with the elite Moroccans.

While the use of Arabic has been widespread since the Arab invasion in the 8th century, the high prestige of Modern Standard Arabic in relation to other Moroccan languages is a result of the post-colonial government’s decision to create national unity by emphasizing the idea of
Morocco as a country unified by Islam and the Arabic language. A process of Arabization was undertaken, concluding in the 1980s, which will be discussed further in Chapter 3. Modern Standard Arabic was the only official language from the end of the colonial period until the ratification of the new constitution in July 2011, and remains one of the official languages today.

2.3.3 Tamazight

Tamazight is the term we use for the three Afro-Asiatic indigenous languages of Morocco, Tashelhit, Tararift, and Tamazight. These languages have formerly been called Berber languages, but this term is considered offensive and has fallen out of usage in French and Arabic language literature on the topic. As Boukous commented in 1996, “the term Berber is derived from barbarian, it is strange to the communities that use the language, and it is a product of the Greco-Roman ethnocentrism that characterized all people, cultures, and civilizations marked by any difference as barbaric” (quoted in Laroui 2011: 70). We believe that it is time that the use of this term is discontinued in English language literature as well. For the remainder of this paper we refer to the three languages spoken in Morocco by the terms Tashelhit, Tararift, and Tamazight, and use the adjective form Amazighe to refer to the cultural movement and to describe the language family. We often group the three languages together under the term Tamazight, which is commonly used to refer generically to all three languages in Morocco, because our respondents rarely distinguished between the three varieties.

It is difficult to give good estimates of how many Moroccans speak Tamazight, as the government censuses have never recognized it as a legitimate language. While many estimates have put the percentage of native Tamazight speakers at 40 or 50 (Boukous 1995: 10; Hammoud 1982: 21; Youssi 1995: 30; Bouylmani 63), Ahmed Boukous estimated in 2004 that only 28% of
Moroccans were native speakers (Laroui 2011: 71). Since Boukous is the current President of the Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe (IRCAM), an organization that tends to give optimistic estimates, this figure is reasonable. Likewise, estimates for the numbers of speakers of each language are difficult to obtain. *Ethnologue* estimates that Tararift, the Amazighe language of the Rif area of the north of Morocco, was spoken by a population of 1,500,000 in 1991 (Lewis 2013). Tamazight, the Amazighe language of the Middle and High Atlas regions, is the most commonly spoken of the three, with 3,000,000 speakers in 1998 and 40% of its speakers being monolingual in Tamazight (Lewis 2013). Tashelhit, spoken mainly in the southwest of Morocco, is estimated to have had about 3,000,000 speakers in country in 1998 (Lewis 2013). Estimates of what percentage of these speakers are monolingual are also hard to make: Ennaji puts the figure at 50% (2005: 58), but Youssi claims that only 25% are (1995: 30). Amazighe languages are also spoken in many other North African countries, most notably Algeria, Mali, and Niger.

There is controversy over what degree of mutual intelligibility exists between the Amazighe languages. IRCAM claims that there is a very high level of mutual intelligibility and that the three varieties are all dialects of the same language. An expert working in the Language Management section there with whom I spoke stated that there is variance in phonology and lexicon, but not much difference in syntax or semantics. However, Errihani claims that this is simply part of IRCAM’s justification of standardization, in that IRCAM can make a stronger claim for developing a standardized form of Tamazight to be used nationally if the regional differences are suppressed (2008: 35). Bouylmani claims that there is “often no mutual intelligibility between... speakers” (Bouylmani 63, citing Boukous 1992). Ennaji, on the other hand, falls somewhere in the middle of the two extremes, painting a portrait of a dialect chain across Morocco, where the languages are mutually intelligible unless they are at far points
geographically (2005: 80). He describes the morphology and syntax as generally the same, with
the phonology and lexicon varying between varieties (Ennaji 2005: 81). The similarity of the
Amazighe languages, like many other aspects of Amazighe linguistics, is as much a political
issue as an issue of linguistic description.

Tamazight is the indigenous language of Morocco that existed before the Arab invasion
of North Africa in the late 7th or early 8th century. It is a mainly oral language used by speakers
for informal communication. Prior to the colonial period, Tamazight shared equal prestige with
Moroccan Arabic, but the process of post-colonial Arabization stripped Tamazight of much of its
former prestige (Hoffman 2008: 23). Currently, the use of Tamazight is often seen as backwards,
and many native speakers who immigrate to cities in search of work stop using it in favor of
Moroccan Arabic. In her study of women in Fez, Sadiqi found that women use Tamazight more
with their friends than with their children, indicating that the language is not being passed down
to the next generation (1995: 68). In addition, the population of urban Morocco is growing faster
than that of rural Morocco, which further decreases the proportion of the population that speaks
Tamazight (Boukous 1995: 17). These are signals that the use of Tamazight is in decline.

Tamazight activists utilize minority language rights discourse in their search for
recognition of Tamazight, yet there is ambivalence towards the characterization of Tamazight as
a minority language, since the majority of Moroccans have some Amazighe ancestors, and a near
majority, by some estimates, speak Tamazight3. However, as Errihani states, although “the term
minority in this context may be very problematic as there is no way of establishing whether or
not the Berber people are indeed a minority in numerical terms, ... one thing seems to be certain:

3 For more discussion of the difficulty of classifying Tamazight as a minority language, see Cornwell and
they are most definitely a minority in terms of political and economic power” (Errihani 2008: 17). The term “endangered language” is also a loaded one for many Tamazight activists, who insist that the community of Tamazight speakers in Morocco is still thriving. However, the number of Tamazight speakers is declining, and as Saib points out, several Amazighe dialects or languages have already gone extinct due to the encroachment of MA, including Ghomara and Senhaja of Srair (2001: 41). Tamazight certainly has many characteristics of an endangered language: use of another language in official government and educational functions, migration of speakers to urban areas where other languages are privileged, low prestige, and declining use by youth. These factors make an endangered languages framework a useful way of understanding the situation of Tamazight, although Tamazight may be more properly characterized as a “contracting language”. Without significant intervention, Tamazight is likely to see a dramatic reduction in the number of speakers over the next few decades, as fewer and fewer children learn the language from their parents.

In the past few decades, however, the Amazighe cultural movement has begun to campaign for more acceptance of Amazighe culture and the Tamazight language. They have organized large public protests against the official status of Arabic as the national language. Their pressure on the government has led to several changes in policy, including the creation of IRCAM by royal proclamation in 2001 and the recognition, under the 2011 changes to the Moroccan constitution, of Tamazight as an official language. These changes indicate a rising level of prestige for Tamazight. These events and others will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

While there is an ancient Amazighe writing system called Tifinagh, this system fell out of use in Morocco in ancient times, and until the recent resurrection and modernization of this system by IRCAM, Tamazight was strictly an oral language. The discussion in the past decade
over whether to use the Roman alphabet, the Arabic alphabet, or modernize Tifinagh was heated, but eventually a form of Tifinagh developed by IRCAM was chosen (see Chapter 4 for more discussion). Although there are a growing number of publications in Tamazight, primarily produced by IRCAM, the majority of Tamazight speakers are not literate in Tamazight, and Tifinagh is currently utilized only in Tamazight activism and academia.

Although Tamazight is not widely used in print media, the promotion of Tamazight in music, television, and movies is one of the most successful accomplishments of IRCAM. There are a number of Tamazight-only television channels, as well as many programs in Tamazight on other channels. These programs are a mixture of news broadcasts, soap operas, cultural events, and shows for children. Broadcasting in Tamazight is important both for the preservation of the language and for the education of the many illiterate monolingual Tamazight speakers, who are predominantly female. While illiterate Moroccan Arabic speakers are likely to understand some Modern Standard Arabic, this is not the case for illiterate Tamazight speakers, so broadcasts in Tamazight are essential in order for them to receive news.

Tamazight is currently taught in about 10% of primary schools as a second language. These programs include only 3 hours of instruction a week, and struggle with hostile attitudes of principals, lack of support from the Ministry of Education, and the inability to hire native Tamazight speakers as teachers due to requirements not to discriminate against non-Tamazight speaking teachers (Meryyam Demnati, personal communication). IRCAM hopes to introduce more Tamazight instruction into public schools in the future.

Tamazight is a language in transition. There are significant efforts to raise the status of the language and to transform it into a language of formal communication, literature, and
education are underway, yet for the majority of speakers, Tamazight remains a language of informal communication.

2.3.4 French

French is the most common second language in Morocco. Youssi estimates that French is used frequently by 10% of the population and infrequently in some form by an additional 40% (1995: 30). Knowledge of French is more common in urban areas than rural areas, and in urban areas, particularly among the upper classes, codeswitching between Moroccan Arabic and French in informal conversation is common. There is also substantial borrowing from French in Moroccan Arabic.

French was introduced to Morocco towards the end of the 19th century, when the French colonial presence began, and increased in popularity during the colonial regime, which ended in 1956. In addition, knowledge of French increased in the first few decades after the end of the Protectorate due to the expansion of educational opportunities (Marley 2005: 28). Many scholars feel, however, that knowledge of French has decreased since the full Arabization of the educational system in the 1980s. Hammoud, for instance, claims that changes in educational policy led to a “certain decrease in the use of French by the school population, and therefore loss of proficiency in that language. Moreover, the general regression of French within Moroccan society at large caused by the departure of most of the native French community has contributed to the loss of extra-scholastic opportunities for students to use French” (1982: 57). Youssi concurs, writing that the usage of French among young people is dwindling (1995: 39), and Virasolvit writes that while the knowledge of French has increased since the end of the Protectorate due to mandatory education, the domains in which French is used have decreased
On the other hand, some scholars disagree that the use of French is declining. Braun, for instance, attributes these views to “Franco-pessimism,” writing that “Franco-pessimism is frequently observed in the Maghreb. For example, it is in the act of some intellectual, speaking French so perfectly that he has mastered almost all the nuances, who sends his children to French school, who publishes in French, without a frown, an article where he concludes that French has no future in the country, and that the role it plays or has played has always been exaggerated” (Braun 1997: 46; Virasolvit 2005: 80-81). Whether or not French is currently declining is difficult to evaluate without a standardized measure of French proficiency over time, but at any rate, the presence that French retains in the Moroccan school system and its high status as a language of erudition, culture, and economic advantage indicates that it will not be disappearing from the country any time soon.

French has a high level of prestige in Morocco. It is considered a language of intellectualism and of internationalism. El Bourkadi attributes the prestige of French equally to economic reasons, as France is the largest investor and trading partner of Morocco, and cultural reasons, as French culture still connotes a high level of erudition and sophistication (2006: 14). Virasolvit, placing French with MSA in the high position of the multiglossia, remarks that “French is the language of knowledge, of numerous journalistic and literary writings, and the linguistic vehicle of international communication” (2005: 43-44). Ennaji describes the values associated with French as “social promotion, wealth, sophistication, modernity, quality, reliability and similar Western values” (Ennaji 2005: 109). However, because French is felt to be strongly linked to Western values, internationalism, and colonialism, feelings towards the language are often ambivalent. The Arabization movement is a response to the colonial presence of French in Morocco, and many of its proponents feel that any use of French merely perpetuates
colonization. This ambivalence will be discussed in further detail in the section on Arabization and the educational system in Chapter 3.

The presence of French in Morocco is reinforced by the educational system, where the French language holds a favored status. French is introduced in early primary school, and second language education in French continues well into the university level, even for students studying for a degree in another language. Private schools generally devote more time to French language instruction, sometimes using French as the language of instruction in some or all subjects. At the university level, natural sciences and some social sciences such as law, business, and psychology are taught in French, which makes French an essential skill for students wishing to pursue careers in certain fields.

Despite attempts to Arabize the entire public sector, French is still a necessary skill for many jobs. Fluency in French is a marker of social class and education. Even the government, purportedly Arabized in the 1980s, requires French for jobs in many departments. For instance, all business in the Sharifian Office of Phosphates, the most important and lucrative in Morocco, is conducted in French (Laroui 2011: 74). Ennaji writes that while most Moroccan administrations are essentially bilingual between MSA and French, certain ones, like Tourism, Finance, Commerce, Transport, and Industry use French because the technical vocabulary is lacking in MSA and because they have been French-trained (Ennaji 2005: 109). In the professional spheres of the private sector, demand for French is nearly universal. As Virasolvit describes, French “remains present in industry, in certain administrations, in banks, and in higher education. This positioning of French in the entire country means that for many, the world of employment uses French. It is the language of technicians and science” (2005: 43, translation mine). Part of the prestige of French is due to the fact that many employers, especially in fields
related to science, technology, or commerce, consider French skills highly advantageous or even mandatory.

French is also common in many forms of media, both those exported from France and those produced in country. Many books are published in French rather than Arabic, and some Moroccans choose to read for pleasure in French rather than Arabic. French movies and music are also very popular, as are French language newspapers, both from France and published in country. Ennaji claims that the number of people who read newspapers in French has been decreasing since the 1960s (2005: 103), but even in the 1980s, at the height of Arabization, 50% of newspapers were published in French (Hammoud 1982: 28). A large number of French-speaking television channels are available in Moroccan homes, and American or British shows are often dubbed in French. 2M and Méd1, two of the most popular channels in Morocco, alternate Arabic programs with French programs (Laroui 2011: 134); in fact, Errihani claims that the use of French on state television channels is increasing (2008: 51). The popularity of French media may have more to do with content than language: Ennaji, noting that Arabic-French bilinguals tend to prefer reading French newspapers to Arabic publications, attributes it to the fact that French newspapers focus on Europe instead of the Arab world and carry content on “lively topics that have social, political, or economic appeal” (2005: 104). The popularity of French television programs and movies may spring from the same factor.

2.3.5 Spanish

Spanish is most present in the north of Morocco and in cities currently or historically controlled by Spain. It is spoken by around 1 million Moroccans in the former Spanish territories (Ennaji 2005: 111). In regions where the colonial regime was Spanish instead of French (the north and
some parts of the Sahara), Spanish is used in some informal communication, but is of primary
import in business and trade. Spanish is used for communication between Moroccan Arabic
speakers and Tamazight speakers who do not know Arabic, particularly in the Rif and in the
Sahara (Ennaji 2005: 111). Spanish-Moroccan Arabic codeswitching is also present, particularly
in the north of the country.

Unlike the French colonial regime, the Spanish colonial regime had a limited cultural
impact on the region. The Spanish regime, primarily interested in trade, did not put into place a
system of schools, had much less bureaucracy, and controlled less territory. While Spanish
spread much more slowly than French during the colonial era, due to the lack of structures to
teach it, the use of Spanish still grew, in part because few Spanish colonists learned Arabic, so
knowledge of Spanish became necessary for trade on the Mediterranean coast (Virasolvit 2005:
84).

Spanish remains a common second language in Morocco, particularly in the north, but it
is not nearly as widespread as French. While Spanish is available as a foreign language option in
secondary school, it has never been an integral part of the Moroccan educational system in the
way that French has been and continues to be (Ennaji 2005: 112). Spanish is more common in
large cities and in the parts of Morocco closest to Spain. In recent years, some students from
wealthy families have been choosing to study at Spanish universities instead of North American
universities, because they are much cheaper (Ennaji 2005: 113). Knowledge of Spanish is also an
important asset for Moroccans hoping to immigrate to Spain, to find work with Spanish
companies, or to profit from Spanish tourism.
Spanish has a fairly large presence in the media. Many Spanish language television programs are available in Morocco, including on the state-run channel Al Aoula. Newspapers and movies in Spanish are also available for sale. Spanish music, from Latin America as well as from Spain, is popular in Morocco, partly due to the large numbers of Moroccans who work seasonally in Spain.

Spain retains control over two cities on the mainland of Morocco, Ceuta and Melilla. These cities were occupied by the Spanish in the sixteenth century and today remain wholly separate in policy and governance from the rest of Morocco (Ennaji 2005: 111). Both enclaves are highly segregated, and bilingualism is generally unidirectional, with residents of Moroccan descent and of Moroccan nationality speaking both Arabic and Spanish, but Spaniards speaking only Spanish (Aldabo 2011: 109). Melilla has the additional dynamic of being situated in an area with a large Tararift-speaking population, but here too, Spaniards speak only Spanish, while Tararift speakers may speak Arabic or Spanish or both, and Arabic speakers may speak Tararift or Spanish or both. Spanish is used in all government offices and schools, and for all public functions such as street signs (Aldabo 2011: 113). Political parties in both enclaves have advocated for the recognition of Moroccan Arabic (and in Melilla, Tararift) alongside Spanish but with no success thus far (Aldabo 2011: 113). The continuing colonial presence of Spain in Morocco is resented by many Moroccans and has led to ambivalent feelings towards Spanish, particularly in the Sahara, which, while no longer a colony, endured a lengthy Spanish occupation. There is negativity on the part of the Spanish towards Arabic as well: as Aldabo describes, “the rejection of Arabic as an official language seems to be a consequence of Spanish resentment of North African culture…. In the enclaves, there has always been a feeling of being threatened by the Moroccan surroundings” (115). The tension caused by the segregation and the
atmosphere of colonization propagated by the Spanish enclaves surfaces in conflict over language policy.

2.3.6 English

English is a fast-growing third language in Morocco. It is seen as an important international language and an asset for business and education. Like Spanish, English is popular among Moroccans seeking to immigrate, to find jobs with foreign companies, or to work within the tourist industry. English is seen as a particularly important language for science and technology: many private business, engineering, and computer science schools require English (Ennaji 2005: 118). Despite the perceived utility of English in these domains, it is not nearly as popular or as widely-spoken as French; however, there are some indications that its usage and popularity may be increasing.

In some ways, English is popular because it competes well with French. Like French, English connotes internationalism, financial success, and modernity, but unlike French, English carries no taint of colonialism in Morocco. English is also free from the connotations of classism that French, associated with privilege and access to private education, often carries. In Mouhssine's survey, he found that more of his respondents ranked English as a "pretty language" than did French (59.2% and 41.5% respectively, with MSA voted most beautiful at 70.1%) (1995: 58). His respondents also rated English highly as a modern language and as a language of science (Mouhssine 1995: 58). For many Moroccans, English is the best choice for a modern, international language that is free from negative associations with colonialism and classism.
The use of English appears to be growing. English is being introduced at a younger age in schools than in the past, although it is still generally not studied until secondary school. At the university level, however, many students are studying English. According to Ennaji, English is the most popular foreign language at Moroccan universities (not including French, which he does not classify as a foreign language) (2005: 116). He attributes the popularity of English in part to the fact that Moroccan students who can afford to do so prefer to study at British or North American universities (2005: 115). Some Moroccans also pay for private lessons in English: Buckner reports that enrollments in private centers that teach English “have been growing rapidly over the past decade” and that English language learning centers have reported annual growth of 20% from 2005 to 2007 (2011: 218).

English media is also available in Morocco, although much more limited than French or Spanish. English music is popular and widespread, but there are few English language television channels and movies. English literature is not as well-known as French literature, and English newspapers are uncommon.

2.3.7 Other Languages

Other foreign languages present in Morocco include Portuguese, German, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, and Chinese. Japanese, Chinese, and German are seen as important languages for trade and commerce. Japanese and Chinese are available at the university level, while German is offered in late secondary school, and at language centers in major cities. Other European languages, like Italian and Portuguese, are learned from emigrants to Europe who have returned or by Moroccans seeking to emigrate. Hebrew is not common, but is spoken by some members of the greatly diminished Moroccan Jewish community.
3 Language policies in education

Education is an extremely powerful tool in shaping language attitudes. The use of a language in school can legitimize a language, encourage its perception as a language of that carries tangible benefits, and encourage young children to adopt it. In this chapter, we discuss the ways in which decisions about language use in school have impacted the prestige and use of different languages, from the colonial period to the present day. We finish with a description of the current educational system and a discussion of some ongoing controversies surrounding the issue of pedagogical language policy.

3.1 Pre-colonization

Prior to colonization, Moroccan schools were religious in focus. Male children were taught to read, write, and recite the Qur’an. These classes, often held in local mosques, emphasized rote memorization of verses and proper pronunciation in Qur’anic recitation. Boys were taught Qur’anic Arabic, their first exposure to a second language. As classes progressed, students learned to discuss passages, especially if they moved on to a madrasa; education beyond the first few years was generally reserved for the elite or for particularly gifted reciters who might be sponsored to train as imams, as education was primarily a means to religious knowledge. The most promising students might study at the Qarawiyyine University in Fez, which was founded in the 8th century and taught philosophy, natural science, logic, and religion (Ennaji 2005: 202). During this period, literacy and education were generally reserved for the most elite classes of society and were virtually nonexistent for females.

3.2 Colonization

3.2.1 First wave of colonial education
During the French Protectorate, the educational infrastructure began to expand. The French colonial policy in Morocco, in contrast to that of the regime in West Africa, was anti-assimilationist, bent on preserving traditional Moroccan culture as much as possible. For this reason, colonial administrators were hesitant to disrupt the religious system of education. The colonial regime, however, also wanted to train up a generation of native collaborators to work in administration. These conflicting goals led to the implementation of an education system directed towards the children of the elite, established for the purpose of teaching Moroccans just enough to be useful, and constantly vacillating between trying to instill knowledge of the French language and trying to prevent access to French culture and literature.

While some authors have ascribed an explicit pro-French language motive to the colonial agents, like Hammond, who declares that “The colonial authorities firmly believed in their cultural and linguistic superiority. Their mission civilisatrice [emphasis his] was based on glorifying the language and culture of the metropolis to the detriment of Arabic language and culture which had been suffering serious setbacks since the thirteenth century” (Hammond 1982: 211), their policy decisions can also be seen in a more hesitant light. Undoubtedly the colonial authorities did believe in their own linguistic superiority; however, in Morocco, the Resident-General Hubert Lyautey and his most ideologically similar compatriots, including Georges Hardy, the Director of Public Education from 1919 to 1926, wanted to preserve cultural differences to avoid mixing between the colonizers and the colonized. Motivated by this racial ideology, Hardy’s pedagogical policies were always concerned with trying to limit the amount of French taught to Moroccans in the French schools. However, this policy was hindered by an equally strong distaste for the Arabic language. The French colonial regime associated the Arabic language with the propagation of Islam, and thought that by limiting the Arabic language,
they could confine the spread of Islam. For instance, Alfred Le Chatelier, a colonial administrator, remarked that “The mental instrument of Muslim propaganda is Arabic. It is not necessary to have efficacious instruments for spreading European ideas other than European languages. If Arabic ceases to be the communal language, to assure a career for its followers, if French becomes in its place a productive necessity, it will easily batter its rival” (Chatelier quoted in Laroui 2011: 73; translation mine). This double aversion to both French and Arabic left the colonial educators without a language in which to teach Moroccan students. In the end, their desire to train useful collaborators for low-level jobs in the colonial regime led them to reluctantly adopt French as the language of instruction.

The first schools set up by the French were the écoles des fils de notable, intended for, as the name suggests, the sons of the elite. These schools fed into the collèges musulmans, secondary schools (Bourn 2008:212). These schools were designed to train the next generation of Moroccan leaders to cooperate with the French regime. Even in these schools, however, a limited amount of French was taught: Georges Hardy recommended to teachers that “literature of high value” be kept from the native scholars, who were instead to be encouraged to read authors who wrote “soberly, simply” (Hardy). Even in this highest system of schools, French language instruction focused on vocabulary acquisition and verb conjugation instead of complex composition (Segalla 2009:103). Throughout the colonial regime, however, the demand for education in French, because it was seen as an economic asset, exceeded the amount that the French were willing to provide.

3.2.2 Second wave of colonial education
The French education system eventually expanded down to the lower classes as well, but remained segregated by class, for, in the French colonial system in Africa, “education was a weapon of social division rather than integration” (Hapgood quoted in Bentahila 10). Indeed, Hardy admitted that he did not want the education of the lower classes to be a means of social mobility, remarking in 1920 that “the child of a particular social milieu should receive an instruction which is adapted to that milieu and which keeps him there” (Segalla 2009: 94).

Instead of admitting lower class students to the existing schools, a parallel system of schools for lower-class students in urban areas was instituted.

While the French regime did not want these students to achieve proficiency in French, because it might lead to dissatisfaction with their place in society, Arabic-only instruction was impractical, because of a lack of teaching materials and Arabic-speaking teachers. The idea of bringing in educators from other Arab countries was rejected for fear that they would bring with them the nationalist ideas spreading through other Arab colonies like Egypt (Segalla 2009:102). Instead, the French schools taught a purposefully limited French language curriculum based around the concept of leçons des choses, or units focused on concrete objects. Vocabulary concentrated on “nouns referring to everyday things; abstract nouns were to be carefully avoided” (Segalla 2009:78). Writing and reading were basic and strictly functional in nature, and vocabulary units were organized by trade. For instance, in the first month, children might learn terms for woodworking, in the second, metalworking, in the third, metal industries, in the fourth, transportation, and so on (Segalla 2009:104). The hope was that the students would acquire enough knowledge of French to be useful workers without ever gaining the ability to be able to think or express complex ideas in the language.
At the same time that these urban schools for lower-class students were started, schools in rural areas called écoles Berbères were opened in hope of attracting children of elite rural families. The French wanted to separate the Amazigh population from the rest of Morocco because they idealized the Amazigh Moroccan as “a kind of noble savage, only superficially Islamic, hostile to the makhzan and preferring their own customary law to the sharia.... [I]n contrast to Arabs, the Middle Atlas Berbers were whites, virtually uncorrupted by outside influences. Racial differences were correlated with moral distinctions: the Berbers were said to be honest and brave, “of very democratic mores,” without the Arabs’ troublesome devotion to Islamic doctrine” (Segalla 2009:49). In hope of removing the Amazigh population from the influence of Arabic, the rural French schools excluded Arabic language and Islamic studies from their curricula (Errihani 2008: 26). However, they had no pedagogical materials in Tamazight, or teachers who spoke Tamazight, so they were forced to teach French in these schools for lack of a better language. Like the other French schools, though, these rural schools taught French only in carefully parcelled out amounts.

While these three tiers of schools continued, with somewhat limited success, to attract Moroccan students, as Ennaji points out, the French regime was certainly not financially committed to the system. While the schools for children of colonists ran on a budget of 42 million French francs in 1934, the Moroccan schools, theoretically meant to educate many more children, received only 15 million francs (Ennaji 2005: 203). Although the French colonists may have believed that they were on a civilizing mission, they felt deeply ambivalent towards the education of Moroccan students. Through their lack of financial commitment and through their hesitancy to teach almost anything to Moroccan students, the French regime undermined the
credibility of its own claims to being a propagator of education in Morocco. As a result, few students initially enrolled in the French schools.

3.2.3 Backlash against colonial system

The French school system was voluntary, not compulsory, and it struggled constantly with low enrollment because it tried to attract students without really teaching them anything useful. What families and students wanted from the French schools was knowledge of French, which could help them with their careers; what the French schools wanted to teach was second-rate Qur’anic lessons and basic vocabulary. Students and parents pressured the schools to devote more classroom time to French instruction and to make the Moroccan school systems conform to the system in France so that the Moroccan baccalaureates would be recognized abroad. Moroccans wanted from the school system exactly what the French regime did not want to provide: a chance to move up in society through the acquisition of French language and French education. In the end, school enrollment during the Protectorate never reached more than 10% for males and 6% for females (Ennaji 2005: 205). As Ennaji pointedly notes, only 50 Moroccans earned their baccalaureate degrees in the fourteen year period from 1920-1934, which means that only about 3 Moroccans out of 5 million finished high school each year (2005: 203). The limited enrollment in French schools, however, actually contributed to the prestige of the French language. Because so few children graduated from the French system, knowledge of French confirmed high status upon those who could speak it.

The notable shortcomings of the French system led to the emergence of private schools, in particular the Salafi schools, which were rooted in Islamic tradition and Arabic. These schools taught science, history, arithmetic, and some French (Segalla 2009:190). The free schools were
“created by nationalists to teach Classical Arabic and Islamic thought in order to safeguard the Arab-Islamic traditions and values, and to compete with the French public schools” (Ennaji 2005: 204). According to Ennaji, these schools had four priorities: instruction in Classical Arabic, instruction in Islamic thought in an authentic not French-controlled setting, encouragement of nationalist feelings, and reduction of illiteracy (2005: 204). The free schools provided night classes for adult illiterate people as well as day classes for school-age children to compete with the French schools (Ennaji 2005: 204). The connection between Classical Arabic instruction and nationalism that developed in these free schools was instrumental later in the pedagogical language policy decisions that were made after the end of the Protectorate by the nationalist leaders.

Toward the end of the colonial period, the French regime made a mistake that hastened the end of the Protectorate and diverted the path of Moroccan educational policies. In May of 1930, the French administrators strong-armed the Sultan into proclaiming a dahir, or royal decree, giving the French regime more autonomy in rural Amazighe regions (Errihani 2008: 26). The decree removed Amazighe lands from Shar’ia law and placed them instead under tribal law. While disguised as a measure to give tribal leaders authority over their own people and lands, in reality, this was another component to the French plan of removing the Amazighe population from the corrupting influence of Islam. Language policy was another key component of this strategy, for as Roger Gaudefroy-Demombynes, high ranking officer of the colonial administration put it, “It is dangerous to allow the formation of a united phalanx of Moroccans having the same language. We must utilize to our advantage the old dictum ‘divide and rule’. The presence of an Arab race is a useful instrument for counterbalancing the Berber race” (Benmamoun 2001: 100). This attempt at a divide-and-conquer approach to administration
backfired. The *dahir* alarmed the already restless nationalist movement in Morocco, which reacted with a campaign of special prayers in mosques throughout the country that finished with a plea to “allow nothing to divide us from our brothers, the Berbers” (Segalla 2009:229). Nationalists called for Arabic to be the language of instruction in all Moroccan schools, including the *écoles Berbers*, in protest against the “systematic and cunning campaign against Islam and Arab culture,” (Segalla 2009:231). The outrage created by the *dahir* was instrumental in uniting and strengthening the nationalist movement, which led to the eventual overthrow of the colonial regime. However, because language policy had been such an important tool of the colonial regime, any attempt to differentiate between the Amazighe and Arab populations began to be seen as a severe threat to national unity. The fierce reaction against the French attempt to separate the Amazighe population from the rest of Morocco had devastating consequences on the Tamazight language in the post-colonial period.

3.3 Post-colonial period

The Protectorate ended in 1956. The French educational system, however, took much longer to be consolidated into Moroccan infrastructure. French educators lingered for years as Morocco struggled to expand the system to meet the growing demand for education. From the beginning of the post-colonial period, though, the ultimate goal for the educational system was complete Arabization. This policy was solidified in the wake of the turmoil over the Berber dahir, which caused nationalists to rally around Arabic as a unifying force in Morocco.

3.3.1 Theory of Arabization

It is useful, at this point, to examine the theory behind Arabization, which has been the single most powerful language ideology in Morocco. In the minds of proponents of Arabization, the
way to overthrow all remnants of colonization and to return to authenticity is to give up using European languages, which are marks of colonialism, in favor of Arabic, which, as the language of the Qur’an, will root the country in Islam. In this context, Arabic means Classical Arabic, or, for practical purposes, Modern Standard Arabic, as the distinction between these two is often ignored. A remark by King Hassan II sums up the important tenets of Arabization:

“The dominance of the French language is likely to sap the foundations of our personality and thus, the unity of our country by destroying our mother tongue, and cultural identity, which is based on the national language, the language of the Quran” (Buckner 2011: 216, cited from Redouane, 1998b, p.2).

It is interesting to note the reference to the “mother tongue”, for this view ignores the fact the language of the Qur’an, Classical Arabic, is not the mother tongue of any Moroccan. Even if we suppose that Arabization is helpful for preserving Moroccan Arabic, this remark seems to overlook the fact that the mother tongue of a significant portion of Moroccans is Tamazight, and that Arabization has, if anything, diminished the use of Tamazight. One of the fundamental tenets of Arabization is that having a single common language is necessary for national unity, and that the language of Moroccan “cultural identity” should be Modern Standard Arabic, not the Moroccan mother tongues (Tamazight and Moroccan Arabic).

Kaye attributes this ideology to the fact that many of the founding members of the nationalist movement were educated in Salafi schools, which taught that “the language of resistance to French rule was Arabic and its fundamental values were those of Islam.” (Kaye 1990: 15). Yet this philosophy has long outlived the nationalist leaders who were its first proponents. The anti-French, pro-Modern Standard Arabic perspective has been active for
decades: Mouhssine reports that in 1988, the Council of Secretaries of the Sections of the Istiqlal Youth declared that “the maintenance of French in certain official sectors despite our political independence constitutes a sequel to French colonialism that was imposed on our country, that pillaged our riches and that was chased from our land by the heroic effort of our people” (1995: 48). In 1991, the newspaper Al-Alam described the presence of the French language in Morocco as a “colonial linguistic invasion” and a “secret war waged against Arabic, the language of the Qur’an” (Mouhssine 1995: 48). Since the end of the colonial period, the view that Arabization is essential for national unity and for a return to cultural authenticity in the aftermath of colonization has been and continues to be one of the most influential political ideologies in Morocco.

3.3.2 Implementation of Arabization

The most important political party in the initial years after the end of the colonial regime was the Istiqlal Party, which remains influential even today. Istiqlal was and is firmly in favor of complete Arabization, not just of the school system, but of every aspect of Moroccan public life (Mouhssine 1995: 48). Initial attempts to Arabize the Moroccan school system were undertaken by Al-Fassi, the first minister of national education and one of the most influential nationalist leaders (Hammond 1982: 40). Al-Fassi was fervently pro-Arabization and once remarked that “Morocco was without value except as a country of one people whose civilization was Arabic and whose culture was Islam” (Kaye 1990: 15). Al-Fassi attempted to immediately Arabize primary school education, with somewhat disastrous results. Hammond reports that many children were forced to repeat the year again entirely, sometimes in a different language (1982: 42). In 1958, math, social sciences, and natural sciences classes reverted back to being taught in French, as the initial Arabization had been implemented too hastily.
As Minister of Education, Al-Fassi already faced huge challenges. The educational system was undergoing a rapid expansion as the government tried to provide universal education. The existing infrastructure had been dealing with less than 10% of the school-age population at the time of independence, so drastic increases had to be made (Ennaji 2005). There was also the teaching situation to be considered. The Moroccan educational system relied on French teachers, who were rarely willing or even qualified to teach classes in Arabic. Many left Morocco after Al-Fassi’s initial hasty Arabization plan was announced (Hammond 1982: 41). Even native Moroccan teachers were often unqualified to teach classes like math and science in Arabic, as they themselves had been educated in French and were unfamiliar with technical terms in Arabic. Teachers complained of a lack of teaching materials and textbooks in Arabic. Despite Al-Fassi’s commitment to Arabization, it was simply not possible to expand the availability of education and switch the primary language of instruction simultaneously in such a short time period.

Despite these difficulties, however, Arabization slowly continued. In 1960, the Institute for Study and Research on Arabization was founded to help develop technical terminology and pedagogical materials in Arabic (Hammond 1982: 68). By 1966, all subjects in the first two grades and all but math and the sciences for third, fourth, and fifth grades had been completely Arabized in all primary schools (El Bourkadi 2006: 12). In 1963 a dahir calling for the Arabization of grades seven through twelve had been released (Virasolvit 2005: 79). Yet progress was slow. By 1973, only 45% of the school system had been Arabized, meaning that students still spent the slight majority of their time learning in French (Al-Jabri cited in Hammoud 1982: 16). While the Arabization of all subjects in primary schools was supposed to have been completed by 1977, two years later, 35% of instruction time was still in French
(Hammoud 1982: 37, 16), and up until the next year, the secondary school entrance exams were 1/3 French, 1/3 math (taught in French), and 1/3 Arabic and related subjects (Hammoud 1982: 58-59), indicating that students still had to prioritize learning French. In general, language policy in these years was marked by hesitancy and backtracking, with policies changing from one year to the next.

The repercussions of these wavering language policies fell on the students. Many children began school in one language, only to switch to another in the next grade (Segalla 2009: 255). As Beverly Seckinger comments, “A great many individuals unfortunately fall between the cracks created by these changing systems. Either they are trained in one language, then expected to work in another, or they are partially trained in one language, then expected to continue their training in another, without sufficient preparation” (Segalla 2009: 256). While literacy and education rates improved significantly from the colonial days, they were still woefully low. 1970, only 40% of children enrolled in primary school (Ennaji 2005: 220). 1978, El Farouki reported that over half of primary school students dropped out (Hammoud 1982: 159). As Alalou comments, “Ironically, the early goals of “Arabization of all subjects” and “generalization of literacy” appear to have been mutually destructive, allowing neither to be achieved” (2006: 411). The shifting and at times conflicting language policies in the Moroccan educational system hindered students’ progress.

The problems with teaching materials and staff were ongoing as well. While one of the tenets of the Arabization movement was “Moroccanization” (Hammoud 1982: 158), or replacing the French expatriate workers with Moroccans, the reliance on French teachers in the educational sector lingered long after the end of the Protectorate. In 1978, French teachers made up 13% of the teaching staff in high schools (Bentahila 12). French teachers were even more highly
represented in higher education and in math and science fields: in 1976, fully 50% of high school math teachers were French (Hammoud 1982: 39), while in 1978, a quarter of university professors were French (Bentahila 12). Attitudes towards these expatriate teachers were generally negative, as they were sometimes paid three times as much as their Moroccan counterparts (Hammoud 1982: 53). They also received criticism for being young, inexperienced, or lacking in dedication, as many came to escape civil service at home. For a time, teachers from Egypt and the Middle East were brought in to teach science and math classes, but according to Zartman, they were found to be “better orators than teachers, more eloquent in praising their native land than in teaching their subject matter” (Zartman 1964 quoted in Bentahila 124). The Moroccanization of the teaching staff was intended to be one of the most economically beneficial components of Arabization, yet due to the constant shortage of qualified candidates for teaching jobs, it was not very successful.

Despite the numerous difficulties in implementation, by the 1980s, the Arabization of the public school system, with the exception of universities, had been completed, and the form of the educational system from the 1980s to the present has been more or less the same, with the major exception of the introduction of Tamazight into primary schools, which will be addressed further in Chapter 4.

3.4 Overview of the Current Educational System

The current educational system consists of optional pre-schools, Arabized primary schools, Arabized lower secondary schools (middle schools), Arabized higher secondary schools (high schools), and mixed universities. There are also private schools at all levels of education. A brief overview of the current education system in Morocco follows.

3.4.1 Preschools
The most common type of preschool is modeled after the traditional Qur'anic schools. Children are taught to memorize and recite the Qur'an using teaching methods that rely heavily on rote memorization. Children are also taught some basic Arabic literacy skills, arithmetic, and Islamic teaching.

Recently, there has been a trend in major cities toward European style preschools that use exploratory learning methods and incorporate art, music, and games into their programs. Often these preschools also teach children some rudimentary French literacy skills. These preschools are mostly supported by wealthy members of the urban upper classes.

Wagner found in 1993 that students who attend preschool outperform students who do not, but that while students who attend European-style preschools outperform other students slightly in French comprehension skills, the differences are insignificant in other subjects (Wagner cited in Ennaji 2005: 216), indicating that children who attend European-style preschools do not have significant advantages over children who attend traditional Qur'anic preschools.

3.4.2 Public Schools
Primary school includes grades one through six. The first two grades are taught completely in Arabic. In the third grade, French is introduced, and taught for an average of ten hours a week in grades three through six (Ennaji 2005: 129), although the new plan announced during the 1999 education reforms called extending the time devoted to French instruction. Under this plan, there would be 1.5 hours of French a week in the second grade and eight hours a week for grades three through six, except for classes with Tamazight sections, in which case there would be only seven hours of French (Touhami 2006: 35). Tamazight is taught for three hours a week in some schools (Errihani 2008: 132). The teaching of Tamazight will be discussed further in Chapter 4. In 1999,
The National Charter for Education also called for the teaching of English starting in fifth grade in 2004, however, no records were found of this policy being implemented yet (Ennaji 2005: 195).

Lower secondary schools (collèges) include grades seven through nine. Arabic is the primary language of instruction, but French is taught for four hours a week under the new plan (Touhami 2006: 35), or six hours a week by Ennaji’s estimate (2005: 129). In addition, under the new plan, two hours a week of English or Spanish are available at some lower secondary schools (Touhami 2006: 35). Despite efforts by activists, Tamazight is not available at the secondary school level at all.

Upper secondary schools (lycées) include grades ten, eleven, and twelve. They are divided between those that specialize in languages (lycées lettres) and those that specialize in sciences (lycées sciences et/ou techniques). The primary language of instruction at all public secondary schools is Modern Standard Arabic. At the language schools, French is obligatory for four to five hours a week, while at the science schools, it is obligatory for four hours a week, except at schools that specialize in economics, where only two hours are required (Touhami 2006: 35). Students at language schools are also required to take more classes on Modern Standard Arabic than students at science and technology schools (Ennaji 2005: 129). Students at language schools have the option of taking Spanish, English, Italian, or German for four to five hours a week, while students at science schools are offered only three hours a week of these languages (Touhami 2006: 35). The twelfth grade concludes with examinations for the baccalaureate degree.

3.4.3 Private Schools
Private schools are popular with the upper classes of Moroccans. The majority are in urban areas like Kenitra, Rabat, and Casablanca (Laroui 2011: 110). There are around 2000 private schools in Morocco, with about 500,000 students enrolled, or 7% of the student population (Laroui 2011: 109). The most popular private schools are the mission schools, remnants of the French system that are run mostly by French Catholics. While there are only 23 of these schools, 22,000 Moroccan pupils are enrolled in them (Laroui 2011: 110). The popularity of these schools springs from the fact that they teach much more French than the public schools do. While the curriculum of private schools varies greatly, in general, they devote more time to teaching European languages. According to Ennaji, while the public school system does not offer English until age 16, private schools may begin teaching it as young as age 5 (2005: 113); however, the primary benefit of attending private schools is undoubtedly their emphasis on French, as many use French as the language of instruction, particularly for science and math. Private primary schools cost around 1000 dirhams (roughly $100) a month, lower secondary schools 3000 ($300), and upper secondary schools from 4000 ($400) to 6000 ($600) on average (Laroui 2011: 109). This substantial investment is thought to be worthwhile largely because attending these schools gives children a better chance to acquire proficiency in European languages, which are necessary for success at the university level in sciences in Morocco, and in order to work or study abroad.

3.4.4 Tertiary Education

Morocco has a well-established system of public universities as well as a handful of private universities. There are fourteen public universities in Morocco, along with many private institutes of higher learning. While the Qarawiyyine University in Fez is by some accounts the oldest university in the world, by the time of the Protectorate, education there had declined
significantly. It was incorporated into the public education system in the 1960s, but has been eclipsed by other more prestigious modern Moroccan universities, like Mohammed V University in Rabat, the oldest public university in Morocco. The most prestigious private university in Morocco is Al-Akhawayn University in Ifrane, founded in 1993.

In general, there is a split between Arabic-taught and French-taught fields of study at the university level in the public school system. The humanities, some social sciences, and Qur’anic law are taught in Arabic, while natural sciences, mathematics, some social sciences, international law, business, and public management are taught in French. Many students also choose to study a foreign language as their primary field, in which case almost all of their classes will be in their target language, although they may still be required to study French (for instance, at Mohammed V University, students studying English were still required to study French for a few hours a week). Ennaji found that 65% of university students study primarily in French (2005: 110), which confirms how vital mastery of French is for success at the university level.

At private institutes of higher learning, however, the emphasis may be on different European languages. For instance, at Al-Akhawayn University, by far the most prestigious private university in Morocco, all of the classes are in English. Al-Akhawayn may be a unique case, in that it is modeled explicitly after American liberal arts colleges, but its emphasis on English may also indicate a shift in the emphasis placed on French at the university level, particularly in the teaching of science and technology, domains in which the importance of English is equal to or greater than that of French.

3.4.5 National Charter for Education
In 1999, a National Charter for Education was released, detailing reforms to be undertaken in the future and setting goals for the Moroccan education system. While on the one hand, the history of the Moroccan education system is full of paper reforms that are never enacted, and thus the proposals should not be taken as certain realities, the Charter is at least an indication of the direction in which the educational system is moving.

In general, the Charter is more positive towards foreign languages than a policy of pure Arabization, particularly in regard to French (El Bourkadi 2006: 14). For instance, the Charter calls for the introduction of a foreign language in the second grade, which is generally assumed to be French (previously introduced in the third grade), as well as the introduction of a second foreign language in the fifth grade, which is usually thought to mean English (Errihani 2008: 106). Three of the principles of the Charter also deal with multilingualism, stating that “Multilingualism favors social and economic development”, “Multilingualism helps respond to the social demand for competency,” and “Multilingualism favors “linguistic tolerance”” (Touhami 2006: 33). Errihani reports that “the Charter argues that in order to practice a linguistic continuum, and in order to have more linguistic choices available for every high school student, the language that is chosen as a medium for scientific and technological subjects in high school, whether it is Arabic or a foreign language, shall be the same language that students will study in at the university” (2008: 111). This would potentially mean a return to French instruction in science and mathematics, or even a move to English for some technical subjects. This is a sharp change from the complete Arabization policy of the past.

However, in other places, the Charter seems to reinforce the primacy of Arabic in schools. For instance, in a section that seems to almost contradict that mentioned in the previous paragraph, the Charter calls for “the progressive introduction of Arabic as a medium of
instruction of scientific and technological subjects in higher education” (Errihani 2008: 110). This is a good example of the often conflicting nature of educational reforms in Morocco, for how can both of these sections be implemented in a useful way? The Charter also supports the role of Modern Standard Arabic in a section where it “reiterates that the Arabic language is mandatory for all Moroccan students in all educational institutions both public and private,” which, as Errihani says, is “a clear admonition to any private institution using French or English as the sole medium of instruction. Every educational institution must teach Arabic, in addition to whatever other language is used as a medium of instruction” (2008: 104). This is an interesting reprimand in light of use of English as the exclusive medium of instruction at Al Akhawayn University, which was founded and supported by the Moroccan monarchy.

One of the most controversial sections of the 1999 Charter was a section that called for “reliance, if necessary, on the regional languages and dialects” in order to improve comprehension in Modern Standard Arabic (Errihani 2008: 108). While the implications of this and other sections of the Charter for Tamazight will be discussed in Chapter 4, as they are complex and delicate, we point out this section here because it may also imply that Moroccan Arabic might be permitted in the school system, for instance, in primary school education, where opinion has long held that mother tongue education is best for children⁴.

3.5 Evaluation

The Moroccan educational system has made great strides since the end of the colonial regime. Enrollment in primary school has increased to 72% in 1994 (Ennaji 2005: 220). Illiteracy has decreased from over 90% of the population to 56.1% in 2009 (World Factbook 2013). However, as even these positive figures show, there is much more progress that can be made. Currently,

female enrollment is 50% of that of males (Ennaji 2005: 220), and only 43.9% of the female population is literate (World Factbook 2013). Only 30% of students who start primary school graduate with their baccalaureate (Ennaji 2005: 220), and only 1% of primary school pupils finish university studies, partly due to high drop-out rates in universities\(^5\) (Ennaji 2005: 37). The number of students who repeat at least one year is high as well: Laroui puts the baccalaureate rate at 13%, and claims that 10 out of every 13 students who earn a baccalaureate repeat at least one year to do so (2011: 108). Because of the persistently low rates of literacy, enrollment (particularly in rural areas), and graduation, there has been much discussion over the effectiveness of the policy of Arabization.

In addition to these troubling statistics, some insist that the combination of Arabization at the primary and secondary school level and the persistent focus on French at the university level has resulted in a generation of students who lack fluency in either language. An article from the newspaper Liberation, quoted by Laroui, claims that a “large evaluation effected in June 2008 revealed what all the world knows: young students master neither Arabic nor French, are incapable of writing in either of the two languages, and their vocabulary is poor” (Laroui 2011: 108, emphasis his, translation mine). While this claim is very difficult to evaluate, it is commonly made. Many blame the bilingual education system or the policy of Arabization for the perceived lack of competency of students in both French and Modern Standard Arabic.

3.5.1 Controversy over the Mixed University System

The fact that some subjects are taught in Modern Standard Arabic in secondary school but in French at the university level has led to much discussion. Students often feel that they are

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\(^5\) Ennaji cites a 16.3% drop out rate for the year 1999-2000 in the English Department of the Faculty of Letters in Fes.
disadvantaged by the Arabization policy, but opinion is split over whether the solution is to Arabize the university system or to teach some subjects in French at the secondary school level.

The school year 1990-1991 marked the entrance into university of the first generation of students who had been educated in a completely Arabized school system. There were several student protests and strikes, most notably at the University of Fez, over the lack of preparation that the students had received to study sciences in French (Ennaji 2005: 189). Mouhssine reports that so many students from this first Arabized year enrolled in humanities and social sciences that the universities refused to accept any more students in these departments the next year.

Students reported that they felt their level of French, coming from the Arabized system, was too poor to enable them to study French-taught subjects at the university level, particularly subjects like the sciences that use specific, technical terminology which they had been taught in Arabic, not French (Mouhssine 1995: 59). Mouhssine goes on to say that “the majority of students interviewed, 110 out of 147, found that the politic of Arabization in school is a veritable failure, [and] the incoherence of the school system[,] like the non-continuance of the language of instruction, constitutes for them the reasons of the failure” (Mouhssine 1995: 59). Both Laroui (2011: 108) and Ennaji (2005: 37) confirm that students are forced to transfer to the humanities or Arabic-taught social sciences because their French skills are not sufficient. Hammond quotes one student who studied under the Arabized system as saying, “We [A]rabicized students find ourselves of inferior scholastic levels compared to others who study in French. This even leads others to mistreat us…. We have problems using French texts for physics and mathematics and our training is thus incomplete…. Our future is now jeopardized because of this policy of “no Arabicization”’’ (Hammond 1982: 178). Whether or not the Arabized system has lowered the quality of education for students, university students perceive that the difference in language
policy between the public school system and the university system has put them at a disadvantage.

3.5.2 Controversy over Arabization and the Job Market

Students from the Arabized system who pursue degrees in Arabic-taught subjects face further challenges after graduation. Once they graduate from university, they frequently find that their degrees simply are not worth very much, for while the public school system may be Arabized, the public life of the country is not. Jobs that call for degrees in Arabized subjects like Arabic literature, religion, and philosophy were few to begin with, and as more and more students have been forced to study in Arabic, increasing the pool of applicants, they have become even scarcer (Ennaji 2005: 102). In fact, university graduates have more trouble finding employment than their less-educated peers: in 1997, while 16.9% of the general public was unemployed, 30% of degree holders were without jobs (Alalou 2006: 414). Students with degrees in Arabic, Islamic law, history, and other Arabic-taught fields often struggle to find employment, because many jobs still require or prefer proficiency in French.

The private sector and even many areas of public administration require proficiency in French. One study conducted in 1990 found that while 47% of private sector employers wanted candidates to have a good command of Modern Standard Arabic, 65% wanted candidates to speak English and 72% desired candidates to be competent in French (Tebbaa cited in Ennaji 2005: 211). As Mouhssine comments, French remains the “the language of “bread-winning” (1995: 59). While government departments were supposed to have been Arabized alongside the school system, in reality, this has not been completed, due to lack of training materials, technical terminology, and perhaps above all, the reluctance of an older generation that was educated and
trained in French to shift the language of their occupation and at-work communication. While some departments have been successfully Arabized, students educated under the Arabized system still feel that their French-speaking peers are more desirable applicants. As one student interviewed by Hammoud commented, “My freedom of choice is extremely limited in terms of future employment, because I attend an [A]rabicized school and all government departments, ministries and private companies require knowledge of French” (1982: 178). The situation, in general, is a conundrum for businesses and government departments who would perhaps prefer a blend of the two systems, for the graduates of private French schools generally are not proficient in Modern Standard Arabic, which is useful for commerce and communication with the Middle East, while their public school peers do not have the French skills necessary for business dealings with the West (Ennaji 2005: 129). In general, the inconsistencies between the Arabized lower school system, the mixed system of higher education, and the emphasis of employers on French have led to a severe unemployment problem for university graduates.

3.5.3 Views on Bilingualism

Throughout the decades of Arabization, there has been some reluctance to completely give up the use of European languages, as the original nationalist advocates of Arabization demanded. For many, this is not a practical solution to the problem. While Arabic is unquestionably valued for its religious and cultural attributes, there has been much skepticism about its ability to compete in technological and scientific domains. In fact, the sacredalization of Arabic may contribute to the dichotomy that is drawn between it and French: by assigning to Arabic qualities of tradition, religion, and culture, the view that French is a modern, international, and technical language is strengthened. This has led to a reluctance by many Moroccans to see a complete Arabization of public life; as Bentahila observes, while there is “a feeling among the respondents
that using Arabic is somehow the right thing to do, and that there is some kind of obligation on them to uphold the value of Arabic,” nonetheless “this may not seem attractive in other respects” (1983: 151). Even the previous king of Morocco, Hassan II, seemed to feel the double tug of obligation and reluctance in the matter of Arabization, stating that “We are for Arabization. But if it is a duty, bilingualism is a necessity” (Hassan II, 1978, quoted in Mouhssine 1995: 49). The reluctance of many Moroccan policy makers to completely discontinue the use of European languages may explain the slow, incomplete, and at times wavering process of the Arabization of the public domain in Morocco.

While the goal in the nationalist and Islamist discourse of Arabization is complete Arabization of the entire public domain, including all government offices, higher education, and private sector businesses, for many Moroccans, bilingualism is a more realistic solution to the incoherency of the Moroccan educational system. Bentahila’s study of attitudes towards Arabization and bilingualism found that most respondents did not support complete Arabization (1983: 149). Mouhssine reports that while 26.5% of his student respondents were in favor of Arabization eliminating French culture from Morocco, the same students also desired the French be maintained as an “instrument of communication” (57). As Bentahila describes it, the situation is a dilemma between Arabization, which represents “the desire to reaffirm the national identity, of which the indigenous language or languages may naturally be considered one of the salient markers”, and “the need for contact with the Western world, the source of specialized materials, knowledge and expertise which such countries need, and to which the language of the colonizers usually provides convenient access”; as he concludes, “the ideal of throwing off all links with the colonial past must be balanced against the very practical value of a continued use

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6 This “instrumental” use of French is interesting, because it is exactly the attitude towards French that the anti-assimilationist French colonial administrators sought to cultivate with their “leçons des choses”.
of the colonizers’ language” (1983: 166). While rhetoric of Arabization is often popular because of its appeals to patriotism, anti-colonialism, and religious loyalty, the bilingual elite is often hesitant to commit fully to Arabization because of the prestige their own language skills carry in a bilingual system.

Interestingly, the Moroccan monarchy is a prime example of this privileged bilingual class. The statements that the kings of Morocco have made in the past have sometimes been more circumspect in calling for linguistic changes than the more fervent members of Parliament and ministers of the Istiqlal party (Virasolvit 2005: 44). In a statement in 1988, for instance, Hassan II seemed to lash out at the more outspoken advocates of complete Arabization, saying, “I consider that those who don’t stop calling for arabization are not yet liberated, because their spirit is still burdened with an inferiority complex. The fact that I speak French- and I would like to speak other languages- doesn’t signify that I am still under the French Protectorate” (Hassan II, quoted in L’Opinion 1988, quoted in Mouhssine 1995: 49). Elsewhere he has sought to bolster the authenticity of the bilingual discourse by ascribing an element of religious obedience to multilingualism, proclaiming that “If we are content to live solely in the cadre of our world, we have in reality betrayed the ideal of Islam, which is a universal religion. Our genius thus must be deployed also in the synthesis of our own civilization. The perfect knowledge of foreign languages will permit the enrichment of our Arab-Muslim patrimony” (Hassan II in Mouhssine 1995: 49). It is no wonder, considering the tight control that the Moroccan monarchy has always had over public policy, that a full Arabization of public domains has never yet been implemented.

There are other interest groups that are against complete Arabization as well. Arabization has long been seen as an enemy by those who advocate for mother tongue education, most
significantly, the Tamazight activists. Many Tamazight activists have allied themselves with the French language in opposition to greater use of Arabic, which, as the dominant language in the country, is the most threatening to Tamazight. This alliance between Tamazight and French is also strengthened by the fact that some Tamazight activists rely on a Western discourse of universal rights in order to justify their movement, which leads to the use of a Western language in order to solidify ties and facilitate communication with other international movements for indigenous rights. In general, Tamazight activists who subscribe to this ideology fear that diminishing the use of French will lead Morocco to emphasize its ties with the Middle East over its ties with Europe, and, to some extent, other French-speaking African countries. One Amazigh member of Parliament remarked that “We are for Arabization and defend Arabic as the language of Islam and of national unity. But .... [w]e also think that [Arabic/French] bilingualism is necessary... because if we adopt monolingualism [Arabic only], we will lose our vertical cultural relations [with Europe and France]” (Benmamoun 2001: 103). The policy of Arabization is also of concern for a small but perhaps growing number of Moroccan Arabic advocates, who argue that education in the mother tongue is the most effective.

3.5.4 Controversy over Diglossia

Others attribute the flaws in the education system to the diglossic situation that exists between Moroccan Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic. Kaye explicitly attributes the continuing success of French on the linguistic market to the conflict between the high variety and the low variety; she writes: “French rule imposed literacy as a condition of progress and access to power, and in this confusion of Arabics French was and is always available as the nearest unproblematic written language” (1990: 26). Larouxi concurs that the Arabic diglossia creates difficulties, claiming that authors turn to French to avoid having to choose between the two varieties of
Arabic, one unwritten, one artificially formal (2011: 133). The difficulty in the fact that students must learn a second language in order to learn reading and writing has been mentioned in connection with the persistently low literacy rates. Kaye criticizes the situation harshly, writing that “the debate over language policy is nothing but a sideshow which diverts attention from the fact that both languages are in fact inaccessible to the majority, as is the power that they represent. To speak an unwritten language is to be denied not only the power of the written word but power itself” (Kaye 1990: 23).

With this view in mind, some activists have begun pushing for a transition to native language instruction, at least at the primary level, and for greater acceptance of Moroccan Arabic in the public arena, even in written media. These goals seem difficult to achieve, in light of the strong public opinion that MSA is more valuable than MA, the religious ties to MSA, and the way that MSA facilitates communication with other Arabic countries. The novelist Taha Hussein describes the difficulty involved in discarding MSA: “The reasons advanced [for keeping MSA] are diverse, but they turn on the same argument: darija is not a “real” language, French is not “our” language, we use both for practical reasons, but it is necessary to maintain classical Arabic as the official language of the country because it is the only “real language” that is really ours---even if we don’t use it” (quoted in Laroui 2011: 126, translation mine). While acceptance of the use of Moroccan Arabic in official functions seems a far-off possibility, the ambivalence felt towards the diglossic divide between the Arabics of Morocco is an important component in the complex linguistic situation of Morocco and adds to the difficulty in dictating language policy in the Moroccan educational system.

3.5.5 Classism
The dissatisfaction that some students feel with the Arabized school system also has a class factor. Rural students and lower class students tend to be disadvantaged by the Arabized public school system and the mixed university system, because they do not have the same exposure to French in their daily lives that upper class and urban students do, and because they are unable to attend private schools that prioritize French instruction. In addition, many students from rural public schools study on four-year governmental scholarships which they will lose if they fail an exam or have to repeat a year. These students, who often lack proficiency in French, find themselves unable to study French-taught subjects such as science and math, because they cannot take extra time to improve their French skills or risk jeopardizing their scholarships through a poor examination score (Bourn 2008: 218). These students are often forced to earn degrees in Arabic studies or literature, degrees which are becoming increasingly worthless as the market is saturated.

As many authors have pointed out, the same elite who advocate and legislate for the Arabization of the public school system often send their own children to French language private schools. While Marley states somewhat neutrally that “the elites “promote[d] Arabization from virtuous ideological motives,” but made sure that their own children learned French out of the belief that “French continues to be necessary for social and professional success” (2005: 29), other authors portray the elite more negatively; Hammoud, for instance, reports that “several

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Bourn’s article includes interviews with former rural university students, many of whom express bitterness towards the elite class that, in their eyes, satisfied its moral ideology by imposing Arabization on rural schools while shielding its own children from the consequences on the new language policies. One interviewee, Abdurrahman, comments:

They told us that Arabization is the core of who we are as a nation; [while] we learned Arabic, they sent their children to American, French, British, and German language centers. They encouraged and implemented an Arabization of the whole educational system after independence. We learned sciences in Arabic only to realize that we cannot fit in a national and global competitive educational system. They sent their children to private schools and European universities. Our literacy was largely in Arabic; we had no command of French and English. We finished our degrees largely in Islamic studies and geography...Our families celebrated our success for a few weeks before they realized that we could not get jobs (2008: 216).
Moroccan analysts of the educational and sociolinguistic scene applaud GrandGuillaume’s suggestion [that Arabization is oppressive], arguing that the four principles---Universalization, Unification, Arabicization, and Moroccanization---upon which educational policy is based have been mere manipulative slogans” (Hammoud 1982: 158). Ennaji finds the behavior of the elites hypocritical, and seems to suggest that they should simply stop advocating for Arabization altogether: “While Berber activists and Islamists fervently defend the Berber cultural identity and the Muslim and Arabic roots respectively in order to reduce the effects of Western hegemony, most of them send their children to French-style schools to acquire a modern type of education. By contrast, Francophone urban intellectuals argue openly that French and Western values are good for the future of Morocco” (29). In the end, whether the elite have consciously or unconsciously Arabized public school system in order to enforce class separatism, the reality is that many students suffer from the inconsistencies in the language policy of the Moroccan educational system.
4 Tamazight

The Tamazight movement is one of the most interesting forces shaping the linguistic landscape of Morocco today. In order to understand the complexity of the Tamazight issue, it is necessary to understand a little of the history of the movement. In this chapter, we outline major events in the Tamazight movement and discuss its current outlook in order to provide a better understanding of the many factors that influence the language beliefs of native Tamazight students and their peers.

4.1 Ancient history

Tamazight, an Afro-Asiatic language, is the indigenous language of Morocco. Morocco has experienced several waves of conquest and settlement that introduced new languages. Morocco was a Roman colony for a period of time, as well as a trading post for Phoenician sailors and travelers from Saharan Africa. While Latin was used in official functions in major cities and Roman settlements, after the end of the Roman period it quickly fell into disuse.  

Arabic arrived on Morocco’s linguistic scene during the Arab invasion of the eighth century. While mass conversion to Islam took place at that time, the Arabic language was only adopted in cities and some coastal areas (Ennaji 2005: 10). The spread of Arabic to the rural parts of Morocco occurred towards the middle of the 11th century, when a second and larger wave of Arab immigration occurred. Instead of the sedentary urbanites who had settled earlier, this group consisted of Egyptian nomads who integrated into the Amazigh tribes and thus exerted greater influence upon them (Ennaji 2005: 10). The final wave of Arabization took place in the 15th century, when large numbers of Andalusians settled in Moroccan cities after fleeing

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8 For more in-depth survey of ancient Amazigh history from the perspective of an Amazigh activist, see Chafik 2005.
the Christian conquest of Spain (Laroui 2011: 14). For centuries, however, a stable bilingualism between Tamazight and Arabic existed, with Classical Arabic being used for religious and some administrative functions, Moroccan Arabic in everyday life in urban areas, and Tamazight in rural areas.

4.2 Colonial period

As discussed in the previous chapter, the French colonial regime sought to separate the Amazighe population from the Arab population in order to keep the Amazighe population, thought by the French to be racially purer, from the corrupting influences of Islam and, by association, the Arabic language. The infamous Berber dahir created massive protests and led the nationalist movement to suppress differences between the Amazighe and Arab populations in the name of national unity. As El Bourkadi states, “Tamazight words were [...] perceived as symbols of the division of Moroccan society. Explicitly, then, Arabic was opposed to French, but implicitly, it was also opposed to Tamazight” (2006: 10, translation mine). The French division of Morocco between Tamazight speakers and Arabic speakers had devastating consequences for the Tamazight language.

In general, the colonial period created an upheaval in the linguistic hierarchy of Morocco, with European languages entering the situation and Arabic becoming a symbol of national unity. The result of the shift in language values caused by the new national Arabic identity was not that Arabic gained prestige over French, but that Tamazight lost prestige in relationship to all other Moroccan languages (Hoffman 2008: 23). The negativity that the Berber dahir had created towards Amazighe identity was compounded by the pre-existing prejudices that many of the nationalist leaders held against Tamazight and Tamazight-speakers, who were perceived as rural,
ignorant, and backwards. The nationalist leaders, who were mostly urban Arabic speakers, saw the Tamazight language as a mark of rural ignorance that would be replaced by Arabic as soon as the Berbers “descend to the plains and hear Arabic spoken” (Balafrej, quoted in Segalla 2009: 232). The colonial period was also a time of economic disruption, as the economic changes caused by colonial interference, particularly in the redistribution of land, sparked an exodus of rural agricultural workers to the cities in search of new occupations that continues to this day. This movement further destabilized the balance between Tamazight and Moroccan Arabic, as rural Tamazight speakers began moving to urban areas where Moroccan Arabic was dominant.

4.3 Post-colonial period

The official policy of Arabization, and the declaration by royal decree in 1962 of Modern Standard Arabic as the official language of the country, left Tamazight with no official status and no official recognition in the post-colonial period. Indeed, El Mountassir reports that at the end of the colonial regime, when everyone was required to register their family names, Amazighe names were replaced with Arabic names (2001: 121-122). “By focusing on the unification of the populations around one language,” writes Alalou, “the ideologies of the post-independence governments created a climate of divisiveness and fear of acculturation and loss of identity among Berber communities.... One of the most telling examples... is the effort to change the names of many Berber villages and small towns to make them sound Arabic. Furthermore, lists of Arabic-sounding surnames and first names were imposed on anyone who sought to register a newborn or wished to obtain birth certificates for the first time” (2006: 415). The result, as El Mountassir says, is that “families in this region have lost their authentic names.... They have in their place the names of strangers” (2001: 122, translation mine). Because attitudes towards
Tamazight were negative, especially those of urban Arabic speakers, government officials were often outright hostile towards the Tamazight language.

Under the plans for Arabization, all governmental departments were supposed to use Arabic as the language of administration. In the case of the Justice Department, this meant that the use of Tamazight, either directly or through interpretation, that had occurred previously, was discontinued in 1964, creating difficulties for monolingual Tamazight speakers in the legal system (Hammoud 1982: 89). El Aissati wrote in 2008 that while it is not actually illegal to use Tamazight in courts, judges may discourage it as there is no protection for it under the law (2008: 46). This is just one example of the difficulties that monolingual Tamazight speakers face in dealing with an Arabized government whose administrators are often openly hostile towards Tamazight.

Teachers in rural areas are often sent unwillingly and bring with them their own biases against Tamazight-speakers. One Amazigh author reports that his primary teacher told his class, “You are not even able to speak Arabic... You are savages. How will I ever manage to civilize you when I have to start from scratch?” (Oussaid, quoted in Almasude 1998). Hoffman recounts the story of a father who complained to a teacher after being told his daughter was failing her first year of school. The teacher retorted, “How can you expect me to teach your girl Arabic when all you speak to her at home is Tashelhit?” (2008: 55). Scorn and hostility from an authority figure like a teacher towards the mother tongue of a student severely reduces the chances that that student will continue to speak his or her mother tongue, especially if the student’s parents are not educated and cannot offer examples of the mother tongue competing in the domains of education and employment. Students often choose not to continue using their mother tongue in order to escape the criticism of their teachers or peers at schools; similarly,
Tamazight speakers who seek work in cities often switch to Moroccan Arabic in order to fit in to their new environment. As one father complained, “Here, the children go to school in Arabic. The boys come back from Casablanca and they don’t speak Tashelhit. You speak it to them and they won’t speak it back” (Hoffman 2008: 56). Many men from rural villages who find work in a city come home only once a year, and their language skills in Tamazight are often poor when they return.

4.4 The Amazigh Culture Movement

4.4.1 Birth of Amazigh associations

In reaction to the negative attitudes towards Tamazight, the declining Tamazight-speaking population, and the official hostility towards Amazigh culture, Amazigh activists began forming associations to promote Amazigh culture. These cultural associations formed organically in various communities, often beginning with goals to improve education and community wellbeing at a local level. Two of the earliest of these associations were Jam‘iya al Maghribiya Libaht wa Tabadul Attaqafi, founded in 1967 (Errihani 2008: 85), and AMREC (Cornwell and Atia 2012: 264).

In the 1960s and 70s, most organizations were not explicitly political, instead focusing on cultural education and promotion. As Cornwell and Atia describe, “Amazigh activists emphasized the cultural aspects of the movement over the political. This non-confrontational tactic permits a contentious political question to be part of the Moroccan public sphere without threatening the monarchy’s legitimacy” (2012: 261). These non-confrontational tactics were

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9 A dialect of Tamazight.
especially necessary during the repressive reign of Hassan II, a time when, in light of the Western Sahara conflict, national unity and loyalty were particularly sharp issues.

4.4.2 Politicization of the Movement

Towards the mid-1970s, however, the political aspect of the movement began to develop. In 1973, Abdelkrim Khatib, leader of the “Mouvement Populaire Constitutionnel et Démocratique” sent a letter to King Hassan II asking for Tamazight to be taught in schools (Ennaji 2005: 174). In 1978, members from AMREC founded Tamaynut, the first truly political Amazigh association (Errihani 2008: 87; Cornwell and Atia 2012: 264). More associations cropped up, as well as a handful of Tamazight publications, although the government had a strict and unfavorable view of the movement.

The 1990s mark the beginning of a much more open and confrontational political movement. Members from Tamaynut founded AZETTA, which lobbies for cultural, linguistic, environmental, and political rights in issues of democracy, liberalization, and secularism (Cornwell and Atia 2012: 264). In 1994, seven activists were arrested for carrying a Tifinagh banner calling for teaching in Tamazight (Errihani 2008: 89). The government felt more and more pressure as the movement increased in number and recognition, and also as the events in the Kabyle area of Algeria increased in intensity. Like the Algerian government, the Moroccan government responded with a mixture of crackdowns and concessions. While arrests of activists and police hostility towards protests continued, in 1994, it was announced that 12 minutes of news each day would be broadcast in Tamazight (Errihani 2008: 89), and in the same year, King Hassan II even called for some teaching of Tamazight in primary school (Errihani 2008: 88), a project that would not be realized for almost a decade.
4.4.4 The Amazighe Manifesto

At the same time that the political movement was growing in the country, an international community was also developing. The expansion of information technology and the advent of the internet made communication between Amazighe communities separated by large geographic expanses possible. Tamazight-speakers in Europe and America could communicate with associations in their home countries, and many websites devoted to Amazighe culture sprang up. Most notably, in the 1996, the Amazigh World Congress met for the first time (Cornwell and Atia 2012: 264). Today, popular associations include Tilelli, Association Marocaine pour l’Echange Culturel, Ilmas, Fazaz, Bni-Nsar, Tamaynut, Numidya, Tamesna, and Tafsut (Ennaji 2005: 73).

While the growth of international Amazighe associations has been beneficial for idea and resource sharing, Ouakrime points out that “such a situation may lead to development of two communities: one ‘non-local’, elitist and possessing the know-how and financial means to develop sites which are meant to contribute to the maintenance of Tamazight, and one ‘local’, computer illiterate and unable to benefit from the advantages of the internet in terms of community building and learning the language” (2001: 66). In many ways, the same divide exists in country as well, between the educated, elite activists in the cities and their rural counterparts who may not be able to afford to encourage their children to develop Tamazight at the cost of other languages with greater economic advantages. Nonetheless, the growth of Amazighe cultural associations, both at home and abroad, has contributed greatly to the political gains achieved in recent years.
During the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, representatives from various associations began to organize and meet together more frequently. Some of these meetings led to notable documents setting forth the movement’s agenda. In 1991, a meeting of several Amazighe associations in Agadir led to the “Agadir Charter” (Errihani 2008: 88). This document called for a national institute for promoting Tamazight, a goal realized a decade later with the creation of IRCAM (Kazak 1996). In 2000, the Amazighe Manifesto, written by Mohamed Chafik, a prominent Tamazight activist, and initially signed by 229 intellectuals, set forward specific demands, including recognition of Tamazight as an official language, revision of history textbooks to include Amazigh culture, introduction of Tamazight into public schools, and promotion of its use in official domains (Chafik 2000). This Manifesto led to a May 21, 2000 meeting in Bouznika to discuss how to apply the Manifesto (Errihani 2008: 91). In 2000, Abdelkrim Khatim and Mahjoubi Aherdan, two of the founders of the Mouvement Populaire party, signed a joint statement demanding the recognition of Tamazight as an official language in the Constitution (Al-Asr of 6-12 December 2002, cited in Ennaji 2005: 174). The government and political parties began paying more attention to the Amazighe movement as well, as the growing strength of the movement could no longer be ignored.

4.4.5 The Creation of IRCAM

In the meantime, the death of King Hassan II and the ascension to the throne by Mohammed VI led to an increase in civil liberties. King Mohammed VI, interested in allying himself with Europe and America, retreated from many of the more repressive policies of his father. As part of his attempt to increase political freedom, he declared in 2001 the creation of a royal institute of Amazighe culture. In his declaration speech, he stated that “the Amazigh cultural identity belongs to all Moroccans. Its roots go back to the depth of Moroccan history, and cannot be put
at the service of political aims of whichever nature. The promotion of the Amazigh language is a
national responsibility, for no national culture can deny its historical roots” (Ennaji 2005: 171).
Mohammed VI, no doubt as part of his attempt to portray himself as a more progressive ruler
than his father, has been more tolerant of the Amazighe movement.

The Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe (IRCAM) was created by this royal
proclamation in 2002. IRCAM has seven major research departments: Language Planning;
Research and Educational Programs; Historical and Environmental Studies; Sociological and
Anthropological Studies; Artistic Studies, Literary Expressions and Audiovisual Production;
Translation, Documentation, Publishing and Communication; and Informatics Studies,
Information Systems and Communication. Its mission is “to provide His Majesty with advice
about the measures that are likely to preserve and promote the Amazigh culture in all its
expressions” (Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe 2008). It is located in Rabat.

The status of IRCAM as a royal institute has both advantages and disadvantages. It is an
academic institution “endowed with full legal competence and financial autonomy,” but it is
under the “direct authority and tutelage” of the king (Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe
2008). As a royal institute, IRCAM is very much dependent on the will of the king; however, its
royal status does grant it significant freedom from control by the Moroccan Parliament. On the
one hand, some of the activists at IRCAM with whom I spoke expressed satisfaction at the
arrangement, pointing out that the royal status protects them from the hostility that the political
parties, particularly the powerful Istiqlal party, have had towards the Amazighe movement. In
Moroccan politics, what the king requests is usually accomplished; having the king’s goodwill
towards the Amazighe movement, if sincere, is valuable.

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10 For more on why activists may welcome the king’s interference, see Saib 41.
Other activists, particularly those outside of IRCAM, fear that IRCAM is the king’s way of co-opting the Amazigh movement. In Errihani’s view, the “consultative nature of IRCAM…” irks many Berber activists, who believe that IRCAM was set up not to promote the Berber language and culture but as a way to institutionalize the Berber Movement and render it feeble and ineffective” (2008: 139). Cornwell and Atia report that “an activist at Association Imel called it merely ‘a new political policy of the regime’ and highlighted a pamphlet called “The Amazigh Option” written by seven activists and scholars who left IRCAM out of frustration with the limited space for reform” (2012: 268). The skepticism felt towards IRCAM as a state-sanctioned space for Amazigh activism reflects the natural cynicism of activists who have dealt for decades with (often underhanded and not infrequently violent) opposition from the government; it is also fairly typical of the young generation of activists in Morocco, who prefer to work outside of the political arena. As one activist interviewed by Cornwell and Atia remarked, “Inertia is also a mode of being in Morocco, where proclamations are made publicly and the application of announced redemptive measures is often missing. There is a clear disparity between public discourse and practical application of reforms where Imazighen are concerned” (2012: 268). Doubt about the efficacy of the political process in general in Morocco is common, and the criticism of IRCAM’s status is natural considering the historical patterns of appeasing reform movements with paper reforms that are never enacted.

4.4.6 1999 Charter for Educational Reform

As discussed briefly in the previous chapter, a National Charter for Education was published in 1999. While some outside experts saw progress for the Amazigh movement in the Charter (Marley, for instance, characterizes the Charter as providing for an “openness to Tamazight” (2005: 31), most activists did not. Indeed, according to one of my consultants in the Tamazight
activist movement, the Charter is even referred to as the “Black Charter” (Lahoucine Amouzay, personal communication).

The Charter only makes three possible references to Tamazight, which is no doubt one of the reasons that Amazigh activists were frustrated by Charter, as it is a lengthy document. The first section states that at some future time, universities might teach the Tamazight language and Amazighe culture (Ennaji 2005: 218). The second mention is a little less clear: Errihani reports that the Charter says that the educational system “respects and reveres the ancestral identity of the nation” (2008: 105). This is an ambiguous reference: considering the historical position of the Moroccan government, which has been to focus only on the Arabic ancestral identity of the nation, many Amazighe activists do not consider that this section refers to Tamazight. However, this section could be interpreted as a positive reference to Amazighe culture.

On the other hand, the last reference to Tamazight in the Charter is direct. Article 115 declares that “regional pedagogical authorities shall be able to choose… to use the Amazigh language or any local dialect, in order to facilitate the learning of the official language at preschool and at the first stage of primary school” (Charter). While at first glance this may seem like progress, Amazighe activists are working to have Tamazight taught or even used as the language of instruction in public schools. These activists were insulted to find that the only concession made towards them, labeled as openness by the document, was the use of Tamazight to help teach Arabic (Errihani 2008: 116). Essentially, the Charter declares that the only place for Tamazight in the educational system is in promoting Arabization.

However, despite the negative reactions of many Amazighe activists to the Charter, the Charter does explicitly mention Tamazight as a language. This may seem like an inconsequential
detail, but the Moroccan government has in the past often refused to recognize that Tamazight is
a language, instead using the term dialect, which has negative connotations in Morocco and
inaccurately suggests that Tamazight is a form of Arabic like Moroccan Arabic. The recognition
by the Moroccan government that Tamazight is in fact a language is a small positive step taken
by the National Charter of Education.

4.4.7 The Script Controversy

Following the creation of IRCAM, a large discussion took place nationally about what script the
Amazigh movement should adopt. The decision about a script was necessitated by IRCAM’s
projects to develop textbooks and publish various educational materials and books. Three
choices were presented: Arabic script, Latin (Roman) script, or Tifinagh.

Tifinagh is the ancient Amazigh writing system. It was used in North Africa starting in
the 3rd century BC, but has not been used for several centuries in most countries, with the
exception of Northern Niger, where a variation of it is still used by the Touareg people (Errihani
2008: 154). The Tifinagh used today is based on neo-Tifinagh, which has been used in
publications since the 1960s (Ennaji 2005: 74). Even neo-Tifinagh, however, was not used much
in everyday life by those literate in Tamazight; in 1995, Boukous wrote that most Tamazight
writers use Arabic script (1995: 13), and Ennaji confirms that this is the case for personal
communications as well (2005: 74). Roman script had also been used, particularly
internationally.

In reality, though, the choice between scripts was influenced by more than convenience.
Boukous describes the choice:
Thus, in the imaginations of Berbers who are conscious of cultural issues, the Tifinagh characters, as the orthography specific to the Berbers, are invested with a mythic and symbolic worth; the Arabic characters are considered the link with the Arabo-Islamic culture and the Latin characters as the orthography adequate for opening towards universal culture\(^\text{11}\) (1995: 13, translation mine).

Proponents of the Arabic script felt that its choice would strengthen the ties between the Amazigh movement and the rest of Morocco by uniting around a single script. Islamists favored this idea, and Arabic script was seen as convenient because the public was used to using it and the technology was readily available. On the other hand, some activists felt that using Arabic script was inauthentic, that it strengthened the influence of the Arab colonization of Morocco.

Proponents of the Latin script felt that it was the choice of modernization and globalization. Latin script would cultivate the image of Tamazight as a language for the future, an important step in language revitalization. In a sense, Latin script advocates saw it as a choice that would “democratize” the language, because it would facilitate use online and with technology like cell phones (Cornwell and Atia 2012: 266). Like Arabic, Latin script has the advantage that the general public already uses it (to write French), so children in schools would not have to learn a third writing system. To many activists, using Latin script would be a way of establishing ties with international Amazigh communities as well as indigenous communities around the world. On the other hand, the choice of Latin script would leave the Amazigh community vulnerable to charges of Westernization and secularization by Islamists.

\(^{11}\) C'est ainsi que dans l'imaginaire des Berbères conscients de l'enjeu culturel, les caractères tifinaghs, en tant que graphie spécifique aux Berbères, sont investis d'une valeur mythique et symbolique; les caractères arabes sont considérés comme le lien avec le culture arabo-islamique et les caractères latins comme le graphie adéquate à l'ouverture sur la culture universelle.
Tifinagh script was seen as the most authentic choice, untainted by the non-Amazighe influences of the Arab world and Europe. It also was a compromise between the Latin and Arabic script proponents. After much debate and some prompting from the king, IRCAM opted for Tifinagh, and King Mohammed VI quickly approved the choice, declaring it the official alphabet for writing Tamazight on February 11th, 2003 (Ennaji 2005: 73). However, the choice of Tifinagh remains controversial. New technology has had to be developed in order to use Tifinagh on the internet and in printing. Opponents point out that in order to learn Tamazight in schools, children will have to learn three different scripts in elementary school. Some even suggest that the choice of Tifinagh was intentionally unhelpful, that the government burdened the Amazighe movement with a difficult script in order to insure the failure of its goals. Errihani reports that there is still opposition to Tifinagh even within IRCAM, stating that “although Tifinagh was conceived as a compromise, it is still irking many inside IRCAM (i.e. those in favor of the Arabic script) who discreetly expect, if not wish, it would eventually fail” (Errihani 2008: 158). However, it remains an open question whether the failure of Tifinagh would also mean the failure of Tamazight as a whole.

4.4.8 Teaching Tamazight

A significant step was taken by the Amazighe movement in 2003, when Tamazight was introduced into 300 public primary schools (Errihani 2008: 96). Although the scale of the project remains limited and subject to a number of constraints, it is still an accomplishment. The initial plan envisions the introduction of Tamazight into primary schools across the country, starting as a second language that is taught for three hours a week. A particularly noteworthy feature of the plan is that Tamazight will be taught in all schools, not just those in Tamazight-speaking areas. “What makes this language policy unique,” writes Errihani, “is that all school-aged Moroccan
children, regardless of their ethnic or linguistic background, are expected to learn this threatened language. The official rationale behind such a fundamentally political act is to stress that pluralism and diversity are defining traits of Moroccan culture" (2008: 123). The textbooks, developed by IRCAM, feature the three regional languages for the first year and then gradually incorporate the standardized version of Tamazight developed by the organization for the upper levels (Errihani 2008: 37). Currently, only the first three years of instruction have been implemented.

The introduction of Tamazight into the school system has not been without controversies and difficulties. For one thing, the teachers have not been given adequate training. Ostensibly for purposes of non-discrimination, the Ministry of Education will not give preference to teachers of Tamazight who are native speakers, instead relying on training all teachers. This is particularly problematic in light of the fact that only two weeks of initial training, which not all teachers could attend, were held before the first year of Tamazight instruction. Only two more training sessions were held from 2004-2005, each only three days long, and only in specific cities (Errihani 2008: 145). Errihani also found that many teachers agreed to teach Tamazight because they thought they would be compensated for the extra three hours, but this has not been the case (2008: 131-132). He goes on to list serious impediments that teachers of Tamazight face: lack of availability of textbooks (65% of teachers surveyed), lack of availability of teacher’s manuals (75%), and difficulty in using the teacher’s manual and textbooks due to lack of familiarity with Tifinagh (79%) (Hanafi 2006, cited in Errihani 2008: 121-153). There are fears that the teachers of Tamazight will become discouraged and abandon the project.

In addition, many IRCAM activists and Tamazight teachers suspect that the Ministry of Education is being deliberately unhelpful (Brahim El Guebli, personal communication). For
instance, after IRCAM developed and printed the textbooks for grade three, the Ministry stored them in a warehouse and neglected to distribute them to teachers in 2005, so that the planned implementation of year three in 2005-2006 could not proceed (Errihani 2008: 148). Indeed, the implementation of Tamazight in all schools across the country seems to have stagnated. The goal had been for the first three years of Tamazight to be implemented in every school by September 2010 (Errihani 2008: 123), but as of April 2012, Tamazight had only been introduced in about 10% of schools (Meryam Demnati, personal communication), the same percentage that Laroui reports for 2009 (2011: 72). Errihani reports that “the only region where the implementation of the “Berber” language policy seems to be going forward is the Souss region (South-West of Morocco), a predominantly wealthy Berber region, where the teaching of Berber is taken more seriously than in any other region in the country” (2008: 137). The implementation of teaching Tamazight, while an certainly a great accomplishment, has not been wholly successful, and any failure on the part of IRCAM and the Amazigh movement endangers the movement’s goals.

Another goal of the implementation of Tamazight is to create more courses at the university level for students interested in Tamazight history, culture, and language. As of 2006, only the University of Fez had introduced undergraduate courses in Amazigh studies. Both courses are offered through the English department, and the first course, a required course on culture and history, was even taught in English (Errihani 2008: 118). However, it seems that the number of classes on Tamazight and Amazigh culture is increasing. At Mohammed V University in Rabat, currently, no undergraduate major in Amazigh studies is offered, but a master’s degree in Amazigh Language and Culture is offered, while Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University in Fez offers an undergraduate major but no graduate degree. While university courses come too late to influence the language choices of young children, which are crucial to the success of
language revitalization, they may play a role in increasing the prestige of the language by recognizing it as a legitimate field of study and educating non-Amazigh students.

4.4.9 Recognition in the Constitution

During the protests and turmoil of the Arab Spring, the Amazighe movement was one of the loudest voices of the February 20th movement, as the Arab Spring movement in Morocco is known. Demands for greater acknowledgement of Amazigh rights were at the forefront of the demands of many protesters, and the Amazigh flag was a common sight in protest crowds. In the summer of 2011, King Mohammed VI called for a vote on a new constitution. Among many other reforms, the new constitution, approved in July 2011, recognized Tamazight as an official language of the Moroccan state.

As Errihani states, “the fact that Berber is acknowledged as a language that should be maintained and promoted is surely a fundamental step in the history of the Berber language and culture” (Errihani 2008: 109). However, as activists celebrated the historic accomplishment, they also questioned whether the move was another example of the Moroccan monarchy passing paper reforms in order to avoid real limits on their power. Many wondered what changes the recognition would really entail.

4.5 Current situation

The status of Tamazight appears to be in a state of transition. Tamazight teeters on the brink of mainstream acceptance and celebration, but there still remain many obstacles to overcome, both in terms of hostile attitudes towards the language and in terms of bureaucratic inertia. The next few years will be crucial in determining the future of the Tamazight movement. The current
position of Tamazight is an interesting snapshot of a language in the midst of a major shift in prestige and domains of usage.

4.5.1 Activist Attitudes

Among Tamazight activists, attitudes towards the recent developments and opinions about the future of Tamazight are far from homogenous. For a start, there is a significant divide between the urban activists, generally members of the educated elite, and their rural counterparts, who struggle to prioritize language activism over other crucial community projects, like improving access to education and reducing poverty. The urban elite, with superior access to technology, education, and material comfort, risk becoming disconnected with the rural communities, which remain the strongholds of Tamazight language preservation.

A real dilemma faces language activists who wish to preserve Tamazight, because access to education and to better-paying jobs in the cities are two major factors in the diminishing use of Tamazight. The largest demographic of monolingual Tamazight speakers is that of uneducated rural women: they are the best preservers of the Tamazight language, but it is largely poverty and lack of access to education that maintains their monolingualism (Hoffman 2008: 232). Furthermore, the standardization of Tamazight and the development of a written form of the language are effectively transferring control over the language from mostly female speakers in rural communities to educated urban activists in organizations like IRCAM. The implications of the relationship between language preservation and economic deprivation will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 9.

While the conflict between preserving Tamazight and increasing employment opportunities through learning languages of prestige is an issue that the language activism
community as a whole must grapple with, it is a particularly crucial question for individuals in rural communities. Many parents choose to value teaching their children languages of prestige like MSA or French over teaching them their native tongue, in order to give their children an advantage in the job market. Some Tamazight parents from rural areas even feel negatively towards the idea of teaching Tamazight in schools, for fear this will disadvantage their children: one speaker of Tamazight quoted in Errihani said, “in this day and age, no variety of Berber will put bread on my child’s table. They (usually referring to the state) want to teach Berber to the children of the poor in order to keep them poor” (2008: 173). Parents often feel that they must choose between preserving their cultural heritage and advancing their children’s economic prospects.

Even activists from relatively privileged backgrounds face similar quandaries about how to educate their children. Like those pro-Arabization leaders who sent their children to private French schools, many Tamazight activists from the elite publicly advocate for teaching Tamazight while educating their own children in French and MSA. Errihani reports that one former member of IRCAM commented to him that while both he and his wife are Amazigh, their children grew up in the city speaking Arabic and French. “I feel guilty for encouraging their assimilation into Moroccan culture,” he commented, “but at the same time I can’t force Berber down their throat when they are surrounded by Arabic and French… If I am not able to force my children to learn my mother tongue, why should I force non-Berbers to learn it?” (2008: 41). As Sadiqi, points out, “in a multilingual country like Morocco, women usually speak to their children in a language that they think is useful for them at school and their future careers, even in the presence of other languages that these women hold in esteem” (2008: 151). In the case of Tamazight, this means that even activists who value Tamazight often choose to educate their
children in languages that are perceived to have a more concrete value in terms of social mobility and education. This ambivalence in the activist community itself poses problems for the future of Tamazight, for if the parents who are most devoted to Tamazight are not able to pass the language onto their own children, who will?

There is also a divide in the activist community between those activists who, by working with or for IRCAM, have chosen to work within the political process, and those who remain on the outside. Activists outside of IRCAM are often very critical of the organization and its lack of progress. As Cornwell and Atia write, these activists “envision the state space of IRCAM as co-opted and read IRCAM’s failure to enact meaningful reforms as a product of hegemonic Arabization and Islamization” (Cornwell and Atia 2012: 268). Errihani even describes these activists as feeling that members of IRCAM have “betrayed the Berber cause”, while they themselves have “refused to be co-opted” (2008: 93). There is also distrust in the other direction, with activists working through the political process fearing that fringe activists will endanger the cause by appearing too extreme; Ahmed Kikich, for instance, describes a fear that some Tamazight activists are “‘chauvinists’ who seek the departure of the Arabs” (quoted in Errihani 2008: 95). While Tamazight activists are united by their desire to promote the status of the Tamazight language, they use different means to achieve this end.

4.5.2 Public Opinion

If the positions of the activists themselves are various, public opinion towards the movement is even more mixed. Certainly, there have been several high-profile symbols of acceptance of Tamazight in the past decade; certainly, there remains strong hostility to the movement in many
quarters; but have attitudes towards the language really evolved? Ennaji thinks they have, writing that:

“Attitudes towards Berber have known a positive evolution along the scale: neutral (1970s), tolerant (1980s) and favourable (1990s). As a result of this positive change, most officials and non-officials have used Berber as a tool for the democratisation and laicisation of the country, and for sensitising people of the advantages of multilingualism and multiculturalism. The youth have begun to accept their Berber identity and to reconcile with their origins and cultural authenticity” (2005: 183).

Other authors, however, caution that the state’s symbolic accommodations to Tamazight activists’ demands should not be taken too seriously. Errihani reminds us that “many polities confer official status on minority languages not because it is a human and linguistic right, not for reasons of efficiency but for political pressures either from insides or outside the polity” (2008: 2). Saib describes the difficulty in gathering support for the movement from the political parties currently in power in her work, explaining why activists may welcome the king’s interference and look for protection from him (2001: 41). In presenting the results of our own fieldwork in Rabat, we delve more deeply into the variety of attitudes that Moroccans from different backgrounds hold about Tamazight.
5 Methods

5.1 Overview

The remainder of this work is based on fieldwork conducted at the Agdal branch of Mohammed V University in Rabat in the months of April and May of 2012. The results come from 89 surveys collected from students with diverse backgrounds studying there. The surveys were available in French, Modern Standard Arabic, and English, and students were instructed to take the survey in any language or combination of languages that they desired. While most students chose to fill them out immediately and could ask questions while doing so, others chose to take the surveys to class or home and brought them back later that day or the next day. On average, each survey took 45 minutes to complete.

5.2 Survey format

The survey questions were a mixture of open-ended free response questions and structured questions asking students to rate options on a numerical scale. We selected this approach in order to get responses that could be compared easily by gender, hometown, native language, and other demographic categories, as well as responses that expressed the complexity of each individual’s attitudes towards language.

Surveys were available in English, French, and Modern Standard Arabic. French and Modern Standard Arabic were selected because they are the most common written languages in Morocco, since neither Tamazight nor Moroccan Arabic are written frequently, and English was included because it did not require translation. We translated the survey into French, with editing by native speakers, and the survey was translated from English into Modern Standard Arabic by Kawtar Elalaoui, a native Arabic speaker and English Linguistics major at Mohammed V
University. An effort was made to provide a Tamazight version, but due to time constraints this was not realized, although it would have been largely a symbolic gesture as most native Tamazight speakers cannot read Tifinagh. Students were encouraged to respond in whichever language or mixture of languages they preferred. The majority of students chose to take the survey in the language in which they were studying at the university, meaning, for example, that English majors generally chose to take the survey in English even though they may not be entirely fluent in it. A number of students also chose to read the survey in one language and write in another, generally a language like French or English that they thought would be easier for the researchers to read.

5.3 Location

Mohammed V is the largest and oldest public university in Morocco, with branches in several major cities, as well as two in Rabat (Agdal and Souissi). Surveys were collected at all three main campuses of the Agdal branch: the Faculty of Letters and Humanities, the Faculty of Law, Economics, and Social Sciences, and the Faculty of Science. The majority of responses were collected at the Faculty of Letters and Humanities, which represents the most disciplines, and was of particular interest because of the diversity of languages studied and the interest of the students in language issues. Disciplines at the Faculty of Law, Economics, and Social Sciences are divided between those taught in French and those taught in MSA, while all disciplines at the Faculty of Science are taught in French. Students from these Faculties give the perspective of students who are not focusing on language in their studies.

This location was ideal because of the diversity of students drawn to Mohammed V from across the country, the wide variety of disciplines being studied, and the prestige of the
university. We chose to survey university students instead of younger students because they are the group most likely to shape language policy in Morocco in the next generation. What these students believe about language is important because it is their attitudes that will determine which approaches towards language are adopted by schools, businesses, and the government in the future. University students proved a good choice for other reasons as well: every student studying at the University is literate (a serious consideration in a country with a literacy rate below 60%), familiar with question formats, and capable of reading and writing either French or Modern Standard Arabic well enough to study in it. This group also had a very high participation rate, in part because many students intend to conduct research themselves in the future.

5.4 Respondent demographics

Students were not selected to fill quotas of specific demographic categories, but attempts were made to get significant amounts of surveys from students studying subjects taught in French and from students studying subjects taught in MSA. Because of personal connections to our translator, Kawtar Elalaoui, a disproportionate number of results are from students studying English, which has been taken into account in the data analysis. Only results from native Moroccan students who had been educated entirely in country are included.

40 female students and 49 male students participated in our study. The following chart shows the majors of students by gender:
Table 1: Majors of Respondents by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>French</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Religion / philosophy</th>
<th>Other humanities</th>
<th>Social science</th>
<th>Natural science</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of females</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of females</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of males</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>38.8%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of males</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1: Majors of Respondents by Gender

As can be seen above, the students in each major are not balanced by gender. The French majors in our study are predominantly female, while the social sciences and Arabic-taught subjects have more male majors. Another important note is that due to the small number of Arabic majors, statistics for Arabic majors in the remainder of the paper include religion and philosophy majors, who study entirely in Modern Standard Arabic, as well as Arabic majors. Statistics given for religion majors in later sections, however, include only philosophy and religion majors, not Arabic majors, as these statistics are mostly given in hopes of examining factors of religiosity and religious conservatism, not the use of Arabic as the language of instruction.

We also had unequal numbers of respondents from different regions, as can be seen from the chart below:

Table 2: Home Region of Respondents by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>South</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Far north</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of females</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>95.0%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of females</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of males</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
<td>65.3%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of males</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2: Home Region of Respondents by Gender
As expected, the majority of our respondents grew up in urban areas in or near Rabat. However, a significant portion of our male respondents grew up in the south of the country. The fact that none of our female respondents are from the south is not surprising; it is very rare for female students to be able to travel far from home to continue their studies. Although the fact that all of our southern respondents are male poses a problem in discerning between gender and regional differences, it is not unrepresentative of the population of students being studied.

The fact that fewer female students are able to travel from other regions to study in Rabat also creates uneven gender representations in the languages that students spoke before entering school. The majority of our native Tamazight speakers, and all of our native Hassaniya speakers, are from the south, as some of the largest Tamazight-speaking communities are in this region. Consequently, our study had fewer female Tamazight and Hassaniya speakers than we might have desired.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MA</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Tamazight</th>
<th>Hassaniya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of females</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of females</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of males</td>
<td>67.3%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of males</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3: Native Languages of Respondents by Gender

In addition, more of our respondents who spoke French before starting school are female. This may be the effect of a class imbalance in the genders: as can be seen from the chart below, more students who attended private schools are female as well.
Figure 4: Private School Attendance of Respondents by Gender

We have attempted to take these demographic differences into account when drawing conclusions from the results of this study.

5.5 Translation

Translation of the French survey results was done by the author, while translation of the Arabic survey results was done with the help of Brahim El Guebli, professor of Arabic at Swarthmore College.

Due to the fact that many students chose to respond to the survey in a language which they are still learning, many responses, particularly in English, had grammatical mistakes. We felt that presenting these mistakes without correction would not do justice to the intelligence and competence of the students who participated in this study. All participants are highly educated and fluent in multiple languages; it is our feeling that the fact that many students chose to challenge themselves by responding in the language that they have begun learning most recently should not cause readers of this work to judge their language skills or intelligence poorly. In order to ensure that the education and skill of our respondents is portrayed accurately, light
editing for grammaticality and spelling, indicated by brackets, has been done in the responses quoted in following chapters.

5.6 A Note on Arabic

As discussed in the first chapter, students do not always distinguish between Modern Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic in their responses, particularly when they are writing in English or French. This makes interpreting their responses difficult at times. However, the intended language can sometimes be determined by the context in which it is used: for instance, it is safe to assume that unless otherwise specified, students mean to indicate Modern Standard Arabic when they use the generic term Arabic in the context of education, because the use of Moroccan Arabic in this setting would be significantly out of the ordinary enough to merit direct comment. In general, then, in context of formal situations like education and the national language, the use of the generic term Arabic is interpreted to mean Modern Standard Arabic. Further discussion of this issue of interpretation is included where necessary in following chapters.

Questions in the survey that ask about specific languages use the specific terms Modern Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic, so responses to these questions can be interpreted without difficulty.
6 Attitudes

In this chapter, we look at the general attitudes towards language held by our respondents. We begin by examining the self-reported competency of students in the six languages that this study focuses on in order to establish how familiar students are with each language. Next, we discuss how students perceive speakers of each of the six languages, and how students feel that they are perceived by others when speaking each language. This section seeks to examine basic language attitudes and to evaluate the prestige of each language. The last two sections address students’ perceptions of trends in language usage by looking at what languages students feel are being used more frequently and what languages students feel will be used in Morocco in the future. These questions seek to explore how language attitudes are changing and how students think about language utility in the long term.

6.1 Speaking and Reading Competency

In order to understand students’ language usage, respondents were asked to evaluate their own competency in reading and writing the six languages that the study focuses on. Self-evaluation of language skills is fraught with problems: in particular, Marley notes in her study that Moroccan students may underrate their own skills in French and Modern Standard Arabic due to “awareness that they do not master either language as well as they feel they could or should” (2005: 34). However, these questions serve to give a rough estimate of how comfortable the students are with English, Modern Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, Spanish, French, and Tamazight.

Students were asked to rate their ability to speak the six languages on the following scale:

1 = I am fluent in this language
2 = I can converse easily in this language
3 = I can make myself understood but with some difficulty
4 = I know some words or phrase but cannot communicate well
5 = I don’t know this language at all.

To evaluate reading ability, students were asked to rate their reading skills in each language on the following scale:

1 = I can read literature without much effort
2 = I can read the newspaper easily
3 = I can only read simple things
4 = I recognize words and phrases but cannot understand the meaning of most passages
5 = I cannot read this language at all.

Response rates for each language ranged from 75-85%, with the exception of Moroccan Arabic, which will be discussed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Speaking Competency</th>
<th>Reading Competency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Score 1-5</td>
<td>St.Dev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td>1.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamazight</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>1.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5: Speaking and Reading Competencies

6.1.1 Moroccan Arabic

Students rate their skill in speaking Moroccan Arabic the highest. This is unsurprising, as Moroccan Arabic is the first language for most students and the language of informal
Most students rate themselves a 1 in speaking Moroccan Arabic, although students in Arabic-taught fields rate themselves higher than their peers: all Arabic and religion majors report speaking Moroccan Arabic at a 1 level, while other students rate themselves an average of 1.07 (t-test 0.045). Surprisingly, native Tamazight speakers also claim to speak Moroccan Arabic better than their peers, rating their skills a 1 on average, while their peers score a 1.06 (t-test 0.04). Native Tamazight speakers, then, despite the fact that they did not have as much exposure to Moroccan Arabic before school, speak it fluently. While no explanation for why they speak Moroccan Arabic better than their peers presents itself, the fact that they speak Moroccan Arabic well fits the trend that Tamazight speakers in urban areas master Moroccan Arabic. The students who feel less competent in Moroccan Arabic than their peers do not seem to have a unifying demographic feature.

Students also report reading Moroccan Arabic better than any other language. On average, students rate themselves a 1.32 in reading Moroccan Arabic. This is an extremely surprising result, given that written materials and publications in Moroccan Arabic are rare. However, only 71.91% of students answered this question, somewhat lower than the response rates for other languages. More students may have chosen to leave this question blank because they do not recognize Moroccan Arabic as a language for writing and reading; one student scored Moroccan Arabic a 5 and wrote below that there is “no reading in darija”, with lines underneath for emphasis. This is the response one might expect, given the low status of Moroccan Arabic and the infrequency of its use in written media. Indeed, it is surprising that more Arabic majors, who have generally been thought to hold negative views towards Moroccan Arabic, did not react similarly. Contrary to our expectations, most Arabic majors did not seem to find answering this question difficult, and Arabic majors rated their MA reading skills on
average higher than their peers, with an average score of 1 compared to 1.4 for other majors (t-test 0.004). The fact that so few students found difficulty in rating their reading skills in Moroccan Arabic is unexpected, and may indicate a growing acceptance of Moroccan Arabic in written domains.

6.1.2 Modern Standard Arabic

Students also rate their competency in Modern Standard Arabic highly, at a 1.53 on average. Arabic and religion majors, as expected, speak Modern Standard Arabic the best, at a score of 1.08, while other majors score a 1.72 (t-test 0.001). French majors rate their competency in Modern Standard Arabic lower than their peers, although not significantly so: their average score is 2.45, while other majors score 1.45 (t-test 0.09). Interestingly, native Tamazight speakers, perhaps because of their disproportionate representation among Arabic majors, score themselves at 1.14, higher than their peers, who score 1.74 on average (t-test 0.01). The fact that native Tamazight speakers are more fluent in both Moroccan Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic than their peers is interesting. While it may seem counterintuitive, given that these students began learning both forms of Arabic at a later age than their peers, it is most likely due to bilingual Moroccan education system. Because these Tamazight speakers are mostly from rural areas, they also have less exposure to French than their urban peers, which means that when they reach university, they are often unable to study French-taught subjects, and end up studying Arabic literature or religion. These native Tamazight speakers improve their command of Modern Standard Arabic at university at the cost of not learning European languages like French and English, which are often in demand on the job market.
Students also rate their MSA reading skills highly, at an average score of 1.48. Some surprising demographic differences are present in the results, however. Once again, religion majors score themselves more highly (1 for majors, 1.54 for non-majors; t-test 0.0003), as do native Tamazight speakers, at 1.14 versus 1.58 for their peers (t-test 0.05). Respondents from the south of the country also rate themselves more highly, at 1 versus 1.47 for respondents from other parts of the country (t 0.0004). These results may be explained by the fact that the majority of respondents from the south (61.5%) study social sciences, which are taught partly in Modern Standard Arabic and partly in French. No southerners are French majors, and only 15.4% study English.

6.1.3 French

Students rated themselves fairly highly in French speaking skills, on average 1.97, between fluency and ability to converse easily. There is a significant class divide in competency in French, however: students who attended private school report their skill at a 1.28 score, while students who attended public schools rate themselves a 2.28 on average (t-test 3.4 x 10^-06). As usual, female private school attendees are more proficient in French than their peers, scoring a 1.2 on average, while private school men score a 1.38. Public school females score a 2.17 (t-test between females 0.0002), while public school men rate themselves the lowest, at 2.37 (t-test between males 0.008). Predictably, French majors rate themselves more highly than their peers, at 1.27, versus 2.17 for non-majors (t-test 0.01). The fact that students who attended private schools or who study French at the university level are more capable in speaking French than their peers is unsurprising.
Students also rate their competency in reading French fairly highly, at an average score of 2.06, indicating that they can read the newspaper easily, but perhaps struggle with literature. There are significant class and gender differences in these results as well. Women read French better than men, and female private school students read French better than female public school students. Women rate themselves at a 1.78 on average, while men rate themselves a 2.28 (t-test 0.03). Private school attendees rate themselves a 1.43, while public school attendees rate themselves only a 2.21 (t-test 0.0005). Female private school students rate themselves 1.19, while public school females rate themselves only a 2 (t-test 0.001). Male private school students rate themselves a 1.71, while male public school attendees rate themselves the lowest of any group, at 2.36 (t-test 0.08). Once again, French majors rate themselves almost an entire point higher than their peers, with an average of 1.28 versus 2.22 (t-test 6.84 x 10^{-5}). At average scores of 2.69, Arabic and religion majors rate lower than non-Arabic majors at 1.95 (t-test 0.01). It is interesting to note, however, that no demographic difference between native Tamazight speakers and others or respondents from the south and others is apparent; if the reason that students from rural Morocco and native Tamazight speakers major in Arabic in disproportionate numbers is that they lack the French skills to major in the natural sciences and other French-taught subjects, then respondents in these demographics might be expected to rate themselves as less competent in French than their peers. However, no such difference is present in these results.

6.1.4 English

Students rate their skill in English as a 2.32, between conversing easily and being able to make themselves understood with some difficulty. While this score is lower than French, it is still fairly close, considering that French is taught from early primary school and English is not introduced until late middle or early high school. Students have much more exposure to French,
so it is surprising that they rate their competencies in English and French so near to each other. Marley's results showed a stronger contrast between English and French, with 70.5% of her students indicating that they speak French and only 31.4% indicating that they speak English. However, Marley's respondents were secondary school students, so it is possible that the additional exposure to English that students received at the university level improved their skills and narrowed the gap between English and French.

While no significant class or gender difference exists in the results about English competency, there are differences between the majors. Predictably, English majors speak English much better than their peers, with an average score of 1.45 compared to 2.91 for non-majors (t-test $5.5 \times 10^{-10}$). Religion and Arabic majors speak English worse than their peers, as with French: Arabic and religion majors scored themselves 3 on average, while other majors scored 2.19 (t-test 0.03). However, science majors also scored significantly lower in English than their peers, even lower than religion or Arabic majors. Science majors rated their competency at 3.29, while non-majors scored an average of 2.23 (t-test 0.009). On the one hand, this result is so surprising, given that science majors study exclusively in French. On the other hand, the dominance of English within the global scientific community suggests that science majors might find it useful to study English, an idea expressed by students in response to the question of what the language of instruction in science classes should be, discussed in a later section.

Students' reading competencies in English did not show as much variance as their speaking competency. On average, respondents rated their ability to read English at 2.14, close to being able to read the newspaper easily. No significant demographic differences were present.

6.1.5 Tamazight
Students rated their ability to speak Tamazight as very poor. On average, students scored themselves a 3.89 in speaking Tamazight, equivalent to being able to recognize words and phrases without the ability to communicate well. This number is somewhat misleading, however, because it reflects the result of averaging a small number of very high scores with a majority of lower scores. Native Tamazight speakers rate themselves on average a 1, while other respondents averaged a 4.26 (t-test $4.4 \times 10^{-32}$). This indicates that students are not learning Tamazight: students who are raised in Tamazight-speaking households maintain their knowledge of the language, while students who are not raised speaking Tamazight never learn the language. These results are both promising and worrying for Tamazight activists, for while students from non-Tamazight-speaking households are not learning the language, students from Tamazight-speaking households are retaining the language.

Even fewer students report reading Tamazight well. The average score for reading competency in Tamazight was 4.63, between recognizing some words and phrases and not being able to read the language at all. Native Tamazight speakers, scoring 3 on average, report being able to read simple things, while their peers score a 4.87 non (t-test 0.09). Again, fewer women read Tamazight than men, with scores of 4.97 and 4.35 respectively (t-test 0.01). Fewer private school students read Tamazight, with private school attendees rating 4.92 and public school attendees rating 4.54 (t-test 0.04), no doubt a result of the fact that few of our native Tamazight speakers attended private school. No science majors read Tamazight (5 majors, 4.58 non-majors; t-test 0.006). The group of respondents that speaks and reads Tamazight the best are male public school students, because this demographic group has the highest percentage of native Tamazight-speaking students. The fact that very few students can read Tamazight is unsurprising, considering the newness of the Tifinagh script; indeed, the most surprising aspect of the
responses to this question are that five students report reading Tamazight fluently (scores of 1). These students are too old to have been taught Tifinagh in elementary school, and are not majoring in Tamazight or Amazigh culture, so they must have learned the script on their own, or be reading Tamazight material in Arabic or Latin script. Despite the fact that very few students can read Tamazight, it is almost an encouraging sign for the Tamazight movement, given the recent standardization of the language, that a handful of students report reading Tamazight fluently.

6.1.6 Spanish

In general, students did not display much familiarity with Spanish. The average score for speaking Spanish was 4.09, indicating that students recognize words and phrases, but cannot communicate in the language. Private school attendees speak Spanish slightly better, with an average score of 3.78, versus 4.42 for public school attendees (t-test 0.03). French majors speak Spanish slightly better, at 3.64, than their peers, at 4.28 (t-test 0.03). At an average of 4.82, Arabic majors speak Spanish slightly worse than their peers, who score 4.07 (t-test 0.003). The average score for reading competency in Spanish was 4.27, indicating that students recognize only words and phrases. There were no significant demographic differences in responses to reading competency in Spanish. Very few students in our study group know Spanish well.

6.1.7 Summary

Marley felt that her results supported theories that the bilingual education system leads to students attaining medium competency in both languages instead of fluency in one. She cites a document from the Ministry of Education in 2000 that describes Moroccan students as “increasingly ‘nilingue’ (non-lingual) as they do not have an adequate grasp of either Arabic, the
national language, or French, the first foreign language” (Marley 2005: 34). Our results, on the other hand, suggest that students feel confident in Modern Standard Arabic and French, in addition, of course, to native languages like Tamazight and Moroccan Arabic, and in some cases, second foreign languages like English. While Marley’s secondary students lack confidence in their language skills, the students that succeed in entering university seem confident in their skills in both MSA and French. In many ways, our respondents represent the students who made it: these are the rural Tamazight speakers who attained higher education, and the public students who achieved enough mastery of Modern Standard Arabic or French to study at university. Thus, these students cannot be seen as representative of an entire generation of Moroccan students, but merely of those who succeeded in attaining the highest levels of education. As the students who have been in the educational system the longest, they are the most aware of the obstacles at every level that they have overcome, yet they represent what has worked in the educational system, not what has failed. We had expected to find that students from rural backgrounds, native Tamazight speakers, and public school students faced significant disadvantages in terms of language competency, particularly in French; however, our results supported this theory only in a qualified way. In order to fully understand and evaluate the Moroccan educational system, further work must be done to learn from the students who were not able to achieve the same high level of education as the students in this study.

6.2 Perceptions of Language Speakers

In their responses to direct questions about how much they value certain languages, some students exhibited hesitancy when expressing views that might be seen as prejudiced or intolerant. For instance, in response to questions about whether Tamazight should be used more in school and in general, students sometimes prefaced negative remarks with apologies; one
student wrote in response to a question asking their opinion of Tamazight in general, "I'm sorry I don't like it, but I love Amazigh people". Students may feel pressured to express moderate views instead of their own beliefs about language in order not to appear intolerant. To address this issue, students were asked the question, "How do others perceive you when you use the following languages?". It was our hope that placing the student in the position of the speaker, rather than in that of the judge, would make it easier for students to be honest about negative language attitudes that they observe, because they themselves do not need to admit to holding these views. A potential disadvantage to this question, however, is that students who do not speak some of the languages will have difficulty in answering this question. Indeed, the response rates to this question for certain languages are low. While response rates for Moroccan Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, French, and English range from 76 to 80%, the response rate for Tamazight was 70.1% and the response rate for Spanish was 66.3%. As most participants in this study do not speak Tamazight or Spanish, many of the students who answered this question were imagining what reactions other people would have if they spoke these languages, just as we hoped they would. Students were asked to rate the perceptions of others when they speak MA, MSA, French, Tamazight, Spanish, and English on the following five-point scale: 1 = Positively, 2 = A little positively, 3 = Neutral, 4 = A little negatively, 5 = Negatively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>How do others perceive you when you speak it?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Avg. Score 1-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>2.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamazight</td>
<td>3.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>3.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2.1 French

Students felt that they would be perceived the most positively when speaking French. French received an average score of 1.63, indicating that students feel that French speakers are viewed very positively. As usual, there are significant class and gender differences in the responses about French. Women feel that they are viewed more positively than men, with respective scores of 1.45 and 1.92 (t-test 0.04). This lends support to Sadiqi’s theory that women who speak French are viewed positively by men, and that knowledge of French is an especially important attribute for women. Students who attended private school, rating French a 1.35, indicate that they think that French is more important than their public school peers, who rate French a 1.82 (t-test 0.03). Private school women indicate the strongest belief that they are perceived positively when speaking French: all 8 who answered this question scored it a 1. Their female public school peers also rate French more highly than either group of men, with an average score of 1.62 (t-test 0.002). No significant difference was present between public and private school males. The difference between the groups of women is interesting, because one might expect that public school students, likely to be less confident French speakers than their private school peers, might be more aware of the advantages that knowledge of French confers, because they themselves do not receive these benefits. On the other hand, public school students might feel that they are not perceived as positively when they speak French because their French is not as proficient; while public school students may not have mastered French as well as their private school peers, the fact that French is a mandatory subject and used as the language of instruction for many classes
at the university level makes these students highly aware of their own inadequacies in the language.

6.2.2 Moroccan Arabic

Students rate Moroccan Arabic almost as highly as French, at an average of 1.67. This is interesting, because it is evidence of the kind of “covert prestige” that Marley writes about (2005: 39). Moroccan Arabic, particularly spoken with certain regional accents, signifies that the speaker belongs to the community. As Errihani writes, “speaking Darija with the right accent can play a major role in determining one’s social class; it is a sort of cultural and symbolic capital that cannot be achieved through education or access to economic resources; it is innate and therefore cannot be naturally acquired” (2008: 68). For instance, having an accent from Fez marks the speaker as a member of the cultivated urban society of that city; similarly, a rural accent is often seen as an indication that the speaker lacks urban refinement. There are no demographic differences in responses to this question, indicating that students are in close agreement over the positive perception of Moroccan Arabic speakers.

6.2.3 English

Students indicated that speaking English is also perceived very positively. The average score for English was 1.79, closely following French and Moroccan Arabic. No significant demographic differences were present in results, although public school students were slightly more likely to feel that they were perceived positively when speaking English than their private school peers.

6.2.4 Modern Standard Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic received a lower average score than French, English, and Moroccan Arabic. Students responded that they are perceived somewhat positively when speaking Modern
Standard Arabic, with an average score of 2.18. This is surprising, considering that Modern Standard Arabic is the prestigious variety of Arabic. Modern Standard Arabic has a position of prestige in terms of its use in education, administration, and religion, so it is surprising that students do not feel that they are perceived very positively when speaking Modern Standard Arabic. There were no significant demographic differences in responses to Modern Standard Arabic.

6.2.5 Spanish

Students reported that others viewed them neutrally when they were speaking Spanish, answering 3.07 on average. Few respondents speak Spanish frequently or fluently, and few students are from regions in which Spanish is commonly spoken. However, the group of students from the south of the country, where Spanish is spoken more commonly, but where Spanish is also tainted by the colonial legacy, generally felt that they were perceived less positively when speaking Spanish. Their average score was 3.78, more towards slightly negative perceptions, while the average response for students from other regions was 2.96, closer to neutral (t-test 0.05). The fact that students from the south tend to think that they are perceived negatively indicates that negative views towards Spanish are more prevalent in areas previously under Spanish colonial control.

6.2.6 Tamazight

Students felt that they were perceived the most negatively when speaking Tamazight. They answer on average that perceptions are between neutral and somewhat negative, with a score of 3.43. Religion majors feel that they are perceived more negatively, with an average score of 4.29, compared to 3.31 for other majors (t-test 0.04). This is interesting, because while religion majors are generally more conservative, among our respondents, a higher proportion of native
Tamazight speakers are religion majors. This lower score may indicate that religion majors do not value Tamazight, that the people in the environment of religion majors tend to be more hostile to Tamazight, or that religion majors, as Tamazight speakers, are more sensitive to negative perceptions of their mother tongue. All three hypotheses are viable, and some combination of the three may be influencing responses to this question.

There is also a class difference. Public school students feel that perceptions of Tamazight are more positive than private school students do, with scores of 3.3 and 4 respectively (t-test 0.04). This is probably due to the fact that private school students in our study mostly came from urban areas, where speaking Tamazight is less common. While individual students might hesitate to admit that they do not value Tamazight, the majority of students believe that the general public does not perceive Tamazight positively. The success of the Tamazight movement depends on its ability to change public opinion about Tamazight in order to encourage young speakers to continue using the language.

6.2.7 Summary

In general, these results indicate that Moroccan Arabic has a surprisingly high level of prestige. Moroccan Arabic, as the language that marks inclusion into the community, is felt to be equal to or more important than languages of education (Modern Standard Arabic and French) and international languages (English, French, Spanish, Modern Standard Arabic). On the other hand, although Tamazight is a language of Moroccan culture and belonging and thus similar to Moroccan Arabic, urban youth do not feel that it is perceived positively in the same way. These results also indicate that French and English are perceived very similarly, despite their very different histories in Morocco, and despite the privileged position of French in education and administration, while Spanish is perceived much more negatively, particularly in regions
formerly under Spanish colonial control. The individual attitudes towards each of these languages will be explored in greater depth in following chapters.

6.3 Importance of Languages

In order to gauge students’ attitudes towards the six languages that the study focuses on, students were asked how important they feel each language is and how important others feel each language is. The first question is meant to elicit the individual’s feelings towards each language, while the second question seeks to measure language attitudes in general in Morocco. While these results, considered individually, are interesting, comparing results to the two questions presents some significant differences, which indicate ways in which the educated youth think they differ from the rest of the country. These differences may point to ways in which perceptions of language will change in the next few decades, as this generation of university students takes up positions of influence around the country.

Students were asked to rate how important each language is to them and to others on a five-point scale, where 1 indicates Very important, 2 indicates Somewhat important, 3 indicates Neutral, 4 indicates Hardly Important, and 5 indicates Not important. Response rates ranged from 79% to 88% for these questions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>How important do you think it is?</th>
<th>How important do others think it is?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Avg. Score 1-5</td>
<td>St.Dev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamazight</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>0.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6: Importance of Languages to Self and Others
6.3.1 English and French

Students answered that English and French are equally important to them, with respective scores of 1.35 and 1.36. Despite the fact that French and English rate so closely together when students are assessing their own value for the two languages, students felt that French was much more important to others than English. While English is rated the most important language for the individual students, it is only the fourth-most important language for the general public. English receives a score of 1.99, much lower than the 1.46 average for French. This may indicate that the youth place more importance on English than the rest of Moroccan society. This would support Buckner’s 2011 findings that young people feel that English is increasingly important in Morocco. Her study found that 88.68% of English majors and 67.39% of other majors believed that English was more important now than in the past (2011: 240). This indicates that the use of English may increase in the future, potentially to the point that it will replace the use of French in some domains.

However, there are significant class and gender differences in our results, as French is more popular with women and with students who attended private school. The class difference is most noticeable between male respondents, for while private school males rate French a 1.11 when asked how important they think French is, public school men rate it a 1.63 (t-test 0.009). The gap between private school females and public school females is not significant, with private school females scoring French an average of 1.09 and public school females 1.22. Male public students feel that French is less important than any of their peer groups do. While no significant class and gender differences appear in students’ responses to how important English is to them, women describe English as slightly more important to others than men do, with scores of 1.73 and 2.21 respectively (t 0.07). These class and gender divisions about French were present in
responses to most of the questions in our study, while English shows no gender division in the responses to most questions, and at times an opposite class divide (where public school attendees value English more highly than private school attendees).

Another division is apparent between students from the south of the country and from the rest of the country. Students from the south generally felt that French was less important than their peers from other regions; they gave French an average score of 2.1, while other respondents average a 1.26 (t-test 0.04). Students from the south are likely to have poorer French skills than their urban peers, who have more opportunities to use French in daily life. On the other hand, native Tamazight speakers valued French more and English less than their peers. Native Tamazight speakers rated French a 1.13 and English a 2.88, while other students rated them 1.49 and 1.86 respectively (t-tests 0.04 and 0.05 respectively). While some Tamazight speakers in the past have used French as a way to gain communicative power while circumventing the Arabization of the country, for instance, by sending their children to French private schools, this is a trend generally associated with the elite Tamazight speakers in the cities, who can afford such measures. It is interesting that Tamazight speakers in our study perceive that French is valued highly, since the majority of them come from the south, and southern students exhibit a trend in the opposite direction. This indicates that Tamazight speakers from the south have significantly different attitudes than other students from the south. The fact that they value English less highly is most likely influenced by the fact that almost no native Tamazight speakers in our sample are English majors.

6.3.2 Moroccan Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic

The next two most important languages as ranked by students were Moroccan Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic. Students rate MSA and MA at 1.67 and 1.81 respectively when asked
how important they feel these languages are; however, when asked how important others feel that these languages are, the ordering of the languages flips, with MSA receiving a 1.97 and MA a 1.58. This is interesting, because it indicates that the “covert prestige” that MA had for students in Marley’s study is not limited to the student population; respondents believe that the general populace values MA even more highly than they do. While on the one hand, it may seem unsurprising that educated youth feel that the general populace perceives more covert prestige in Moroccan Arabic, given that the general populace has less competency in more prestigious languages, Marley reasoned that students feel covert prestige in Moroccan Arabic because the confusion of the bilingual education system has made them feel incompetent in all other languages. Thus, Marley predicted that students would feel that Moroccan Arabic has more covert prestige than the general populace would because students are acutely aware of their own gaps in their competencies in other languages. Our results, on the other hand, show that university students, in contrast to Marley’s respondents, do not feel that Moroccan Arabic is the only language that they have mastered, and feel that the general public values Moroccan Arabic even more highly than they do.

Predictably, Arabic and religion majors value Modern Standard Arabic more highly than their peers, with scores of 1.18, versus 1.78 for other majors (t-tests 0.003). Native Tamazight speakers also rate the importance of MSA in others’ opinions more highly than their peers, at 1.43, versus 2.02 (t-test 0.03). While this is initially surprising, more Tamazight speakers are religion and Arabic majors, and students who study in a particular language are generally more likely to rate its importance highly. Due to the small sample size of Tamazight speakers in non-Arabic taught majors among our respondents, we are unable to determine whether non-Arabic majoring native Tamazight speakers would rate MSA higher than their peers.
Arabic and religion majors rate Moroccan Arabic as more important to them than their peers in other majors do. Arabic majors give MA a score of 1.09, compared to 1.92 for other majors (t-test $1 \times 10^{-5}$). Religion majors also feel that others perceive Moroccan Arabic as more important: every one of them gave it a score of 1, while the average score for non-majors was 1.66 (t-test $1.74 \times 10^{-06}$). These results are surprising, considering the reputation that Arabic majors have for conservatism about Moroccan Arabic.

Two other findings merit discussion, although they are not statistically significant. Native Tamazight speakers and respondents from the south of the country rate the importance of Moroccan Arabic to them lower than their peers. Tamazight speakers rate it a 2.38, while their peers rate it a 1.76 (t-test 0.24); respondents from the south rate it a 2.4, versus 1.73 for respondents from other parts of the country (t-test 0.16). These results, if true, are interesting because they show that native Tamazight speakers and respondents from the south, despite majoring in disproportionate numbers in Arabic-taught subjects, do sometimes have very different opinions than the rest of their fellow majors. It is particularly interesting that native Tamazight speakers value Modern Standard Arabic so much more than they value Moroccan Arabic. While Tamazight speakers may feel that Modern Standard Arabic is important because of its use in education, as Tamazight-speaking children sometimes struggle when entering primary school, Moroccan Arabic, as discussed elsewhere, is also an important form of social capital that cannot be replaced by knowledge of French. While European languages like French are seen as a threat to MSA, and thus as possible replacements, no other language can be used in the domains of MA in non-Tamazight-speaking populations. It is strange that MSA, which can arguably be replaced with French in many domains, is seen as more important than MA, which cannot; however, perhaps French is not a viable option for these respondents, as they are also
more likely to come from regions with less exposure to French, while Modern Standard Arabic is necessary for secondary education and non-French taught subjects at university.

6.3.3 Spanish

Students consider that Spanish is not a highly important language, either to themselves or to others. They give it a score of 2.92 in their own opinion and a 3.07 in the opinions of others. While the difference is not statistically significant, respondents from the south feel that others perceive Spanish as less important; they rate it a 4, while their peers from other regions rate it a 3.31 (t-test 0.11). This supports the trend that Spanish is less popular in the south than in areas of Moroccan that were not under the colonial control of Spain.

6.3.4 Tamazight

In general, students did not consider Tamazight important to themselves or to others. Tamazight was the lowest-scoring language in both categories, with an average score of 3.45 for students’ own opinions and 3.50 for others’ opinions. Native Tamazight speakers felt that Tamazight was much more important to them than other students, with scores of 2.00 and 3.69 respectively (t-test 0.001). While no other significant demographic differences were present in students’ own views of the importance of Tamazight, there were several in the perceptions of others’ views of Tamazight. Women felt that others’ viewed Tamazight as less useful than men did, with scores of 3.82 and 3.24 respectively (t-test 0.04). This gender difference was especially noticeable between private school females and private school males: the former group scored Tamazight a 3.80 in the opinions of others, while the latter scored it a 2.63 (t-test 0.02). Both private and public school females scored perceptions of Tamazight similarly. In general, students do not feel that Tamazight is important to them, and they perceive that others do not feel that Tamazight is important either.
6.3.5 Summary

In general, students report that French and English are the most important languages to them. While French is also felt to be valued by others, English is not perceived to have as much value to the general population. Moroccan Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic were also felt to be important both to students and to others. These four languages had fairly close ratings of importance, although some demographic differences, like the popularity of French among private school females, were present. Tamazight and Spanish, on the other hand, are not perceived as valuable by students or by the general population.

6.4 Growing Languages

In order to determine how students perceived the popularity of languages, students were asked the open-ended question, “Do you think the use of certain languages is growing? If so, what languages?”. While students’ judgments are based on their own perceptions, not on whether languages are in some objective sense being used more frequently, their responses are nonetheless interesting. If people perceive that the use of a particular language is growing, this perception may cause them to value the language more highly. In this sense, the results may indicate which languages will grow in popularity or use in the future, as well as what languages people already feel are being used more and more. 83.51% of students responded to this question, of whom 4.11% of students responded that they did not think any languages were growing in use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>What languages are growing in use? %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>8.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>38.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamazight</td>
<td>10.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>20.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>67.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>5.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>5.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>8.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>4.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>2.74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7: What Languages are Growing in Use?

6.4.1 English

The most popular response by far was English, with 67.12% of respondents believing that the use of English is growing. No gender or class differences were present in the percentage of students who describing the use of English as increasing. Some speakers noted that English is especially growing among youth, and one student wrote that English is “the language of our contemporary time and a world language”. Another respondent comments that English is growing even faster than French, while a different student notes that although French is still used more frequently, English is the next most popular language.

6.4.2 French

The next most popular response, as foreshadowed by these comments, was French, with 38.36% of responses. Indeed, students seem to feel that French and English are in some way rivals, as they frequently draw comparisons between the two in their responses. While the respondents above noted that English is growing faster than French, other students emphasized that French is still more popular than English. This suggests that English is seen as fulfilling the same needs as French, and that as the use of English grows, it may invade domains in which French has traditionally been used, such as education, business, and administration. In other words, these students feel that French and English occupy similar niches.
English majors are less likely to see the use of French as increasing, as only 17.86% of English majors say French, while 53.49% of non-majors do (t-test 0.001). These results are somewhat unsurprising, as students who are invested in a language are more likely to notice that it is increasing, and students who choose to study English might have chosen their area of study because they perceived that English rather than French would be useful. However, one demographic that does not fit this pattern is that Arabic majors perceived French as growing more than their peers. 72.73% of Arabic majors thought that French was growing, while only 33.33% of non-majors did (t-test 0.02). That majors of another language should perceive French as growing cannot be explained in the same way as the results above; however, it may be that Arabic majors who felt that they lacked the French skills to study another subjects are especially sensitive to the importance of French and thus perceive that the use of French is growing.

6.4.3 Spanish

The next most popular response was Spanish, which was listed by 20.55% of respondents. This is surprising in light of the fact that Spanish was not popular in responses to what languages are important. Female private school students felt that Spanish was growing in greater numbers than their peers. 45.45% of private school females answered Spanish, while no private school males did (t-test 0.02). However, similar rates of female and male public school students answered Spanish, with 13.79% and 18.75% of responses respectively. No explanation for the greater popularity of Spanish among female private school attendees presents itself.

6.4.4 Tamazight

Tamazight was perceived to be increasing by 10.96% of respondents. This is a modestly encouraging sign for the Tamazight movement. Native Tamazight speakers perceive the use of
Tamazight as increasing at an insignificantly higher rate than their peers: 37.5% of speakers responded Tamazight, versus 8.62% of non-speakers (t-test 0.2). While no gender or class difference was apparent, no Arabic majors perceived the use of Tamazight to be increasing, while 13.11% of other majors did (t 0.004). This is interesting, because while Arabic majors are generally seen to be conservative and hostile to the Tamazight movement, many of the Arabic majors in this study come from Tamazight-speaking regions. The trend of students from rural areas with less exposure to French finding themselves forced into Arabic-taught majors has led to a significant portion of Tamazight-speaking students majoring in the departments that are most ideologically opposed to the Tamazight movement.

6.4.5 Modern Standard Arabic

8.22% of respondents answered that Modern Standard Arabic is increasing and 5.48% of respondents answered that Arabic in general is increasing. This question is one in which some students used the generic term for Arabic, while others specified Modern Standard Arabic. As no respondents listed Moroccan Arabic as a language that is increasing, the generic use of Arabic should probably be interpreted to mean Modern Standard Arabic. No class or gender differences were apparent in Arabic responses; however, Arabic and religion majors were much more likely to perceive Arabic as increasing. 40% of Arabic majors gave MSA as an increasing language, versus only 3.28% of non-majors (t-test 0.05). It is interesting that no respondents felt that Moroccan Arabic is increasing in use, considering its spread in rural, traditionally Tamazight-speaking communities. Perhaps these respondents, currently living in urban areas around Rabat, are insulated from this trend.

6.4.5 Other Languages
Many students listed Asian languages among the languages that they perceived as increasing in use. 8.22% of respondents answered Chinese, 4.11% answered Japanese, and 2.74% answered Korean. While these languages do not currently have a significant presence in Morocco, they are studied at the university level.

In addition, 5.48% of students responded that German is increasingly spoken. This is a surprisingly low figure, given that German is introduced at the same level in high school as Spanish, and Mohammed V University has a significant German program. However, although German has a presence in the educational system, German media is not widely available in the country, in contrast to Spanish, which is commonly used in music, TV, and movies popular in Morocco.

6.4.6 Summary

The most significant result from this question is that the majority of students feel that English is increasing in use in Morocco. This supports Buckner’s 2011 findings as well. The fact that students feel English is growing in use in the country indicates that students may feel that it is an important language to learn in the future, that it is likely to become more and more practical, and even that it may begin to encroach upon French’s usage in certain domains. However, a significant portion of students also feel that French is increasing in use in the country, despite the claims discussed in Chapter 2 that French proficiency and opportunities for French usage have decreased since the Arabization in the 1980s. The fact that students feel that French, English, and Spanish are increasing in usage suggests that students feel European languages are growing in importance. A tenth of the respondents felt that Tamazight is increasing in use, which is a modestly hopeful finding for the Tamazight movement. It is understandable why this number is
moderately low, for while the use of Tamazight in official functions, like education and
government offices, has greatly increased in the last decade, its usage by the youth from
traditionally Tamazight-speaking communities continues to diminish. In addition, students feel
that several world languages that have little presence in Morocco currently are increasingly used,
most notably the Asian languages taught at Mohammed V University and German.

6.5 Language of the Future

In our conversations with students, several used the phrase “language of the future” to describe
different languages. The phrase seems to capture the idea of language that is growing in
usefulness, is relevant to the modern world, and necessary for the future. In order to approach
this idea of what languages students envision as languages of the future, we asked two questions:
“What language/languages do you think most Moroccans will speak in the future?” and “What
languages do you think it is important for children to learn?”. The responses to these questions
suggest what languages respondents feel are necessary for the future, indicating that these
languages will grow in popularity and use. Both questions were free response questions. 86.5%
of respondents answered the first question and 94.4% answered the second.

6.5.1 Languages Spoken in the Future

Responses to the question of what languages Moroccans will speak in the future were incredibly
varied. Students listed combinations of sixteen languages. Because this question focused
explicitly on what languages Moroccans will speak, responses are indications of what languages
are growing in importance in Morocco, not the world in general; however, the variety of
responses is also evidence of the hopeful, ambitious attitudes that students hold about their
country and the ability of their fellow Moroccans to learn new languages. For instance, one
student replied that Moroccans will speak “all languages because Moroccans are talented in languages.” This thought was echoed by many other students as well.

6.5.2 Results

As for the actual languages listed as future languages, English was the most popular language, with 59.74% of responses, followed by French, with 42.86%. These responses show most clearly that English is growing in Morocco, in prestige as well as usage. This is a strong indication that if trends continue, English may begin encroaching into domains in which French has traditionally been used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>What language will Moroccans use in the future? %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>10.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>5.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>42.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamazight</td>
<td>9.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>23.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>59.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>9.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>19.48</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>16.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>6.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>5.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>2.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>5.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 8: What Languages Will Moroccans Use in the Future?

Surprisingly, no class divide was present in French responses. 40.0% of private school students and 40.7% of public school students listed French as a future language. In the majority of questions, French has been much more popular with students who attended private schools,
particularly females. Even more unexpectedly, male students actually listed French more than female students, with 52.3% of male responses including French, versus only 30.3% of female responses (t-test 0.05). This is the opposite of the gender divide that we observed in every other question. These results contradict the gender and class divides that have been present thus far, and no obvious explanation presents itself for this unusual difference.

The next most popular response was Spanish, with 23.38% of responses. This is surprising, given that students indicated in previous sections that they do not consider Spanish very important and that they feel that others do not perceive speakers of Spanish positively.

As in most free response questions, some students replied with the generic term Arabic, while others specified Moroccan Arabic or Modern Standard Arabic. While this makes exact comparisons difficult, it is clear from the fact that Arabic received only 19.48% of responses, MSA 5.19%, and MA 10.39%, that Arabic is not as popular a response as French or English. It is surprising that so few students feel that Moroccans will continue to speak Arabic. When comparing these results with Buckner’s, it is interesting that while Buckner receives comparably low results when asking what languages students feel are most useful for the future (2011: 232), with rates of 3.5% and 7.4% for Arabic, 27% and 52% for French, and 89% and 65% for English, when asked what languages all Moroccans should learn, 90% of her respondents answered Arabic, and only 82% answered English. So while on the one hand, students feel that English and French, and not Arabic, are important languages for the future, they still feel that Arabic is very important in the country currently.

The next most often mentioned language in responses was Chinese, mentioned in 16.88% of responses. This is surprising, considering that the number of Moroccans who currently speak
Chinese now is not high, and that Chinese is not used in any domains of Moroccan life. However, China, as the fifth largest importer to Morocco (World Factbook 2013), is a major trading partner of Morocco, so students may be looking ahead at what languages will be useful in trade in the future.

Tamazight was listed in just less than 10% of all responses. Like the responses to many other questions, this indicates that support for Tamazight exists, but that it is not strong enough to compete with English and French. No female respondents list Tamazight at all, while 15.91% of male respondents do (t-test 0.007). Such a strong gender divide has not been present in other questions. While the difference between native Tamazight speakers and the rest of the respondents is not statistically significant, it paints an even grimmer portrait of Tamazight, with only 6.4% of non-Tamazight native speakers answering Tamazight, and 28.6% of native Tamazight speakers (t-test 0.28). This indicates that support for Tamazight is low among non-Tamazight speakers, and that there is not even a strong consensus among Tamazight speakers themselves.

The last language with significant numbers of inclusions in responses was German, with 9.09%, the same as Tamazight. Italian, Japanese, Turkish, Korean, Portuguese, Dutch, and Russian were also mentioned in responses, with percentages decreasing in order from Italian to Russian.

6.5.3 Summary

These results indicate that students feel European languages, particularly English, will be very important in Morocco in the future. The fact that so many students feel English will be spoken in the future indicates that the popularity and use of English are increasing. Students also seem to
make a distinction between languages that will be useful in the future and languages that are useful now: for instance, English is much more popular in responses to this question than French, but the two languages received similar ratings for how important students feel each language is currently. In addition, few students responded that Arabic will be spoken in the future, but students feel that both Moroccan Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic are currently important.

6.5.4 Important Languages for Children

When asked the question, “What languages are important for children to learn?”, students gave varied answers, including combinations of 11 languages in their answers. While the ranking of the languages was similar in responses to this question as in responses to the previous question, the demographic differences were more obvious here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>What languages should children learn?</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>13.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>60.71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamazight</td>
<td>16.67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>20.24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>75.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>44.05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>4.76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9: What Languages Should Children Learn?

6.5.5 Results
English and French were again the most popular responses, with 75.0% of respondents listing English and 60.7% listing French. However, both French and English were less popular with students who had attended private schools than with those who had attended public schools. 57.14% and 38.1% of private school students answered English and French respectively, versus 83.05% and 69.5% of public school students (English t-test 0.04; French t-test 0.02). While public school students are generally more in favor of English than their private school peers, it is very surprising that private school students are less in favor of teaching children French than public school students, as most other questions show the opposite class divide in responses. There was no gender divide in responses for either French or English. This is surprising as well, considering that female respondents generally favor French more strongly than their male counterparts.

The differences between majors were equally unexpected. While English majors favor English more strongly than non-majors, with 90.9% of English majors listing English, versus 63.3% of other majors (t-test 0.002), the opposite trend was present for French, with only 9.09% of French majors answering French, versus 69% of other majors (t-test 2.23 x 10^{-5}). No explanation for this difference presents itself.

Natural science majors are also more positive towards English, with 100% of natural science majors answering English, versus 36.36% of other majors (t-test 0.002). This is probably due to the fact that English is widely used in the international scientific community and in publishing scientific papers.

More respondents answered Arabic to this question than the question above, which fits into the pattern discussed of Arabic being seen as a mandatory language for now, but not
necessarily as a future language. 44.05% of respondents answered Arabic, and 13.1% answered Modern Standard Arabic. More men than women included Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic in their responses, with 69.6% of male respondents including Arabic or MSA in their responses, versus only 42.11% of female respondents (t-test 0.01). French majors are less positive towards Arabic, with only 9.09% answering Arabic and 0% answering MSA, versus 50.7% and 15.5% of other majors (Arabic t-test 0.001; MSA t-test 0.006). Respondents from the south of the country, on the other hand, answered Arabic or MSA at higher rates than their peers, with 90% of southern speakers answering one of the two compared to 50.7% other respondents from other parts of the country (t-test 0.004). Speakers from the south are more likely to speak Tamazight or Hassaniya, so this might indicate that speakers of these less prestigious languages would choose to teach their children Arabic instead. Comparisons between native Tamazight speaking respondents and their peers, while not statistically significant, support this theory: 85.7% of native Tamazight speakers answered Arabic or MSA, while only 54.4% of their peers did (t-test 0.08). If this is indeed the correct interpretation of these results, this is a worrying indication for the future of Tamazight and Hassaniya, for if parents do not choose to teach their children the language, the language will not be passed on to the next generation.

Indeed, the responses to this question in regard to Tamazight were, if better than the previous question, not strongly supportive. 16.7% of respondents included Tamazight in their responses, making it the fifth most popular language. Unlike in the previous question, men and women included Tamazight in their answers at about equal rates. Tamazight speakers were generally more likely to include Tamazight in their answers, but the difference was not statistically significant (42.9% to 13.2% of other respondents, t-test 0.2). These results indicate
that while some students feel it is important for children to learn Tamazight, the language is not high priority.

Support for Spanish was surprisingly strong in this question as in the previous question. 20.24% of respondents included Spanish in their answers. Female respondents included Spanish at higher rate than males, at 31.6% and 10.9% respectively (t-test 0.02). While the difference between private school students and public school students was not statistically significant, it suggests that private school students may view Spanish more positively: 33.3% of private school attendees and 17% of public school attendees answered Spanish (t-test 0.17). It is surprising that Spanish was such a popular response, given how little attention was paid to Spanish in responses to other questions in our study.

Other languages listed in less than 5% of responses each were Chinese, German, Italian, Japanese, and Moroccan Arabic. It is surprising that so few students listed Moroccan Arabic, although some students who listed Arabic in their answers may have been including both Moroccan Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic under the generic term. Students may also feel that children do not need to be taught Moroccan Arabic, but will simply pick it up from their environment, while other languages, like French and English, need to be paid attention.

6.5.6 Summary

While answers to the previous question showed that students feel strongly that English is the most important language for the future, answers to this question, which asks about the present, show a more balanced divide between French and English. Responses to this question are also more favorable to Modern Standard Arabic. These results indicate that while English is seen as the most important language for the future, Modern Standard Arabic and French are felt to be
very important for present day Morocco. Students distinguish between languages that will be useful and popular one day, and languages that are necessary to know now. The mother tongues, Tamazight and Moroccan Arabic, however, are largely left out of the picture altogether, whether because students feel that they do not need to be mentioned (likely in the case of Moroccan Arabic), or that they are not necessary for now or for the future (possibly in the case of Tamazight).

6.6 Conclusion

Students in our study have a high degree of competency in several languages, and value multiple languages. They perceive Moroccan Arabic very positively, more than might be expected of a language that is considered to have low prestige. Later sections will explore whether the positivity shown towards Moroccan Arabic indicates overt or covert prestige. Modern Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic are felt to be important languages in the country now, but students feel that in the long run, French and particularly English will be very important. Results to the questions discussed above indicate the English might someday overtake French in popularity, as students feel that the two are equally useful for now, but that English is preferable for the future. We also find that few of our respondents are very competent in Spanish or Tamazight, and that few see these languages as valuable or prestigious. With this basic framework of language attitudes and competency in place, we can turn to look at the use of languages in specific situations in greater detail.
7 Domains of Language Use

While the questions asked in the previous chapter serve to give a broad illustration of language attitudes and competencies, the questions discussed in the following sections examine which languages are used in particular contexts by the students in our study. In the first section of this chapter, we examine the uses of languages with new technology, in the media, and in entertainment, which are indicators of how trendy and how popular among youth languages are. Furthering the use of endangered languages in media and technology has been one of the primary approaches of language revitalization projects because it is thought to be effective at changing the attitudes that youth hold towards the language. The use of languages in formal situations like education and government, examined in the second section of this chapter, on the other hand, indicate the current prestige and institutional recognition of the language, as changing attitudes towards languages often take years to influence the usage of the language in official situations. In the last section, we turn to the use of languages in a variety of informal, everyday situations, and discuss possible implications of the patterns we find.

7.1 Language and Technology

Languages associated with technology are often characterized as contemporary and useful. These languages may receive a boost in prestige from this association with modernity and advancement. The use of languages with popular new technology, such as social networking sites and electronic communication, can indicate popularity with youth and trendiness, which in turn may indicate that the use of the languages will increase in the future. Developing media in endangered languages can help to promote the languages as suitable for modernity and to engage
youth in the revitalization of the languages. Thus, studying which languages in Morocco are most used with various media and technologies can hint at future language trends.

7.1.1 Facebook

The use of social networking sites like Facebook is extremely popular among Moroccan youth. These sites are used to communicate with friends from school and to meet young people from around the world virtually. Many students engage in online chatting, whether through Facebook or other sites. While chatting can happen in any language or mix of languages, and Facebook postings and messages often utilize a combination of languages, Facebook users must choose one language for the language setting of their account. Asking students which language setting they have chosen gives an indication of what languages they feel are best suited for online communication without the need for students to estimate how frequently they use different languages in online conversations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language of Facebook setting</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>MA</th>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Tamazight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>17.86</td>
<td>52.38</td>
<td>54.76</td>
<td>11.91</td>
<td>5.95</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>1.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 10: Facebook Language Settings

When posed the question, “If you have a Facebook account, what language setting did you choose?” 94.38% of students answered. 1.19% of students reported that they do not have a Facebook. Many students listed multiple languages, indicating that they switch their language settings. The most popular response was English, with 54.76%, closely followed by French, with 52.38%. However, the choice between French and English is largely related to the language students were studying in; the majority of English majors (represented disproportionately highly in our results) chose English, and the majority of French majors chose French. 78.13% of English majors chose English, while only 34% of other majors did so. 100% of French majors
chose French, while only 46.38% of other majors did so. This indicates that French is more popular than English, as both French majors and non-majors chose French at a higher rate than English majors and non-majors chose English.

There are also differences between French and English in regards to class and gender. Women chose French at higher rates than men, without significant differences between women who attended private and public schools. While 78.57% of female private school students chose French, only 37.5% of private school males did (t-test 0.01); this is interesting, because generally private school students prefer French at higher rates than public school students. However, 50% of public school males chose French, which, while lower than the 77.78% of public school females who chose French, is higher than the percentage of private school males who did so. The preference for French seems to be linked more closely to gender than to class. In fact, these findings support Sadiqi’s hypothesis that men look more positively on women who speak French, especially considering the importance of social networking sites in dating in Morocco. In the case of English, however, while 50% of both male and female private school attendees chose it, 22.22% of public school females and 64.71% of public school males chose it. The gender difference between public school students may indicate that women prefer French, while men prefer English.

Few students gave justifications for their choices, although a handful noted that they chose French because they are more familiar with it or because they are used to using it in school. This last response indicates a connection between pedagogical use of language and use in electronic media; students may choose to use a second language in order to practice it. The fact that language majors overwhelmingly chose the language of their studies supports this, which has interesting implications for Tamazight in light of its introduction into the school system. A
handful of students specified that they use the US English setting. Facebook allows the choice of certain dialects, including UK or US English. A better-designed question might have asked specifically about the choice of dialect, this could indicate what factors influence language selection; students study British English in school, so the use of American English may indicate that students’ language choices are more influenced by popular American media than by their studies.

While English and French were the most popular choices, a significant portion of students also indicated that they use Arabic. Unlike in many situations, however, it is difficult to tell whether students meant to indicate Modern Standard Arabic or Moroccan Arabic when they used the generic term Arabic, as 17.86% of students did. Both languages are options given by Facebook, and students who distinguished between the two languages in their responses did not select one in overwhelmingly higher numbers than the other: 11.91% of students specified that they use Moroccan Arabic, and 5.9% specified Modern Standard Arabic. The fact that our responses are split into three different Arabic categories complicates the attempt to compare responses across demographic groups. For instance, 0% of female private school students answered Arabic, while 22.22% of female public school students did so; however, 7.14% of private school females answered Moroccan Arabic, while 0% of female public school students did. No female students answered Modern Standard Arabic. In general, then, public school females use Arabic more than private school females. On the other hand, males use Arabic more than females, generally speaking: 20.83% of private school males and 17.65% of public school males responded Arabic in general, and 16.67% of private school males and 14.71% of public school males responded Moroccan Arabic. In addition, some male students gave Modern Standard Arabic as their choice: 4.17% of private school males and 11.76% of public school
males. The fact that more than a tenth of public school males use Modern Standard Arabic is surprising, as Facebook, as an informal setting, seems to fit better in the domain of Moroccan Arabic. However, students may be using Modern Standard Arabic in an attempt to appear more educated; perhaps public school males feel less comfortable with French and English, the other languages that might express erudition, and so turn to MSA instead, especially if it is already the language in which they study.

As expected, Arabic majors use Arabic in higher numbers than their peers. 42.86% of majors report using Arabic, versus only 13.24% of non-majors. 21.43% of majors gave Modern Standard Arabic, while only 2.94% of non-majors did so. Somewhat surprisingly, given the general negative attitudes of Arabic majors towards Moroccan Arabic, 35.71% of majors chose MA, versus 7.35% of non-majors. While Arabic majors generally do not favor the use of Moroccan Arabic, they may perceive Facebook as a sufficiently informal setting that Moroccan Arabic is appropriate.

Native Tamazight speakers use Arabic much less than their peers. 0% of Tamazight speakers chose Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic, while 16.42% and 5.97% of their peers chose Arabic and MSA respectively. Native Tamazight speakers and their peers chose Moroccan Arabic at about the same rate, with 12.5% and 11.9% of responses respectively.

In all, only 1.19% of respondents reported using Tamazight. This is a worrying sign for the language, because use in popular electronic media is one of the best ways of encouraging youth to use the language. Although on the one hand, it may not seem surprising that students do not use Tamazight if their intention is to meet students from other countries, on the other hand, there is a significant Tamazight internet community in which Tamazight speakers living abroad
in France, the United States, and other countries connect with each other and with Tamazight speakers in their countries of origin. The fact that native Tamazight speakers do not choose to use Tamazight indicates that they are not primarily interested in connecting with other Tamazight speakers.

Another 1.19% of respondents reported using Spanish. This result shows how little Spanish is used. While the majority of our respondents were from non-Spanish-speaking coastal areas like Rabat, Salé, and Kenitra, significant groups came from Spanish-influenced parts of Morocco, such as the far south and north of the country. The fact that so few of these students gave Spanish as their choice indicates that Spanish does not fill the same niche that French does in the rest of the country.

7.1.2 Technology and Media Domains

In order to gauge which languages are used in which domains by students, they were asked to rate how often they use French, Spanish, English, Tamazight, Modern Standard Arabic, and Moroccan Arabic in various situations. Respondents were asked to rate their usage of each language in each situation on the following scale: 1 = Very often, 2 = Often, 3 = Sometimes, 4 = Rarely, and 5 = Never. However, a significant amount of respondents simply used check marks instead of number scores. In order to include responses from these students, checkmarks were interpreted as 3s, indicating that students sometimes use the language in that domain. Response rates were low for these questions, partly due to the fact that some students simply left questions blank instead of writing in 5 to indicate that they never use the language in these domains. As percentages were calculated from students who responded and excluded students who did not respond, the percentages may be higher than they would be if students had written in 5s for every
situation in which they never use the language. Despite these flaws in the survey methodology, these results can still be used to evaluate the relative use of the six languages, as well as demographic differences in responses. These results, then, should be read not as truly indicative of how often students use each language, but rather as how often they use certain languages in comparison with others, and how often certain groups of students use languages in comparison with other groups of students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How frequently do you use each language in each domain?</th>
<th>Emails/letters</th>
<th>Text messages</th>
<th>Television</th>
<th>Music</th>
<th>Reading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>2.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>3.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>2.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamazight</td>
<td>4.93</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>4.93</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>4.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>4.88</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>4.88</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>4.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>2.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 11: Frequency of Use in Technology and Media Domains by Language

7.1.2.1 Emails and Letters

Students were asked how frequently they use each of the six languages in writing letters and in email. While students who received the survey in French and English were asked separately about what language they use to send text messages, in Modern Standard Arabic, the commonly used term, *risalat elektronia*, encompasses both email and text messages, so students taking the survey in this language had only one question. Indeed, the boundary between these two forms of communication is particularly fluid in Morocco, as some Moroccan phone companies allow
users to send free text messages online. This question seeks to elicit how frequently students use each language in informal written and electronic communications. Response rates ranged from 48-50% for Tamazight and Spanish, to 65-75% for MA, MSA, French and English.

Tamazight and Spanish were the least popular answers, which corresponds with the low response rates, since as noted above many students chose not to write in 5s to indicate that they never use certain languages. This is hardly surprising, as very few respondents speak Spanish, and relatively few speak Tamazight. Students rate Tamazight a 4.93 on average, and Spanish a 4.88. The number of students who scored either language with anything but a 5 was so low that no demographic differences in responses were noticeable.

Moroccan Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic both received middle range answers, with averages of 3.15 and 3.29 respectively. It is surprising that Modern Standard Arabic was used as frequently as Moroccan Arabic, given that emails are generally informal; however, perhaps Modern Standard Arabic is being used for business letters and more formal written communications. Students who attended private schools use MSA less frequently in emails and letters, with an average answer of 4.18, compared to 3.05 for public school attendees (t-test 0.03), perhaps because they use French in this domain instead.

Students report using French in letters and emails more than any other language, with an average score of 2.32. However, English is a close second, with an average score of 2.68. While these European languages are used more commonly in this domain, Modern Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic are not far behind. This indicates that most students use all four languages at different times. Students may also codeswitch between languages in their communications; our study did not address this possibility.
7.1.2.2 Text Messages

As discussed above, only students who took the survey in French or English had a separate question about what language they use for sending text messages. Thus, the results reported below are composites of the results for the previous question for students who took the survey in Arabic and the answers that students who took the survey in French or English gave for what language they use for sending text messages. Response rates ranged from 47-48% for Spanish and Tamazight, to 57% for MSA and 65% for MA, to 75% for English and French.

Once again, very few respondents report using Tamazight or Spanish in text messages. Tamazight received an average score of 4.93 and Spanish of 4.88. Answers indicated that MSA is also used infrequently in texting, with an average score of 3.51. This is unsurprising, given that MSA is generally used in formal communications. Private school attendees use MSA less frequently than their peers, with scores of 4.36 and 3.31 respectively (t-test 0.03).

Students reported using Moroccan Arabic and French more frequently in text messages than English. Students indicated that they use English sometimes, scoring it an average of 2.89, while they use Moroccan Arabic often to sometimes, with a score of 2.67. French was the most popular language for text messaging, with an average of 2.34. It is somewhat surprising that French is more popular than Moroccan Arabic, considering that Moroccan Arabic is used in most informal conversations, which text messages simulate. However, French may be preferred because the Roman alphabet is easier for text messaging. In fact, Moroccan students have developed a transcription of Arabic in the Roman alphabet specifically for text messaging. Students may also prefer French because of their perception that French is more permissive and

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12 See El Essawi 2011 for more discussion of this fascinating adaptation in the context of Egypt.
allows them to express ideas that they would not feel comfortable expressing in Moroccan Arabic. This theory will be discussed further in Chapter 10.

7.1.2.3 Television

More demographic differences were present in students’ responses to what languages they use when watching television than in the previous situations. Response rates for Spanish and Tamazight were around 50%, 60% for MSA, 70% for MA, and 75-80% for French and English.

Tamazight and Spanish were the least popular responses, despite the fact that television programs are widely available in both. Tamazight received an average score of 4.18, while Spanish received a score of 4.36. Men reported watching television in Tamazight more frequently than women, with scores of 3.88 and 4.55 respectively. Private school attendees watched television in Spanish more frequently than their peers, with scores of 3.85 and 4.55 respectively. There was no significant difference between male and female respondents in watching television in Spanish, which is somewhat surprising, considering the popularity of Spanish soccer teams among men\(^\text{13}\).

French, English, Moroccan Arabic, and Modern Standard Arabic were almost equally popular languages for watching television, with scores of 2.4, 2.37, 2.4, and 2.53 respectively. However, French was more popular among female respondents than male, with scores of 2.13 and 2.66 respectively (t-test 0.03), as was Moroccan Arabic, with scores of 1.93 and 2.87 respectively (t-test 0.006). It is not surprising that women report watching television in Moroccan Arabic more often than men, as many programs that are marketed towards women,

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\(^{13}\) Although many Mexican soap operas are available on Moroccan television, most of the women we talked to preferred soap operas that were dubbed in Moroccan Arabic or Middle Eastern soap operas that use some variety of Arabic.
like the most popular soap operas, are dubbed in Moroccan Arabic in the hope of reaching housewives, who have higher rates of illiteracy. Very different results were obtained in Ennaji’s 2002 study: he found that 42% of respondents reported watching television in Modern Standard Arabic, 23% in French, and only 16% in Moroccan Arabic (2005: 161). His study did not include English. The contrast between the low percentage of Ennaji’s respondents who watched television in MA and the high score that our respondents gave MA is the most dramatic. However, Ennaji did not take into account the fact that his study included more male respondents than female respondents, and, due to the fact that programming targeted towards women often uses Moroccan Arabic, his results are likely skewed by this oversight. The popularity of English television in our study is also interesting to note, as it is almost equal with French, which is surprising, considering the long history of using French in Moroccan media and the relative scarcity of English broadcasting.

7.1.2.4 Music

Students reported listening to music in all six languages. Response rates to this question ranged from 50-57% for Modern Standard Arabic, Tamazight and Spanish, to 67-80% for Moroccan Arabic, French, and English.

Tamazight was the least frequently used language, with an average score of 3.98. Spanish was also infrequently used, with a score of 3.82. These low scores are both somewhat surprising, considering that Tamazight music is frequently broadcast over the radio and on television, that many traditional music groups still sing in Tamazight, and that CDs of Spanish music, from Latin America as well as from Spain, can be found for sale on many street corners. Students who attended private school indicated that they listen to Spanish music more frequently than their
peers, with respective scores of 3.25 and 4.18 (t-test 0.01); no explanation for this difference presents itself.

Modern Standard Arabic was a fairly unpopular response, with a score of 3. Music sung in Modern Standard Arabic may be religious in nature, or it may be from other Middle Eastern countries, like Egypt or Algeria.

Students indicated that they listen to music in Moroccan Arabic relatively often, with average scores of 2.76. Women listen to music in Moroccan Arabic more often than men, with scores of 2.14 and 3.25 respectively (t-test 0.005). Moroccan Arabic is used both in traditional music, popular music, and rap.

French and English were the most popular responses, with scores of 2.21 and 2.14 respectively. The popularity of English in music indicates the popularity of songs from Britain and North America, for relatively few Moroccan artists use English, which means that students who listen to music in English are most likely listening to American or British groups. On the other hand, many Moroccan artists sing in French or codeswitch between French and Arabic, which means that students who listen to music in French may be listening to music by Moroccan artists. French is a particularly popular choice for rap music, both in Moroccan rap produced in country, and rap produced in France.

7.1.2.5 Reading

Students were asked to indicate how frequently they read in each language. This question was meant to address individual reading for pleasure, but it was not specific. Responses may therefore include reading for school and reading newspapers as well as reading books for
pleasure. Response rates were 47-49% for Tamazight, Spanish, and Moroccan Arabic, 70-73% for French and Modern Standard Arabic, and 78% for English.

Moroccan Arabic, Tamazight, and Spanish are all used infrequently by students for reading. Tamazight is almost never used, with a score of 4.98, which is not surprising, considering how recently the orthography for Tamazight was developed. Students also do not read frequently in Spanish, scoring it a 4.64, probably due to the fact that few respondents read Spanish well. Students indicate that they read in Moroccan Arabic rarely, with an average score of 4. This is also unsurprising, considering the scarcity of scarce written materials in Moroccan Arabic. It would be interesting to study what students are reading in Moroccan Arabic, as the movement to publish newspapers and novels in Moroccan Arabic is relatively recent. In Ennaji’s 2002 study, for instance, only 2% of respondents reported reading Moroccan Arabic newspapers, versus 44% for Modern Standard Arabic and 39% for French (2005: 161). Interestingly, Ennaji found that Tamazight newspapers were slightly more popular than Moroccan Arabic newspapers, as 3% of his respondents reported reading them. It is notable, therefore, that Moroccan Arabic is more popular than Tamazight amongst our respondents, for this suggests either a rise in prestige for Moroccan Arabic or a decline for Tamazight. Despite the fact that so many resources have gone into revitalizing Tamazight, particularly through developing Tifinagh and publishing materials in Tamazight, Tamazight remains unpopular for reading, while Moroccan Arabic has, in the same span of time, become more popular in this domain, even without the benefit of a comparably well-organized activism movement.

Students reported that they read in French, English, and Modern Standard Arabic often, assigning them scores of 2.17, 2.56, and 2.27 respectively. Once again, it is surprising how popular English is, considering that students learn English for much less time in school and that
English-language books and newspapers are much less readily available in country than French and Arabic materials. Here, especially, the distinction between different types of reading would have been useful, and perhaps merits further study. While the popularity of French above Modern Standard Arabic marks a change since Hammoud’s 1982 study of high school and university students, which found that 54% of respondents read for pleasure in Modern Standard Arabic, while only 35.6% read in French, Hammoud also found that students were more likely to read technical or scientific material in French than in Modern Standard Arabic (1982: 169). Without differentiations between different genres of reading, it is difficult to tell whether reading in French has become more popular since the 1980s; however, the popularity of reading in English is clearly rising and is already surprisingly high.

7.1.3 Summary

In general, then, results to these questions indicate that French and English are very popular in media, technology, and entertainment, and that the popularity of English is rivaling that of French, despite the historical significance of French and the greater accessibility of French media in the country. Modern Standard Arabic remains relatively popular in media and entertainment, particularly in state-sponsored forms such as television, and written media like books and newspapers. Moroccan Arabic is popular with informal technology such as email and text messages, and is also growing in popularity in the written domains from which it has traditionally been excluded. Tamazight is not widely used in any of these domains, despite the fact that in many cases, materials are readily available. It is particularly surprising that Tamazight music and television is not popular, considering the growth in production of such forms of entertainment in recent decades. Spanish is also not widely used in any of these domains, which, considering the fact that few respondents speak or read Spanish, is predictable.
However, the fact that Spanish music and television is used so rarely is fairly surprising, considering how readily available Spanish entertainment is in country. If these trends continue, we might expect that English might overtake French in the domains of entertainment, while growing more slowly in informal communications like text messaging, that the use of Moroccan Arabic in written forms will continue to develop, and that Tamazight will continue to struggle against the growing use and popularity of Moroccan Arabic.

7.2 Formal Domains

The questions asked about what languages students use in a variety of formal domains follow the same format as those inquiring about language use with technology and entertainment in the previous section. These results are subject to the same qualifications previously discussed; most notably, low response rates and the scoring of checkmarks as indicating that the language is sometimes used in that domain.

These questions seek to illustrate how students use language in a variety of more formal situations, including interactions with the government, within the educational system, and in dealing with professionals in everyday life.

7.2.1 Government

Students were asked what language they use when interacting with the government. This question was meant to gauge how complete the Arabization of the government has been, and what languages students use in official situations, such as going to court, talking to the police, and filing official papers. Responses ranged from 45-50% for English, Spanish, Tamazight, and Modern Standard Arabic, to 65% and 70% for French and Moroccan Arabic.
No student indicated that they use Spanish when dealing with the government. English and Tamazight were also used very rarely with the government, with scores of 4.68 and 4.72 respectively. This may support accounts of the difficulties that monolingual Tamazight speakers have when interacting with the Arabized government bureaucracy and court systems (see El Aissati 2008); on the other hand, since the students in our survey also speak Arabic, it indicates more that the government prefers certain languages over Tamazight rather than that it forbids the use of Tamazight altogether.

Students report using Moroccan Arabic sometimes when interacting with the government, answering on average 3.08. Modern Standard Arabic and French were almost equally popular responses, with respective scores of 2.89 and 2.84. These results show that while the government had planned to Arabize all departments during the 1980s, full Arabization was not, in fact, carried out. Students still utilize French as frequently as Modern Standard Arabic in their interactions with the government. Knowledge of French, as well as knowledge of Modern Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic, is still extremely useful for official functions in daily life.

### Table 11: Frequency of Use in Formal Domains by Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Class Avg. score 1-5</th>
<th>Class St.Dev</th>
<th>Written assignments for class Avg. score 1-5</th>
<th>Written assignments for class St.Dev</th>
<th>With government Avg. score 1-5</th>
<th>With government St.Dev</th>
<th>With professionals Avg. score 1-5</th>
<th>With professionals St.Dev</th>
<th>At work Avg. score 1-5</th>
<th>At work St.Dev</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>3.08</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>1.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamazight</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.84</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>4.72</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>4.72</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>4.78</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>4.94</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>4.68</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>4.68</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.2.2 Professionals
When asked what languages they use with professionals such as doctors and lawyers, students gave similar responses. Response rates for English, Spanish, and Tamazight were between 47% and 50%, 56% for Modern Standard Arabic, and 75% for French and Moroccan Arabic.

Students used Spanish, English, and Tamazight very rarely. Spanish received a score of 5, while English received a score of 4.68 and Tamazight 4.72. No private school students reported using English, while some public school students did, with scores of 5 and 4.59 respectively (t-test 0.01). This difference is interesting, for while public school students generally favor English more than their private school peers, the language used with professionals depends also upon the languages that the professionals themselves speak, not just the preferences of the student.

Respondents used Modern Standard Arabic fairly infrequently, with an average score of 3.44. This is surprising, because interactions with professionals are the type of formal situation in which the high variety in a diglossic situation is generally used. The previous question indicated that students use Modern Standard Arabic with the government, a similarly formal situation; the fact that students use Modern Standard Arabic less frequently with professionals indicates that Modern Standard Arabic is less prevalent in the private sector, where the Arabization movement has never been as strong.

French and Moroccan Arabic were the most commonly used languages with professionals. Moroccan Arabic received a score of 2.25, while French received a 2.38. Moroccan Arabic is also more popular with public school attendees, who scored it an average of 2.04, than with their private school peers, with an average score of 2.88 (t-test 0.04). Public school attendees may have weaker French skills and thus may feel more comfortable speaking Moroccan Arabic to professionals. The popularity of Moroccan Arabic in this domain is
surprising, as this is a formal situation in which the low variety of Arabic would not be expected to be used. These results indicate that Moroccan Arabic, if it is being used in formal domains as well as informal domains, may be more versatile than previously thought.

7.2.3 Work

Students were asked to rate how frequently they use each of the six languages at work. This question was difficult for many students to answer, however, because most Moroccan university students do not work while studying at university. Response rates were particularly low for this question, with rates of 42% for French and Moroccan Arabic, 37% for English, and 31-34% for Spanish, Modern Standard Arabic, and Tamazight. Because of the low response rate, no significant demographic differences were found.

Students use Tamazight and Spanish very rarely at work, with scores of 5 and 4.94 respectively. Students also indicated that they use English and Modern Standard Arabic infrequently, with scores of 3.55 and 3.61 respectively. French and Moroccan Arabic were the most popular choices, with scores of 2.13 and 2.63 respectively. It is again surprising that Moroccan Arabic is more popular than Modern Standard Arabic, as the office is a formal domain in which the high variety would generally be used. Ennaji and Hammoud both find that Modern Standard Arabic is more useful in the office than these results suggest. Indeed, Hammoud found that more students think that Modern Standard Arabic is even more useful than French in the office, with 51.2% his respondents answering that they would write a cover letter in Modern Standard, and only 44% that they would use French instead (1982: 170). Ennaji’s study found that while 31% of respondents use French in the office, 28% use Modern Standard Arabic, and only 19% reported using Moroccan Arabic (2005: 162). The contrast between these findings and the results from our study indicates that students do not value Modern Standard Arabic as highly
as before, but, contrary to the fears of those who are against French-Arabic bilingualism, it is Moroccan Arabic, not French, that is replacing Modern Standard Arabic in official domains like work and interactions with professionals and the government.

7.2.4 School

Students were asked to evaluate how frequently they use each language in class and in written assignments for class. Response rates for the first question ranged from 48% to 51% for Spanish and Tamazight, from 61% to 67% for Moroccan Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, and French, and 86% for English. Response rates for the second question ranged from 49% to 51% for Moroccan Arabic, Tamazight, and Spanish, from 61% to 69% for French and Modern Standard Arabic, and 73% for English.

Students almost never use Spanish and Tamazight in class or in written assignments. Tamazight received scores of 5 for class and 4.84 for written assignments, while Spanish received scores of 4.8 for both. This is unsurprising, as very few of our students study Spanish and none study Tamazight at the university level.

Students indicated that they use Moroccan Arabic and Modern Standard sometimes in class, although they rarely use Moroccan Arabic in written assignments. Moroccan Arabic received scores of 3.3 for class and 4.1 for written assignments, while Modern Standard Arabic received scores of 3.1 for both. Public school students reported using Moroccan Arabic in written assignments more frequently than their private school peers, with an average score of 3.9, compared to 4.9 for private school students (t-test 0.001). It is surprising that students report using Moroccan Arabic in written assignments at all, considering how Moroccan Arabic is usually considered an unwritten language.
English was the second-most frequently used language in class, most likely due to the large number of English majors within our sample. Students gave English an average score of 2.6 for class use and 2.7 for written assignments.

French was the most frequently used language in class and in written assignments, with scores of 2.3 and 2.4 for each category. That French should be used so frequently by students is unsurprising, given how many subjects are taught at the university level exclusively in French, and how even students who major in other languages, like English, continue to study French at university.

While the fact that French and English are used so frequently by students is unsurprising, given the number of respondents who study in these languages, the fact that Moroccan Arabic is used almost as frequently in class as Modern Standard Arabic is very surprising, considering that a significant portion of our respondents are majoring in Arabic-taught subjects. These findings contrast with those in Ennaji’s 2002 study, which found that only 2% of respondents described Moroccan Arabic as a school language, while 73% and 51% described Modern Standard Arabic and French as school languages (2005: 159). Only 15% of Ennaji’s respondents reported using Moroccan Arabic in school, while 36% and 22% reported using Modern Standard Arabic and French (2005: 162). This indicates either that Moroccan Arabic is used more in education than previously, or that Moroccan Arabic is used more at the university level than at the secondary level.

7.2.5 Summary
In general, our results indicate that Moroccan Arabic may be used more frequently in formal situations like interactions with the government, education, and business than previously thought. Moroccan Arabic appears to be increasing in use in formal domains in which Modern Standard
Arabic has historically been used. This may indicate an increase in prestige for Moroccan Arabic, as it assumes more communicative functions in domains in which its use has traditionally been restricted due to the perceived informality of the language.

7.3 Informal Communication

Moroccan Arabic and Tamazight are the traditional languages of informal communication within Morocco. In addition, French is used for some informal conversations, particularly between members of the upper class. In order to examine whether these patterns of are changing, students were asked to rate how often they use French, English, Moroccan Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, Spanish, and Tamazight in several informal, everyday situations. These questions followed the format of the previous domain questions discussed in 7.1, and thus should be interpreted with the same considerations previously put forward.

7.3.1 Home

The most common informal setting for conversations is the home, where students converse with their families, friends, and neighbors. Response rates for students rating how often they use these languages at home range from 51 to 56% for Modern Standard Arabic, English, Spanish, and Tamazight, 61% for French, and 87% for Moroccan Arabic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How frequently do you use each language in each domain?</th>
<th>At home</th>
<th>With friends</th>
<th>With romantic partner</th>
<th>Buying things</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>0.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>2.87</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamazight</td>
<td>3.96</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>4.53</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>4.73</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 12: Use in Informal Domains by Language
Spanish was the least commonly used language, with a score of 4.73. Students use Spanish at home very infrequently. This is unsurprising, as very few respondents speak Spanish fluently.

Students speak Tamazight infrequently in the home. With a score of 3.96, however, Tamazight is used more frequently in this domain than in any formal domains or media and technology domains. Tamazight is used more frequently by male respondents than by female respondents, with respective scores of 3.8 and 4.7 (t-test 0.02). This reflects the fact that a smaller percentage of female respondents are native Tamazight speakers.

Modern Standard Arabic is used infrequently within the home. Students rated MSA an average of 3.83. This is unsurprising, as Modern Standard Arabic is considered too formal for familiar conversations between relatives and friends.

What is surprising, however, is that English is used slightly more in the home than Modern Standard Arabic. English received an average score of 3.78, which is unexpectedly high for a language that most students begin learning in secondary school. While Modern Standard Arabic may be too formal for the intimate setting of the home, it is at least much more likely to be understood by family members and neighbors than English. English is used much more often by students who attended private schools, with average scores of 3.3, than students who attended public schools, with average scores of 4 (t-test 0.03), which points to a class divide in usage. This is probably due to the fact that upper class students are more likely to have relatives and neighbors with whom they can converse in English, as members of their households are more likely to be well-educated.

Students report that they sometimes use French in their homes. They rate French on average a 3.28. While higher than four of the other languages, this score does not indicate that
French is used frequently in the home. Both gender and class divides are present in these results. Students who attended private schools rate French a 2.5, while their public school peers rate it a 3.6 (t-test 0.001). Female students rate French on average 2.97, while male students rate it 3.63 (t-test 0.03). Female private school attendees use French the most frequently in their homes, with a score of 2.3, while female public school students rate it 3.4 (t-test 0.004). The class divide is less significant for males, as male private school students have an average score of 3.3, while male public school students score 3.8 (t-test 0.14). This suggests that females, regardless of class, use French more often in informal domains than their male peers, and that upper class students use French in their homes more frequently, probably due to the fact that they are more likely to have well-educated relatives and neighbors who are also proficient in French. These results also show more usage of French in the home than those in Ennaji’s 2002 study: he found that only 4% of his respondents reported using French in their homes14 (2005: 162). While the different formats of his question and ours makes it difficult to directly compare the responses, the fact that our respondents on average use French sometimes in the home indicates a more frequent usage of French than Ennaji found. This may suggest that the use of French in the home is increasing, or it may be due to demographic differences between our participant groups.

Moroccan Arabic is by far the most popular language of the home. It receives a score of 1.86, indicating that it is often used by students at home. This is unsurprising, given that the home is the most typical example of an informal domain in which the low variety is used in a diglossic situation. However, some gender and class differences were present. Women use Moroccan Arabic in the home more often than men, with scores of 1.6 and 2.07 respectively (t-

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14 Another 8% reported using French-Moroccan Arabic codeswitching.
test 0.04). Women who attended public schools report using Moroccan Arabic the most frequently, with a score of 1.3, compared to private school women, who score only 2.1 (t-test 0.04). Men who attended public school use Moroccan Arabic more frequently than their male private school peers as well, but not significantly more, with respective scores of 1.9 and 2.3 (t-test 0.4). While the class division makes sense in light of the fact that more private school attendees speak French at home, there is no obvious explanation for why women speak Moroccan Arabic more frequently than men, besides the fact that more men are native Tamazight speakers who report using Tamazight at home.

7.3.2 Friends

Students were also asked to rate how often they use each language with their friends. We might expect students’ language use with friends to be similar to their language use at home, as both are informal situations, but the two may differ as language choices with friends are less likely to be affected by generational differences in language usage or limitations on language competencies due to differing levels of education. Students’ use of language with their friends is more likely to be innovative and to reflect changing attitudes towards languages. Response rates to this question ranged from 49% to 55% for Spanish, Tamazight, and Modern Standard Arabic, from 70% to 71% for French and English, and 88% for Moroccan Arabic.

Spanish, Tamazight, and Modern Standard Arabic are all used infrequently with friends. Spanish was the least used, with a score of 4.8. Tamazight received a score of 4.53. Modern Standard Arabic received a score of 4.06. Tamazight is used less frequently by women than by men, with respective scores of 4.95 and 4.17 (t-test 0.01), similar to its usage in the home. It is

15 While it may seem that women are rating languages higher in general, keep in mind that men report using Tamazight more.
interesting to note that Modern Standard Arabic is used even less frequently with friends than in the home.

Students indicated that they use French and English sometimes with their friends. French received an average score of 2.87, and English received a score of 2.95. Students use both languages more frequently with their friends than at home. While French was used noticeably more frequently in the home than English, the difference between the two narrows considerably in the context of conversations with friends. Students are much more likely to use English with their friends than at home. This may be because their family members do not speak English as well as French, or it may indicate that English is growing in popularity especially among young people.

Moroccan Arabic is the most popular choice for conversations with friends, with a score of 1.84. As in the setting of the home, Moroccan Arabic is the language of choice in the informal domain of conversations with friends.

7.3.3 Shopping

Students were asked to rate how frequently they use each language when buying things in hopes of soliciting what languages are used commonly in informal interactions in public. Response rates ranged from 46% to 51% for English, Spanish, Modern Standard Arabic, and Tamazight, 55% for French, and 87% for Moroccan Arabic.

Modern Standard Arabic, English, Spanish, and Tamazight are all used infrequently by students when buying things. With a score of 4.94, Spanish is used the least often, followed by English, with a score of 4.66. Tamazight received a score of 4.56, while Modern Standard Arabic received a score of 4.11. Tamazight is used more frequently by public school attendees, with a score of 4.44, than by private school attendees, from whom it receives a score of 4.9 (t-test 0.05).
This is not surprising, considering that few respondents who attended private school are native Tamazight speakers or are from the south, where Tamazight is more widely spoken. Modern Standard Arabic is spoken more frequently by men than by women, with respective scores of 4.62 and 3.65 (t-test 0.03). The reasons for this are unclear.

Responses indicate that students sometimes use French when shopping. French received a score of 3.2.

Moroccan Arabic was by far the most commonly used language when buying things. Moroccan Arabic received a score of 1.88, indicating how common the use of Moroccan Arabic is in this informal domain, as in others.

7.3.5 Romantic Partners

In the last question about domain usage, students were asked to rate how frequently they use each language with a romantic partner. This question was included to examine the claims by Bounfour 1973 that French is the language of choice for courtship between bilingual students because it is the language of modernity and permissiveness (cited in Bentahila 1983: 30). Results are also indicative of whether there is a preference for women to speak certain languages, as Sadiqi 1995 suggests. Response rate for this question were 43-44% for Modern Standard Arabic, Tamazight, and Spanish, 62-63% for French and English, and 74% for Moroccan Arabic.

Students responded that they rarely used Spanish or Tamazight with a romantic partner. Tamazight received an average score of 4.46, while Spanish received an average score of 4.77.

English and Modern Standard Arabic are used sometimes with romantic partners. English received a score of 3.29, while Modern Standard Arabic received a score of 3.82. Modern Standard Arabic is used more by public school attendees, with an average score of 3.62, than private school attendees, with a score of 4.86 (t-test 0.001). While it is unsurprising that Modern
Standard Arabic is not frequently used in this informal setting, it is somewhat surprising that English is used much less frequently with romantic partners than with friends, given the ways that the usage of English has matched that of French in many of the other domains we have examined. While English seems to increasingly be used in a similar way to French in many domains, it seems that students do not see English as a language of romance in the same way that they see French.

French and Moroccan Arabic were the most popular responses, with scores of 2.56 and 2.29 respectively. Moroccan Arabic is used more frequently by public school attendees, with an average score of 2.11, than by private school attendees, with an average score of 2.77 (t-test 0.03). There is no significant class difference in the use of French with romantic partners. Although women use French more frequently than men, with an average of 2.2 compared to 2.87 (t-test 0.03), male private school students use French more frequently in this context than any other group, with a score of 1.75. While Moroccan Arabic is still the most-used language in this informal situation, French is the next most popularly used language with a romantic partner.

While these results support Bounfour’s observation to some extent, in that French is more popular in the domain of romance than in other informal situations, they show that Moroccan Arabic is more popular than French, even in this domain. They also do not clearly support Sadiqi’s claim that it is more desirable for women to be proficient in French, for while on average women use French more frequently with their romantic partners than men, male private school students use French with their romantic partners more frequently than any other group. French and English, despite their reputed association, as European languages, with modernity and permissiveness, are not as popular as Moroccan Arabic is in any informal domain.

7.3.5 Summary
Moroccan Arabic is clearly the dominant language in all domains of informal communication. While French is used fairly often in many informal domains, particularly with romantic partners, no language rivals Moroccan Arabic’s widespread usage in informal domains. While the results to the question on formal domains showed that Moroccan Arabic is used by students in many formal domains traditionally restricted to Modern Standard Arabic, there is no evidence that an equivalent trend is occurring with Modern Standard Arabic in informal domains. This indicates that the usage of Moroccan Arabic in general may be increasing.

7.4 Conclusion

Through examining the usage of language in specific contexts, we have been able to gain a better understanding of how students use each of these languages in their daily lives. We find that Spanish, despite its prevalence in the media, is not used frequently by any students in any domains; that Tamazight, despite the work of the activism movement to promote its use in the government and in media, is still rarely used except by native Tamazight speakers in their homes; and that Modern Standard Arabic, while still dominant in formal domains, seems to be losing ground to Moroccan Arabic in these domains without gaining ground in any informal domains. We have seen that English is competing with French in almost all domains in which French is commonly used, despite the historical prestige of French, and that English is gaining an advantage in some media and technology contexts. Most notably, we have found that Moroccan Arabic, still dominant in all areas of informal communication, is also being used in many formal settings, such as in classrooms, at work, and with professionals. Moroccan Arabic is being seen as a more versatile language than previously thought, and may continue to encroach into the traditional territory of Modern Standard Arabic while preserving its popularity in informal communication contexts as well.
8 Language Issues

In the previous chapters, we have explored general attitudes towards language and how different languages are used in different contexts in Morocco. From these general sketches of the Moroccan sociolinguistic scene, we turn to three specific issues of the ways in which views on language are constructed. First, we examine attitudes towards multilingualism. While French-Arabic bilingualism has been much discussed in the literature, much less attention has been paid to multilingualism in Morocco in the broader sense. Our study looks not just at how desirable students find multilingualism, but also at the motivations behind their assessments of the costs and benefits of multilingualism in the Moroccan context. From multilingualism, we move on to the issue of national languages. This is particularly timely discussion, given that Tamazight was recognized as an official language in the July 2011 constitution just eight months before our surveys were collected. In the last section, we examine the language of instruction in science classes, one of the most commonly discussed topics in debates around the bilingual education system. Students’ own experiences are discussed and compared along class lines before turning to what languages students desire for teaching science classes. All three issues provide perspective on what factors influence students’ decisions about language use at the national level.

8.1 Multilingualism

Much of the existing literature on language attitudes in Morocco focuses either on the Arabic multiglossia or on French-Arabic bilingualism. Bentahila 1983, for instance, surveys Moroccan bilinguals about their attitudes towards bilingualism, but focuses specifically on Arabic-French bilingualism instead of broadening the issue. While such studies are interesting, they risk flattening the complex multilingual situation in Morocco by focusing only on the relationships
between a couple of the languages spoken in Morocco. As Errihani writes, “The ability to speak Berber and MA, for instance, does not necessarily make one ‘bilingual’ in Morocco, since the term ‘bilingual’ itself has come to be identified primarily with French” (2008: 44). For this reason, our study focuses instead on multilingualism in general: whether it is desirable, for what reasons it is desirable, and who desires it the most.

8.1.1 Desire for Multilingualism

When posed the question, “Would you want your children to be multilingual?”, respondents were overwhelmingly in favor of multilingualism. 100% of respondents to this question indicated that they would want their children to be multilingual, and 97.75% of students answered this question. While these results may seem unsurprising when one considers that all literate Moroccans are multilingual, this overwhelming consensus on the value of multilingualism challenges the pro-Arabization vision of a country united by the dominance of Modern Standard Arabic. Three common themes in responses to this question were the ideas that children have a large capacity for learning languages, that Moroccans in particular are good at learning languages, and that multilingualism would open up their children’s prospects, both at home and abroad.

8.1.2 Disadvantages of Multilingualism

When asked “In what ways (if any) do you think multilingualism is a disadvantage?”, many respondents struggled to find negative effects of multilingualism. Only 76.4% of respondents answered this question, in comparison to the 93.3% that responded to the question “In what ways (if any) do you think multilingualism is an advantage?”. The large majority of respondents who answered wrote that multilingualism is not a disadvantage at all (71.0%). The next most popular
response was that multilingualism is a disadvantage if children neglect their mother tongue or culture (13.0%). 5.8% said that it was a disadvantage if “used badly”; no respondents explained this somewhat vague answer more fully. 4.4% answered that multilingualism could cause confusion, presumably from misunderstandings between non-fluent speakers, or from uncertainty about which language to use in which situation. Additionally, 1.5% answered that multilingualism is only a disadvantage if time is spent learning non-dominant languages, which is most likely a reference to Tamazight, especially since the questions about multilingualism followed those about Tamazight instruction in schools. 1.5% answered that multilingualism is only a disadvantage for those who do not have it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disadvantages of multilingualism</th>
<th>Forget mother tongue</th>
<th>Used badly</th>
<th>Confusion</th>
<th>If learning endangered languages</th>
<th>If not everyone has it</th>
<th>None</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of responses</td>
<td>13.04</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>71.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 13: Disadvantages of Multilingualism

Few demographic differences were visible in responses to this question, because of the overwhelming popularity of the answer that multilingualism simply is not a disadvantage. Tamazight speakers responded that it could cause neglect of the mother tongue or culture in higher, but not statistically significant, numbers (28.6% of respondents who spoke Tamazight before school versus 9.09% of non-Tamazight speaking respondents; t-test 0.3). Interestingly, speakers from the South were more likely to view multilingualism as a disadvantage: 76.27% of non-South respondents said there were no disadvantages to multilingualism, while only 40% of respondents from the South did (t-test 0.059). The majority of respondents who answered that multilingualism is negative when used badly were from the South (20% of southern respondents...
gave this answer versus 3.39% of non-southerners; t-test 0.249). While these results are not statistically significant, they are interesting because many of the southern respondents are from areas where Spanish colonialism has left bitterness towards Spanish, and from areas where stigmatized languages like Tamazight and Hassaniya are more frequently spoken. Southern respondents also had less access to French growing up than the respondents from urban centers like Rabat, Kenitra, and Salé, so they may feel that French and Arabic multilingualism is used to exclude them. All of these factors could lead southern respondents to hold a much more negative view towards multilingualism than their peers from other regions.

It is interesting to compare responses to this question, which asks whether multilingualism in general is negative, to the responses that Bentahila gathered in response to the question, “What are the disadvantages of Arabic-French bilingualism for the Moroccan?” (1983: 144). For one thing, only 29.35% of his respondents replied that bilingualism is not a disadvantage. Fully 21.1% replied that it “leads to neglect of Arabic and domination of French,” 10% that it “leads to the loss of identity”, and 12% that it “leads to contradictions between the two cultures,” answers grouped in our survey under neglect of mother tongue or culture. 16.51% of his respondents answered that it “leads to lack of proficiency in both Arabic and French”, an answer that surfaced only once in our results, and 11% of his respondents answered that it “leads to mixing of the two languages,” which again, only one of our respondents noted. There are two possible ways to explain the differences between these results: first, that attitudes towards multilingualism have changed since Bentahila conducted his study in 1983, and second, that attitudes towards multilingualism are different from attitudes towards French-Arabic bilingualism.
Bentahila’s study was conducted in the heyday of Arabization, at a time when rhetoric about Modern Standard Arabic as the solution to the problems of the colonial legacy was dominant. The educational system was riddled with inconsistencies in its approach to Arabization, and frustration was high among students. It is unsurprising that bilingual students were more conscious of the difficulties in the Arabic-French bilingual system in the 1980s than they are currently; while the university system is still divided between French and Arabic, and this is a source of real hardship for many students, students at least finish secondary school under a consistent language policy. Second, because of the rise of the Tamazight movement and because of the moderate liberalization of the country following Mohammed VI’s ascent to the throne, Moroccan students have more exposure to rhetoric about universal human rights and acceptance of multiculturalism than they had at the time of Bentahila’s study, which took place during the more repressive reign of Hassan II. These ideas may have made students feel more strongly that multilingualism, both as a mark of multiculturalism and as a tool for opening up the world, is always a benefit than they did during the 1980s.

However, the differences between Arabic-French bilingualism and multilingualism are also significant. For instance, standards for speaking Arabic and French are higher than other languages; mistakes in these languages, or lack of proficiency, are stigmatized more heavily than mistakes in, for instance, English (Ennaji 2005: 196), as French and Modern Standard Arabic are required languages for more years in public schools. More importantly, however, concerns over mixing languages are more likely to surface in respect to Arabic and French than languages in general. While Arabic-French codeswitching is the most common kind, it is also the most threatening, because it risks tainting the language of the Qur’an with the language of the colonizer. This is also one of the reasons that Moroccan Arabic has low status: it is seen as a
corrupted form of Arabic because it borrows so many words from French. In fact, the fears expressed in Bentahila’s survey that bilingualism leads to a loss of identity or to a contradiction between two cultures may spring from the fact that French, as the language of the colonizer, threatens religious and cultural identity in a way that multilingualism in the abstract does not, even if French is one of the languages that Moroccans would want their children to learn. An interesting study could be made by explicitly comparing attitudes towards bilingualism with those towards multilingualism.

8.1.3 Advantages of Multilingualism

If, then, Moroccans are generally in favor of multilingualism, what advantages do they think it brings? 93.26% of participants replied to the question, “In what ways (if any) do you think multilingualism is an advantage?”. As this question was free-response, and many answers fell into multiple categories, answers were counted in as many categories as applicable, so that percentages by category sum to more than 100. While 1.2% of respondents answered that multilingualism is an advantage in everything, the other justifications given varied widely. In general, the answers can be divided into pragmatic advantages and intangible advantages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advantage of multilingualism</th>
<th>% of responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural understanding</td>
<td>39.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations to foreigners</td>
<td>26.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrich knowledge</td>
<td>19.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open up the world</td>
<td>16.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>14.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>10.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance</td>
<td>8.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surroundings</td>
<td>4.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>4.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelism</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everything</td>
<td>1.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 14: Advantages of Multilingualism

26.2% of respondents answered that multilingualism is an advantage for relations with foreigners. This answer spans both pragmatic and intangible categories, because it includes international business, trade, and political relations, business and trade within the Moroccan tourism industry, and personal relationships with foreigners. One respondent wrote that multilingualism allows one to “to establish relations, whether professional or personal, with others from another continent”, while several others specifically mentioned speaking to foreign students as a motivation. Males gave this reason much more often than females, with 36.2% of men and only 13.5% of women answering in this way (t-test 0.02). Many Moroccan students meet and chat with foreign students online, through email or social networking sites. Students may feel that multilingualism is an advantage in these relationships as well as those formed for business purposes.

Another response that straddles both categories is that of enriching knowledge. 19.1% of responses fit in this category, which included all references to knowledge that were not specifically in an academic setting. One such response was that multilingualism is “for understand[ing] people and their way of thinking”. Other respondents mentioned that multilingualism helps in acquiring scientific knowledge, while some saw the languages themselves as a source of knowledge. As one respondent remarked, “the more we “know” the more we “rise”, learning languages is … just as learning maths or physics.” While the acquisition of knowledge has pragmatic value in terms of employment and educational
prospects, the way these students describe their desire for knowledge tends more towards personal fulfillment than concrete achievement.

In contrast, only 4.8% of students replied that multilingualism is an advantage specifically in school. This is somewhat surprising, given that all students routinely use multiple languages at the university level and in secondary school, as most students use Moroccan Arabic for personal communication at the university and French, Modern Standard Arabic, or the language of their major in class. In the French and English classes that we observed at Mohammed V University, while all lectures and class assignments were in the target language, students spoke Moroccan Arabic to each other and occasionally to the professors in order to clarify points from the lecture or ask questions not directly related to the class material. While one respondent, an English major, answered that multilingualism is helpful for school because it gives one access to educational materials, it is also surprising that more students did not give similar answers, considering that arguments for teaching science in French or English are usually based on the fact that more scientific research is published in these languages.

Of the purely pragmatic reasons given, the most popular is that multilingualism is an advantage for business. 14.3% of respondents gave an answer that fell into this category. Two surprising demographic differences were present: women listed business as a reason more often than men, and no native Tamazight speakers listed business as a reason. 21.6% of women incorporated business reasons into their responses, versus only 8.5% men (t-test 0.1). While this difference is not statistically significant, it supports findings that women tend to value languages that give their children pragmatic advantages more than men do; as Trodgill writes, “women tend to be more status conscious than men” about language choices (Trodgill quoted in Errihani 2008: 34). The fact that no native Tamazight speakers gave business as a reason for multilingualism,
although 16.4% of other respondents did so (t-test 0.001), on the other hand, is difficult to explain. While historically Tamazight has been used in trade in many regions of Morocco, and Tamazight speakers involved in trade have faced fewer barriers than in other sectors of the job market, there is no question that finding employment as a monolingual Tamazight speaker today is extremely difficult in almost all regions of Morocco.

The next most popular pragmatic reason given is that multilingualism is an advantage for travel. 10.7% of respondents felt that this reason was important. In addition to tourism opportunities, many students hope to travel abroad in order to study in Europe or North America or to find employment in Europe: as one student wrote, multilingualism ensures that “you won't have a problem if your destination is work in another country.” Two students expressed the idea that knowing many languages allows one to be “easily integrated in any society,” at home or abroad. While similar percentages of men who attended private school and men who attended public school expressed this justification (11.1% and 11.4% respectively), 25% of women who attended private school gave this reason while only 4% of women who attended public school (t-test 0.15). In addition, no Arabic majors expressed this motive, while 13.2% of students who majored in non-Arabic taught subjects did (t-test 0.002). This is unsurprising, as Arabic majors are typically the most conservative students and more likely to be interested in traveling to the Gulf states than to non-Arabic speaking countries. In addition, few Arabic-studying students attended private schools, so these students may find it harder to envision being able to afford to travel abroad at all.

Three other pragmatic reasons were given by small numbers of students. 4.8% of respondents gave an answer that described multilingualism as advantageous in communicating with different sections of society within the country. 2.4% of students gave politics as a reason
that multilingualism is useful, including one student who wrote, quoting hadith, that “one who learns a language of a people secures themselves from their evil.” Another 2.4% of the respondents replied that it is an advantage for social status in general, writing that knowing many languages helps one attain a high position in society and makes one appear cultured.

Besides the somewhat pragmatic reasons for desiring multilingualism discussed above, students also gave responses that fit into five different non-pragmatic categories. By far the most popular category of non-pragmatic justifications was that of cultural understanding. 39.3% of respondents described multilingualism as advantageous because it furthers cultural understanding, both of outsiders understanding Moroccan culture and of Moroccans understanding foreign cultures. “Languages are beneficial”, wrote one student, “to learn about other civilizations and cultures … and reduce barriers between people”. Most responses were focused on learning from other cultures, but several also mentioned cultural exchange or spreading Moroccan culture abroad.

16.7% of students gave an answer that mentioned multilingualism as a way to open up to the world or to other cultures. While these responses were similar to those included in the cultural awareness category, these results were separated because phrases using the word “open”, whether in phrases such as “open up the world” or “be open to other cultures” were very common in answers to multiple questions. While this phrase may not have an instantly definable meaning for American readers, Moroccan students used it consistently and frequently, in all three languages, in a way that suggests it is a common phrase. These answers connote not just knowing foreigners and welcoming interactions with international cultures, but also paying attention to international events and being aware of global ideas. This answer was the most popular among natural science majors, of whom 80% listed this reason, versus 12.99% of other
majors (t 0.03). It is not surprising that natural science majors put the most value on awareness beyond national borders, as natural science majors study entirely in French, and the natural sciences are often associated with modernity and Western influence. On the other hand, no native Tamazight speakers gave this reason, while 17.9% of other respondents did (t-test 0.0003). This is surprising, because Tamazight activists generally align themselves with openness to the international community, drawing on support from immigrant communities in Europe and North America and on universal rights discourse. These results may indicate a divide between Western-aligned Tamazight activists in urban areas and more conservative Tamazight speakers from rural Morocco; our study group does not contain enough Tamazight speakers raised in urban areas to compare their responses with those of native Tamazight speakers from rural areas, who make up the majority of the Tamazight speakers in our respondent pool.

Many respondents explicitly mentioned the promotion of tolerance as a benefit of multilingualism: 8.3% of answers contained a reference to tolerance. One response describes multilingualism as “a great opportunity to avoid racis[m] and discrimination and... [to] boost... the tolerance towards the other religion[s] and cultures”; another writes that the benefit of multilingualism is in encouraging “dialogu[e] with all the people across the spectrum”. Another student makes an explicit reference to human rights discourse, answering that “multilingualism teaches us universal values like tolerance, acceptance, appreciation, and dialogue”. Two unexpected demographic differences surface in regards to tolerance, however. No French majors include tolerance as a justification for multilingualism, while 10% of non-French majors do (t-test 0.007). No students who attended private school give this reason either, while again, 10% of students who attended public school do (t 0.01). The explanation for these differences is not obvious.
Two other advantages for multilingualism were mentioned by small numbers of respondents. 2.4% of students gave evangelism as a reason that multilingualism is valuable; one of them wrote that multilingualism is useful to “spread peace and the call to Allah in the Qur’an”. This is an interesting perspective; all students who included this reason were female religion or philosophy majors who attended public schools; however, the number of students who included this justification is very small. In addition, 1.2% of students gave self-confidence as the reason that multilingualism is beneficial.

8.1.4 Multilingualism Summary

The popularity of non-pragmatic benefits of multilingualism in student responses to this question indicates that ideas about language prestige and value are influenced by factors other than the value of the languages on the job market or in the educational system. In fact, the responses to this question are hopeful for the Tamazight movement, because they indicate that students’ linguistic values are determined by a complex array of factors, both pragmatic and ideological. The non-pragmatic advantages of multilingualism described by students, like cultural acceptance, openness, and tolerance, draw on the universal human rights discourse promoted by the United Nations and adopted by the Tamazight movement. Indeed, one of the most encouraging signs for the Tamazight movement is that so many students in this study come to the issue of language from this viewpoint. The Tamazight movement has historically faced opposition from conservative pro-Arabic groups precisely because of their use of this discourse, which has been condemned in the past as a Westernizing influence. However, these results indicate that the current generation of students accepts the values upon which the Tamazight has founded their arguments for greater acceptance and recognition. The use of universal human rights discourse by the Tamazight movement will be discussed further in Chapter 9.
8.2 National Language Debate

As of July 2011, Tamazight and Modern Standard Arabic are the two official languages of Morocco recognized under the constitution of the country. The addition of Tamazight in the new constitution came after significant pressure from Tamazight activists in the February 20th protest movement, but it is unclear whether this change has the support of the Moroccan populace as a whole or whether it was simply a maneuver by the Moroccan crown to placate activist groups without making significant changes in policy. While Tamazight activists interpret the protected status of Tamazight to mean that Tamazight should have equal status with Arabic in every domain of Moroccan life, the actual consequences of the change will depend on supporting legislation, so-called “organic law.”

Our study asked the open-ended question, “What do you think the official language/languages of Morocco should be? Why?”. Respondents listed combinations of eight different languages, showing that many respondents think multilingually, not bilingually. 84.27% of respondents answered this question, of whom 45.95% listed two or more languages. Once again, some respondents used the general term Arabic, while others specified Modern Standard Arabic or Moroccan Arabic. As Modern Standard Arabic is currently the national language, we assume that respondents meant Modern Standard Arabic by Arabic unless they specify Moroccan Arabic. Ennaji asked a similar question in his 2002 study (2005: 159), and comparisons with his study shed light on how opinions on this issue may have shifted in recent years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What languages should be official?</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>Tamazight</th>
<th>MA</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Hassaniyya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of responses</td>
<td>38.67</td>
<td>30.67</td>
<td>30.67</td>
<td>29.33</td>
<td>18.67</td>
<td>17.33</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 15: What Languages Should Be Official?
8.2.1 Modern Standard Arabic

68.9% of respondents included Arabic or Modern Standard Arabic in their answers, while 85% of Ennaji’s respondents described MSA as a national language. It is surprising that fewer respondents in our study report that they believe MSA should be a national language compared to Ennaji’s. This indicates that MSA may be losing ground to other languages, even in official domains. However, a comfortable majority of students still think that MSA should be an official language. The most common justifications are that MSA is the language of the Qur’an, that Morocco is a Muslim nation, and that Morocco is an Arab nation. The feeling that MSA is the only language that unites the country is still strong; one student wrote that Arabic “brings together all Moroccans despite differences of culture”. In this view, Modern Standard Arabic should be the official language because while Tamazight speakers often speak Arabic as well, fewer Arabic speakers also speak Tamazight.

8.2.2 European Languages

French and English are tied for the next most common response, at 30.7% of responses each. These results are very different from those found by Ennaji: he reports that only 4% of his respondents chose French as a national language, and he does not give any figures for English at all. The leap in popularity for these European languages is dramatic, and it is unclear whether this is due to a sudden shift in language attitudes, or to demographic differences between our respondents. It is also very surprising that English is so popular in these results; the fact that English is as popular as French signals a major shift in language attitudes in Morocco. The popularity of English internationally and its utility in science and business appears to have overcome the advantages that French had from its colonial dominance. Upper class students,
generally resistant to the advance of English and the decline of French, do not show significantly different results in English responses. Male students who attended private schools are significantly more in favor of French as an official language than male students who attended public school, as 50% of them answered French versus only 21.2% of male public school attendees (t-test 0.04). However, there is no significant class difference between female respondents: 37.5% of female private school attendees and 39.1% of female public school attendees responded French (t-test 0.9). A common justification for the choice of French and English is that “most of the transactions in administration and clinics and education are in” these languages; others wrote simply that “French and English… are the most important languages in the world”. French and English are popular in all demographic categories, and English rivals French in popularity, even in a language role with great symbolic significance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What languages should be official?</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>Tamazight</th>
<th>MA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of private school females</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of private school males</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-test between private school genders</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of public school females</td>
<td>47.83</td>
<td>30.43</td>
<td>39.13</td>
<td>30.43</td>
<td>13.04</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of public school males</td>
<td>39.39</td>
<td>21.88</td>
<td>21.21</td>
<td>31.25</td>
<td>27.27</td>
<td>15.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-test between public school genders</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-test between women</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-test between men</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>0.83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 16: Official Languages by Class and Gender

8.2.3 Tamazight

The next most popular response, narrowly, was Tamazight. While this is encouraging, the percentage of respondents choosing Tamazight, 18.7%, is slightly lower than the 22% that Ennaji
reported. There is an insignificant difference between genders in Tamazight responses: 25% of male respondents gave Tamazight as a desired official language, while only 9.7% of women did (t-test 0.08). Unsurprisingly, Tamazight speakers answered Tamazight more often than non-speakers: 54.6% of speakers answered Tamazight while only 12.5% of non-speakers did (t-test 0.03). This illustrates that support for Tamazight as an official language is not widespread among Moroccans who do not identify with Amazigh culture. To gain widespread support, the Tamazight movement must find ways to influence the attitudes of non-Tamazight speakers. The most common explanations for desiring Tamazight as the national language are that it represents Moroccan culture and that a large portion of the Moroccan population is Amazigh. One student, drawing upon both arguments, writes that “Tamazight... is the language of the great majority, and before all, it was the language of the indigenous people of Morocco”. These results show that support for Tamazight as an official language, while present, has not increased since the recognition of Tamazight in the constitution.

8.2.4 Moroccan Arabic

17.3% of respondents specified that Moroccan Arabic should be made an official language. This is somewhat surprising, considering the low prestige that MA is generally considered to have; however, Ennaji finds even more support for MA as an official language, reporting that 28% of his respondents were in favor of it. Unsurprisingly, Arabic majors are the least supportive of recognizing Moroccan Arabic as an official language. No Arabic majors answered Moroccan Arabic, whereas 22.0% of other majors did (t-test 0.0002). Students who study in Modern Standard Arabic tend to view Moroccan Arabic the most negatively and oppose its use in any official domains. One surprising demographic difference, however, is that while there is no class difference between male respondents, female private school attendees are overwhelmingly more
in favor of MA than anyone else. 62.5% of female private school attendees answered that MA should be an official language, while only 8.7% of female public school attendees did (t-test 0.02). This difference is difficult to explain; while females are greater consumers of Moroccan Arabic media than males, this is usually considered a result of the lower education rates for women. That female upper class university students, who have the highest level of education, would be more supportive of MA than any other group cannot be explained by this, unless the marketing of MA media towards women has created an attachment to the language in the upper class demographic as well. The justifications offered by students in this study for MA as an official language are that it is the mother tongue of most Moroccans and that it is spoken throughout the country.

8.2.5 Other Responses

Three other languages were mentioned by a handful of respondents. 4% of respondents said that Spanish should be among the official languages of Morocco; the only student to justify this answer wrote that Spanish is “a language of the future”. 2.7% of respondents wrote that Hassaniya should be an official language, because it is a mother tongue and represents Moroccan culture. 1.3% of respondents answered that Hebrew should be an official language, because of the historically large Jewish population.

8.2.6 Summary

In general, while support for Modern Standard Arabic remains large, the popularity of European languages, particularly English, appears to be growing. Support for Tamazight remains stable, but has not grown significantly since its inclusion in the constitution as an official language. Moroccan Arabic, despite the fact that there is little activism for its recognition, is seen as a
desirable official language by a large group of respondents. The reasons given for selections of official language can be grouped into two basic categories: practicality for business and international relations, as exemplified by French, English, and Spanish, and importance in culture and national unity, as exemplified by Modern Standard Arabic, Tamazight, Moroccan Arabic, Hassaniya, and Hebrew.

8.3 Science Language

The last classes to be Arabized during the 1980s were science classes, and most of the controversy surrounding Arabization centers on the language of instruction for science. While all science classes in primary and secondary schools were Arabized in the 1980s, at the university level, science is still taught in French. The 1999 National Charter on Education opened up the possibility for science classes at the primary and secondary levels to be taught in languages other than Modern Standard Arabic. Our study seeks to understand what changes have been made at the secondary and primary school level and how students view the issue of language in science instruction.

The majority of students surveyed were aged 19 to 22 in 2012, when the surveys were administered, which means that they were in their first few years of primary school at the time when the National Charter changed the guidelines for science instruction. Thus, these students represent the first generation that could have been influenced by changes made under the Charter. In order to evaluate what languages are used for science instruction, students were asked to list the languages used in their science classes in elementary, middle, and high school. Students were then asked what languages they think should be used to teach science. Response rates for questions about the language of instruction, both those on usage and those on attitudes,
ranged from 95% to 96%. In both sets of questions, students were allowed to list multiple languages, so usage of one language should not be taken to exclude the use of others.

8.3.1 Actual Usage

Asking students to list what languages they had studied science in revealed large class differences at the elementary school level. Only 6.6% of public school attendees report studying science in French, while nearly half (45.8%) of private school attendees do (t-test 0.001). Private school attendees studied science in Arabic less than their public school peers: while 95.1% of public school students studied in Arabic, only 75% of private school students did so (t-test 0.04). There is also a gender difference among private school students that does not exist among public school students: while 64.3% of female private school attendees report studying science in French, only 20% of their male private school peers did (t-test 0.03). It is unclear what caused this difference, unless there is a gender difference in the type of private schools that parents choose for their children.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Arabic (%)</th>
<th>French (%)</th>
<th>English (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>75.00</td>
<td>45.83</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>93.65</td>
<td>7.94</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-test</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>91.66</td>
<td>16.67</td>
<td>4.17</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>96.83</td>
<td>12.70</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-test</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>87.50</td>
<td>16.67</td>
<td>4.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>92.06</td>
<td>17.46</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t-test</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 17: Language of Science by Class and School Level

At the middle school level, the class divide narrows. The percentage of private school students studying in French decreases to 16.7%, and the percentage of public school students increases to 11.7%. 91.7% of private school students and 98.8% of public school students studied
science in Modern Standard Arabic. The fact that the percentage of public school students studying in Arabic did not decrease as the rate of studying in French increased is interesting; it suggests that the classes may be using codeswitching, or that certain sciences are taught in French while others are in Arabic. One slight class difference does appear at the middle school level, despite the general trend towards equality: 4.2% of private school students report studying science in English in middle school, while no public school students do.

Similar trends hold for high school. At the high school level, equal percentages of public and private school students study science in French (16.7%). 95% of public school students and 87.5% of private school students study in Arabic. Again, no public school students studied in English, while 4.2% of private school attendees report doing so.

These results show that schools have not implemented the changes that the National Charter for Education allowed. The public school system remains almost completely Arabized, even in science classes. Private school students retain the advantage that comes from studying science in the language in which it is taught at the university level. Indeed, very little has changed between when Marley’s study was conducted after the publication of the National Charter for Education and when our study was conducted.

8.3.2 Opinions

If language usage in science classes in schools has not changed, have opinions about the language of instruction in science classes also remained the same? In general, Marley found teachers and students supportive of the idea of using French or English as the language of instruction in science classes. Marley reports that two-thirds of the teachers that she surveyed

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16 See Marley for more on the difficulty of discerning how French is being used in classes with similar questions.
responded that science teaching would be improved by using French as the language of instruction, while two thirds also believed that “in the long term, English would be more useful than French” (2005: 40). Marley’s student respondents indicated that they viewed French as a more useful language for science in their responses to the statements “French is useful for science and technology” and “Modern Standard Arabic is useful for science and technology.” While only 25.8% of students agreed completely that MSA was useful and 29.6% disagreed completely, 62.3% of students agreed completely that French was useful and only 6.3% disagreed completely. Marley’s study found significant support for shifting the language of instruction in science classes from Modern Standard Arabic to French.

8.3.2.1 European Languages

Our respondents were posed the free-response question, “What language should be used in science classes?” Several students chose to list multiple languages, and many also gave justifications for their choices. In general, respondents voiced overwhelming support for the idea of teaching science in a Western language. French was the most popular response, with 71.8% of respondents. Insignificant gender differences appear in responses, as well as slight class differences: while 81.6% of female respondents supported French, only 63.6% of male respondents did so (t-test 0.07), and while 82.6% of private school students said that French should be used, only 66.1% of public school students did (t-test 0.11). By far the most enthusiastic demographic group in support of French was that of female private school attendees, of whom 100% responded that science classes should be taught in French. However, despite these demographic differences, a clear majority of all groups of students believes that the language of instruction in science classes should be French.
What language should be used in science classes?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Arabic (%)</th>
<th>French (%)</th>
<th>English (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private school females</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private school males</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>55.56</td>
<td>22.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-test between private school genders</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public school females</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>70.83</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public school males</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>62.86</td>
<td>44.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-test between public school genders</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-test between women</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-test between men</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second-most popular response was English. 30.6% of respondents gave English as the language in which science classes should be taught. In general, the demographic groups that support French most strongly do not support English. While 37.3% of public school students answered English, only 13.0% of private school students did so (t-test 0.01). Only 7.1% of female private school attendees answered English, while 22.2% of their male private school peers did (t-test 0.03). This suggests that English and French, as the most popular European languages in Morocco, fill the same role, so students choose between the two. Students from private schools have more exposure to French, and thus are more likely to favor the continued use of French in the educational system, as this gives them an advantage. On the other hand, public school attendees may feel that the use of French gives upper class students an unfair advantage and prefer English, because they think that it levels the playing field. This, however,
does not explain the fact that female private school students are particularly attached to the French language, more so than their male peers of the same educational background and their public school peers of the same gender; the fact that private school females consistently support French more than their male peers suggests that there is a strong gender dynamic as well.

In fact, if French and English fulfill the same roles, then why is French a much more popular response than English? The justifications given by respondents for the choice of the languages are very similar: as one student writes, science should be taught in “French and English, because they are the source of the rules of the sciences.” While this may be a narrow view of the history of science, the idea that French and English are advantageous because they are used internationally for science was a common justification. As another student writes, “I appreciate French as a language of instruction because it... applies to all the world.” Yet this reasoning does not explain why French is more popular than English, as English is used in the international scientific community even more frequently than French. In fact, one student answered that the language of instruction should be French, but then seemed to contradict herself, writing, “but I think that English is the [language] of science so it should be... used in science class.” Students seem to feel attached to the idea of French as the language of science, even though most of them never studied science in French at the primary and secondary level, because of the historical presence of French, their own greater exposure to French, and the use of French at the university level, even if they recognize that English might be even more advantageous than French in the long run.

8.3.2.2 Arabic
While English and French were the most popular choices, almost a third of the respondents chose Arabic as the desirable language of science instruction. 27.06% of all respondents included Arabic in their responses to the question. While many students used the generic term Arabic instead of specifying Modern Standard Arabic, given the fact that science is currently taught in Modern Standard Arabic, that Moroccan Arabic has never been used as a language of instruction, and that most students consider it an unwritten language, we assume that the use of generic is meant to indicate Modern Standard Arabic. While there was no significant class difference among respondents, men were more supportive of the use of Modern Standard Arabic than women were: only 15.8% of women answered Arabic, while 36.2% of men did so (t-test 0.03). Few students gave justifications for their choice of Arabic, although one student noted that this was the appropriate choice because Morocco is an Arabic country, and, somewhat cryptically, another wrote that it is better to use Arabic because Arabic is very complicated.

8.3.2.3 Other Languages

Two other languages were mentioned by small numbers of respondents. 1.2% of students mentioned German and 1.2% mentioned Spanish. One supporter of Spanish wrote that Spanish is a good choice because it is close to Latin, so understanding the Latin terms used in science would be easier.

8.3.3 Summary

In general, our results agree with Marley’s, showing that attitudes about the language of science instruction have not significantly changed. The responses given by students show that while the use of Modern Standard Arabic in science classes still has some support, students believe that English and French are more useful languages for science. Students feel that studying science in
languages used internationally, particularly in Europe and North America, will give them greater access to scientific publications and an advantage in higher education. Despite the fact that Arabic is used successfully to teach science in many Middle Eastern countries, as some of Marley’s respondents noted, students do not consider Modern Standard Arabic as an international language of the scientific community.

8.4 Conclusion

Students feel that multilingualism is almost always highly desirable. They attribute many advantages and disadvantages to different languages, and base their decisions about language policy, such as the language of instruction in science classes, and the national language, on the perceived benefits that each language carries. While students value multilingualism for a variety of non-pragmatic, intrinsic reasons, like learning about other cultures, encouraging tolerance, and opening up international dialogue, when confronted with specific decisions between languages in the context of science classes, their reasoning is overwhelmingly pragmatic. Students support European languages above Modern Standard Arabic in this context, because they feel that French and English are more advantageous in this domain. However, students’ views towards what languages should be recognized as national languages are more complex: while some students prefer English and French because they are useful internationally, others support languages like Modern Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, and Tamazight, for reasons, such as religion, national unity, and historical significance, that have more to do with issues of culture and identity than with pragmatic advantage. The examination of these three language issues reveals that students reason about language in a host of different ways, and justify their language choices with a variety of both pragmatic and non-pragmatic reasons.
9 Tamazight

The debate surrounding Tamazight is one of the most fascinating sociolinguistic issues in Morocco today. While certain official steps have been taken towards protecting the language, such as founding the Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe (IRCAM), recognizing it as a national language, and introducing it into elementary schools, public opinion may diverge from public policy. Indeed, students hold many complex positions on the issue. In this section, we explore the attitudes that students have about Tamazight through a series of open-ended questions. We then address the issue of teaching Tamazight in schools in greater detail, before returning to a broader discussion of the Tamazight movement.

9.1.1 General Attitudes

Students were asked the general, free-response question, “What do you think about Tamazight?”. Their answers were scored on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 represents strong dislike and 5 represents strong appreciation. 95.5% of respondents answered this question.

The average score for responses was 3.4, indicating slight positive feelings towards the language. Students who spoke Hassaniya growing up were less likely to appreciate Tamazight, with a score of 3.0 compared to 3.4 for native speakers of other languages (t-test 0.004). Tamazight speakers were more likely to appreciate Tamazight, with average scores of 4.1 compared to 3.3 for other respondents (t-test 0.048). There were no significant differences in responses between majors, genders, regions, or class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What do you think about Tamazight?</th>
<th>Average score 1-5</th>
<th>Average score 1-5</th>
<th>t-test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private school females:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>private school males</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private school females:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public school females</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private school males:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17 Language related to Moroccan Arabic spoken mostly in the south, see Chapter 1, Section x.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic Groups</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public school males: public school females</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic majors : other majors</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English majors : other majors</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>0.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French majors : other majors</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science majors : other majors</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion majors : other majors</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native French speakers : others</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Hassania speakers : others</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Tamazight speakers : others</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southerners : others</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 20: Thoughts on Tamazight by Demographic Groups

These numbers, however, are only so informative. To better understand the attitudes towards Tamazight held by individual students, it is more useful to look at their responses themselves. There were seven main categories of responses, which can be summarized in the following way: “Tamazight is my language,” “Tamazight is a part of Moroccan culture,” “Tamazight is gaining recognition,” “I support Tamazight because I support tolerance,” “I don’t care about Tamazight but others can learn it,” “Tamazight isn’t useful,” and “I dislike Tamazight.”

Students whose responses fell into the “Tamazight is my language” category are often native Tamazight speakers. These students feel attached to Tamazight as their mother tongue, and are often very proud of the language and the fact that it is still spoken. One such student, a
native Tararift\textsuperscript{18} speaker, writes “I am Amazigh. This means that this is the language that I grew up speaking in my city or town. In addition to that I like a lot, I feel peaceful when I speak it in my city or with my Amazigh friends.” Another student, who grew up speaking Tamazight, wrote that Tamazight “is my native language, I completely feel proud of it, and it is really a miracle that it survived till today, it is really an amazing language.” In perhaps one of the most powerful but simple statements from all the responses to this question, from which the title of this piece is taken, a student wrote that Tamazight is “a good language [be]cause I talk it and I feel it.” As this response demonstrates, Tamazight evokes strong emotions from many. One student who describes himself as neither a native Tamazight speaker nor fluent in Tamazight writes that “Tamazight is a beautiful language. It's different from Arabic in the way it's spoken and speaking it gives a wonderful and exciting feeling.” Indeed, strong positive feelings are exhibited by students who are not native Tamazight speakers as well as those who are. Some even express a desire to learn Tamazight: “It is a language that merits studying,” writes one student, going on to explain, “... I'm not Amazigh, but because of my work I was in Tiznit\textsuperscript{19} and it is a marvelous language.” Some students feel strongly attached to Tamazight because of their Amazigh heritage, and some non-Tamazight speakers find Tamazight fascinating and desire to study it.

Many students expressed the idea that Tamazight is an important part of Moroccan culture. Responses that fell into this category often mentioned that Tamazight has been spoken in Morocco for a very long time. Students who hold this belief tend to think that preserving Tamazight is a good goal, even if they themselves do not speak the language or intend to learn it; however, the strength of their feelings towards Tamazight varies considerably. On one end of the spectrum is the student who wrote, “Tamazight is an important component of the Moroccan

\textsuperscript{18} The northern Amazigh language spoken in mostly in the Rif Valley.
\textsuperscript{19} A town in a Tamazight-speaking area.
culture that I'm proud of my affiliation to and curiosity fills me to learn this language.” On the other end stands the student who wrote that “it is a part of our culture, but we don't really identify with [it].” Many students fall somewhere in the middle, feeling that Tamazight is culturally important, but struggling with how impractical it seems. One such student writes that Amazighe languages “reflect the Moroccan origins/history…. knowing them is preferable but not necessary.” Many urban, non-Tamazight speakers feel somewhat positively towards Tamazight, but worry that the language is not very useful. While, on the one hand, they wish for the language to be preserved, they do not wish to learn it or use it themselves. Nonetheless, for many students, Tamazight represents an important component of Moroccan culture.

Other students who feel positively towards Tamazight point to the recent recognition of it as an official language in the constitution as a reason that it is important. One student, who describes himself as a fluent Tamazight speaker although he spoke Moroccan Arabic in his home before school, writes, “For me, it’s a language that has come to be installed in the constitution of Morocco. I appreciate that because I am an also a student of Amazigh origin.” Another writes that he appreciates Tamazight both because “it's the language of my grandfathers and it has existed since a long time in the Moroccan land,” and because “it has come to occupy the position of an official language.” Many of these students seem to feel that recognizing Tamazight officially is important because of the continuity of the language’s use, and that giving the language official status is appropriate considering the long history of the language in Morocco. This thought is expressed by one student when he writes that “it's a language that has come to be recognized as an official language in the Moroccan constitution, especially since it has existed more than three centuries, and has had from the beginning a linguistic history.” Other students feel that the recognition of Tamazight as an official language is itself a reason to value
Tamazight, that the attention Tamazight has received in recent years is a reason to consider the language more highly. For instance, one student writes that Tamazight is “a good thing because it’s very important in this period.” These responses indicate that the attention the Tamazight language has received because of Tamazight activism and because of its recognition in the constitution has been effective at influencing people’s feelings towards the language. Regardless of whether the attention is positive or negative, the press alone legitimizes Tamazight by showing that it is a language that merits discussion.

For other students, the fact that they value tolerance and multiculturalism motivates their acceptance of Tamazight. It is important to them to respect Tamazight because it is a symbol of Morocco’s multiculturalism and pluralism. These students write that the Amazighe languages “prove the diversity of Moroccan culture,” and that they, “like other world languages,” “should be respected and preserve [their] continuity because [they are] part and parcel of human culture.” While these students frequently draw on phrases from the kind of universal human rights rhetoric used by the United Nations, they also feel that multiculturalism is, in some ways, a particularly Moroccan trait. As one student writes, Tamazight “carries [the] multilingualism and multiculturalism that distinguish Morocco.” Because these values are important to many students, and because the Tamazight movement has utilized this rhetoric to promote their cause, students feel that they must support Tamazight if they hold these values. As one student writes, “I like [Amazighe languages] because I’m with multiculturalism.” This group of responses is particularly interesting, because the choice by the Tamazight movement to ally itself with international human rights groups by utilizing this kind of rhetoric has made it vulnerable to charges by Islamist groups that it is promoting secular Western culture. However, the fact that
students have internalized these values shows that despite the criticism, this may be an effective strategy for the Tamazight movement.

Despite the positive responses discussed above, many respondents feel more or less indifferent to Tamazight. These students feel that Tamazight can be offered as an option to those who are interested in it, but do not count themselves among that group. One student writes that “Tamazight languages are just like all other languages, worth studying by those who are interesting in studying it, but I don't think that it should be a[n] obligatory subject.” These students describe Tamazight as “nothing special, like the other languages,” or as “difficult to study and a little complicated.” While these students are not strongly against Tamazight, they themselves do not wish to learn it, either because they do not see it as important, or because they find it difficult; one student writes that he finds Tamazight “quite difficult to pronounce and hard to hear.” Another writes that “I don't have the attention to learn it.” These responses hint at a real difficulty in promoting Tamazight: students are already expected to study several languages, and have little motivation to add Tamazight to their studies as well. Non-Tamazight speakers, particularly, may feel neutrally or slightly positively towards the existence of Tamazight, but feel that they have little reason to learn or promote the language.

Students who feel neutrally towards Tamazight often feel that Tamazight is impractical. The majority of our respondents come from urban areas that are not Tamazight-speaking, and thus, are not likely to hear Tamazight used frequently in daily life. One student from the Rabat area writes that Tamazight has “no consideration within Moroccan society.” Another writes, “as a dialect, I don't feel that it is very important.” Students also feel that it is not necessary to learn Tamazight because, in the words of one student, “Amazigh people tend to speak Arabic...
therefore their language[s] remain underestimated.” These students do not value Tamazight because they do not feel that it is necessary or practical.

There are also students who exhibit strongly negative feelings towards Tamazight. The common theme among these attitudes is that Tamazight is not a language, but merely a “dialect”, a term used in a derogatory sense by our respondents. A typical response by a student holding this view is the following: “I don’t consider Tamazight a language…. [I]t is a local dialect…. [E]ven if it has a special alphabet it still doesn't have a grammatical rule or basis like the other languages.” Many students do not respect Tamazight because of the fact that the written form has only been developed recently. One student writes that “Tamazight is not really a language, but a very ancient dialect, that the Berbers used. They were the native inhabitants of Morocco and its alphabet was only invented in the last few years.” Some students feel that because Tamazight is not taught in schools, it must not really be a full language. “Frankly,” writes one student, “my feelings towards it [are] that it is a strange language, it has confusion in its grammar… [and] its alphabet.” In addition, some students feel negatively towards it because they do not understand it. One student writes that “I get repulsed by it because I don't understand it and I don't like speaking it.” Many respondents believe that Tamazight is an inferior language or not even a language at all, that it does not have a proper structure or grammar, and that the fact that its writing system was developed recently demonstrates that it is not a real language.

Students’ responses show that the way they reason about Tamazight is complex. Students have a range of justifications for their feelings about Tamazight, and their feelings form a wide spectrum, from strong pride and love of Tamazight, to strong dislike of Tamazight and the belief that it is not even a complete language.
9.1.2 Should Tamazight Be Used More Frequently?

To further explore the nuances in students' views of Tamazight, students were asked the free response question, "Should Tamazight be used more frequently?". 95.5% of students answered this question. Answers were then scored from 1 to 5, where 1 represents the belief that Tamazight should not be used at all, 2 represents the belief that Tamazight should not be used more frequently, 3 represents neutrality, 4 represents the belief that Tamazight should be used more frequently, and 5 represents the belief that use of Tamazight should be obligatory. The average score for responses was 3.0, indicating that opinions about this issue are mixed, and that while the previous question indicates that students feel somewhat positively toward Tamazight, students are not sure that Tamazight should be used more. Native speakers of Hassaniya were against the more frequent use of Tamazight, with an average score of 2.0, compared to 3.0 for other respondents (t-test $1.0 \times 10^{-9}$). Native Tamazight speakers felt more strongly that Tamazight should be used more, with an average score of 3.9 compared to 2.8 for other respondents (t-test 0.001). It is unclear why Hassaniya speakers feel more negatively towards Tamazight than their peers. It is possible that as speakers of a minority language that has not been recognized, they resent the attention that Tamazight has gotten in recent years. To our knowledge, no research on this issue has been done.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Should Tamazight be used more?</th>
<th>Average score 1-5</th>
<th>Average score 1-5</th>
<th>t-test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private school females : private school males</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private school females: public school females</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private school males: public school males</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public school males: public school females</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic majors : other</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>3.01</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>majors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English majors : other majors</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>2.96</td>
<td>0.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French majors : other majors</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>2.96</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science majors : other majors</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion majors : other majors</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.01</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
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<td>Native French speakers : others</td>
<td>3.25</td>
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<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Hassaniya speakers : others</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>1.01 x 10^{-9}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Tamazight speakers : others</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southerners : others</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 21: “Should Tamazight be used more frequently” Responses by Demographic Groups

Responses to this question fell into four major categories, each of which represents an attitude described above as well. Most negative responses expressed the idea that Tamazight simply is not very useful. Positive responses, on the other hand, echoed three main ideas: Tamazight represents Moroccan culture, Tamazight is an officially recognized language, and Tamazight is a Moroccan mother tongue.

Many students do not feel that Tamazight should be spoken more because they see it as impractical. They do not think its use should be promoted, because they do not know what domains it would be used in. They see it as “very limited and old-fashioned”, and do not believe that it can successfully compete with the other languages spoken in Morocco. One student writes that “it should not be compulsory to use because a lot of jobs do not require knowing Tamazight,” while another student, agreeing, writes that Tamazight is “not easy to practice it in Business and Communication with other cultures.” Students do not think that Tamazight can
compete with English or French in the domains of business, education, and international relations. As one writes, “Tamazight is a local language against French, English... In studies and work one uses only international languages.” Tamazight is not seen as an appropriate language to use in formal domains, or as a language that is international. One student holding this view writes that “there is no need to use Tamazight since it is not an international language.” He goes on to express another reason why using Tamazight is unnecessary: “Moreover Tamazight people can speak [A]rabic in the current time.” Students feel that Tamazight is unnecessary in domains of informal communication as well, since Moroccan Arabic is spoken by so many people. Yet students also think that Tamazight cannot compete with Modern Standard Arabic, writing that “despite the status enjoyed by Tamazight the language of the Qur'an (Arabic) remains the most transcendental,” and that they “prefer MSA in public administrations.” The students who do not believe Tamazight should be spoken more frequently hold this belief because they do not believe that it can compete with Modern Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, French, or English in the domains in which these languages are most used. In addition, they do not see a domain in which Tamazight is the appropriate language. Because these students frame their arguments against Tamazight in terms of competition between languages in situations of language use, the formation of a linguistic niche or purpose for Tamazight might change their attitudes about the language. If Tamazight became the appropriate language to use in certain domains, if it carved out a niche in the linguistic market of Morocco, students who currently feel that Tamazight is not useful might change their minds and begin to support the use of the language.

As for the positive reactions that students expressed, many fell into the same categories described in the previous section. Some students feel that Tamazight is an important part of Moroccan culture, and that further use of the language is necessary to protect the language’s
cultural significance. One such student wrote, “There is an amazing Amazigh culture and in order to communicate it and inherit it and preserve it forever it is obligatory that a language exists to carry out this task. Therefore, this language should be given space.” Another student, whose feelings towards Tamazight are less strongly positive, writes that the language should be used more “for those who are interested in Tamazight maintaining their heritage.” That students’ responses invoke cultural reasons for the promotion of Tamazight suggests that one effective strategy for Tamazight activists might be to establish the notion of a cultural niche in the linguistic market for Tamazight to fill.

In addition, students believe that Tamazight should be used more because it is a mother tongue, and it is spoken by substantial portions of the population. These students portray Tamazight as the language of the majority: one student writes, “I think that it has been a marginalized language for many decades, and it is time to take it into consideration in all domains of life, since it is the language of the majority here in Morocco.” These students also tend to see Tamazight as the truly authentic Moroccan language. One student, contrasting Tamazight with Modern Standard Arabic and European languages, writes that Tamazight should be used more because “we are Moroccan and we should not forget our origins… [D]arija and Tamazight are our mother languages in Morocco next to Rifian20.” These responses suggest that Tamazight has the potential to become the language of authenticity and Moroccan identity.

Some students expressed the idea that Tamazight should be spoken more because it is an official language. These students demonstrated awareness of the Tamazight movement and the changes in Tamazight’s status. One student wrote that “Tamazight should be used more widely because it’s become formal and equal to Arabic,” while another answered that Tamazight

20 Tararift, the northern Amazigh language, used mostly in the Rif Valley.
should be spoken more because it is “protected by the constitution.” Students are aware that preserving Tamazight will require using it more frequently in daily life; as one writes, “all languages need to be used and practiced, or [they] will lose [their] status. More people should use Tamazight whether in daily speech or in business purposes.” These references to the status of Tamazight suggest that students are very aware of the recent changes in the Tamazight situation; students in this group are also looking ahead to the future of the language. One student feels that “Tamazight should be used a lot… the future requires that,” although she does not explain whether she means that Tamazight is a useful language for the future or whether the future of Tamazight requires that it be spoken more frequently. Another student is ambitious for Tamazight, writing that it should be used more frequently “so that it can be known by other cultures and by the entire world.” These students are the most aware of the recent changes in status that Tamazight has undergone, and are hopeful for the future of the language. Their responses also suggest that the Tamazight movement’s recent successes in changes to the official treatment of the language have also led to changes in individual attitudes towards the language, as many students reference the protected status of the language in their justifications.

Students’ answers suggest that in order to win over public opinion, the Tamazight movement would be wise to create a linguistic niche for Tamazight. In general, students who do not support using the language more feel this way because they do not think it is useful. They feel that the linguistic market is saturated and do not think that Tamazight can compete with the other languages spoken in Morocco. On the other hand, students who do support using Tamazight justify their opinions with reasons of cultural and national identity, portraying Tamazight as the language of the majority, the language of Moroccan origins, and the language of cultural authenticity. One possible strategy for the Tamazight movement is to capitalize on
these sentiments and work to portray Tamazight as the most culturally authentic language in Morocco.

9.1.3 Students' Feelings and Others' Feelings

In a later section of the survey, students were asked to describe their own feelings towards each language and how they think others feel about each language. These responses were then rated from 1 to 5, where 1 indicates strong negative feelings and 5 indicates strong positive feelings. Answers that indicated utility in certain domains, like "language of the future," "religious," "business," and "official language," were rated 4, while answers with the words "optional," "old-fashioned", and "used infrequently" received 2s. Answers with mostly descriptive, non-emotional language were rated 3. 75% of students answered the first question, and 72% of students answered the second question. While the first question is very similar to the one discussed above, this question was asked again in order to compare students' feelings towards all six languages and to compare students' own feelings to those that they feel others have towards each language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How do you feel about Tamazight?</th>
<th>How do you think others feel about Tamazight?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avg. Score 1-5</td>
<td>St.Dev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avg. Score 1-5</td>
<td>St.Dev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>1.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 22: Feelings of Self and Others Towards Tamazight

The average score for students' descriptions of their own feelings towards Tamazight was 3.0, indicating neutral feelings. The descriptions of others' feelings scored 2.8 on average, indicating slight negative feelings. These scores were the lowest that any of the languages received. No demographic differences were present in the results. Students' descriptions of their
own feelings were for the most part similar to those discussed in the previous section. However, students’ descriptions of how others feel towards the language are interesting indicators of public opinion on the issue.

Many students made a distinction between Tamazight speakers and the rest of the population. They contrasted the strong feelings that they thought Tamazight speakers had towards the language with the indifferent or negative feelings of non-Tamazight speakers. One student wrote that “those from an Amazighe origin feel its importance and responsibility towards it but the others feel either lack of interest or lack of curiosity to learn it.” Many students described others as “neutral” or “indifferent” towards the language. On the other hand, certain students attributed strong feelings to Tamazight speakers. “Its people love it,” wrote one student. One of the most strongly worded answers to any question, written by a native Tamazight speaker, read: “Tamazighen are very proud of their language which is a part of their identity and ready to die for it.” However, not all respondents agreed on this. One student, who was not raised in a Tamazight-speaking home, wrote, “I'm from a Tamazight culture but I don't really speak it, I don't think it is important.” While the general public was felt by students to be mostly indifferent towards Tamazight, some students felt that Tamazight speakers have stronger feelings on the topic.

Other students felt that non-Tamazight speakers have very strong negative feelings. Two students, one a native Tararift speaker from the north, the other raised in an Arabic-speaking household in Rabat, expressed particularly strongly the feeling that others perceive the use of Tamazight very negatively. The first wrote that “the Arabic spokesmen hate to speak with those who speak this language,” referring perhaps to the anti-Tamazight sentiments expressed by pro-Arabic Islamist groups. The second wrote that people “underestimate you if they know you are
from Tamazight origin.” These results imply that Tamazight speakers may face discrimination and hostile reactions to their use of the language in daily life, particularly in non-Tamazight speaking regions like Rabat.

Many students also discussed shifts in language attitudes in light of the recent recognition of Tamazight. Some students feel that people’s attitudes towards Tamazight have become more positive. “Before,” wrote one student, “they consider[ed] it funny, but now it [has] started to become normal.” Another student concurred, writing that “most people are now giving it the importance.” Other students mentioned the official status given to Tamazight recently, writing that Tamazight is now “a cultural language protected by the Constitution.” However, some students felt that these recent changes are merely superficial, and that the actual attitudes held by most people towards Tamazight have not changed. “It doesn't matter if it has become another official language,” wrote one student. While many students feel that attitudes towards Tamazight are becoming more and more positive, partly thanks to the recent high-profile recognitions of the language, other students are not sure that these accomplishments have had a significant impact on how most Moroccans feel about Tamazight.

In general, students feel that the Moroccan population is divided on the Tamazight issue. Some students feel that Tamazight speakers are strongly attached to the language, while others feel that some speakers, at least, are more indifferent. Some students feel that the general population is mostly neutral towards Tamazight, while others feel that Tamazight speakers face significant negative reactions towards their use of the language. Still others feel that attitudes towards Tamazight are generally becoming more positive. The various perceptions that students have of public opinion towards Tamazight hints at the complexity of the issue: Moroccan
attitudes towards the language are far from uniform, and students have very different ideas of how others feel towards Tamazight.

9.1.4 Reasons of Importance

In order to explore the idea of language niches further, students were asked to choose reasons why Tamazight is important. These reasons correspond to domains such as education, business, religion, culture, and informal communication. Five reasons were listed, along with an option that said, “I do not feel this language is important to know.” 66.3% of respondents answered this question.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Why is this language important?</th>
<th>Business / employment</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Informal communication</th>
<th>Not important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of responses</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>38.98</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>16.95</td>
<td>38.98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 23: Reasons Why Tamazight is Important to Know

39.0% of students responded that Tamazight is important to know for cultural reasons. This result echoes our findings above, where many students made reference to the cultural importance of Tamazight in their descriptions of their feelings towards Tamazight. The feeling that Tamazight is a “language that embodies the culture of the kingdom of Morocco,” is one of the most prevalent positive attitudes towards Tamazight. This indicates that creating a cultural niche for Tamazight on the linguistic market could be a viable strategy for the Tamazight movement, as many students already believe in the cultural significance of Tamazight.

However, the same percentage of students chose the answer that “I do not feel this language is important to know.” Tamazight speakers were less likely to give this answer.
Although the difference is not statistically significant, due to the small sample size of Tamazight speakers, it suggests that Tamazight speakers feel more positively towards Tamazight than their peers. Only 14% of fluent Tamazight speakers and 17% of native Tamazight speakers gave this answer, compared to 41% of respondents who do not describe themselves as fluent in Tamazight and 43% of respondents not raised in a Tamazight-speaking household (t-tests 0.12 and 0.20 respectively). These results indicate that many respondents do not feel that Tamazight is important to know at all.

17.0% of respondents replied that Tamazight is important for informal communication. Interestingly enough, 31.3% of students who report being fluent in English gave this response, while only 3.3% of other students did (t-test 0.005). No explanation for this phenomenon presents itself.

Very few students felt that Tamazight is important to know for other reasons. 5.1% of students said that it is important for religious reasons. One student had given this reason in his answer to the previous question about how he felt about Tamazight as well, writing that Tamazight is a “cultural language and religious language of Moroccan.” This justification is relatively rare, however. Errihani found that 77% of his participants agreed that while the promotion of Arabic means the promotion of Islam, the promotion of Tamazight does not mean the promotion of Islam (2008: 194). The view that Tamazight is important for religion is uncommon.

5.1% of students felt that Tamazight was important to know for business and employment reasons. However, no students elaborated on this choice.
1.7% of students felt that Tamazight was important for educational reasons. This shows that the introduction of Tamazight into schools has not been very successful in changing the perception of Tamazight as an unwritten language that lacks utility in education.

9.1.5 Summary

In general, then, the domain in which use of Tamazight is most valued is that of cultural affairs. While a significant portion of respondents do not feel that Tamazight is useful at all, a large number feel that Tamazight represents cultural identity. Appealing to the importance of Tamazight as the language that best represents Moroccan culture may be the most effective way to build upon existing positive attitudes towards Tamazight, as the feeling that Tamazight is not useful needs to be addressed in order to change the negative attitudes towards Tamazight held by many of our respondents.

9.2 Teaching Tamazight

Tamazight has been taught in some public elementary schools since 2003. Given this start date, no students in our survey are young enough to have participated in Tamazight classes in school. Thus, students cannot evaluate for themselves whether the implementation of teaching Tamazight has gone smoothly. Students can, however, discuss whether or not they feel the teaching of Tamazight is desirable. In order to understand how students reason about teaching Tamazight in schools, students were asked two free response questions: “Do you think Tamazight should be taught in schools?” and “Do you think that Tamazight should be used as a language of instruction?” The first question addresses the current policy of teaching limited amount of Tamazight in elementary schools, while the latter addresses a possible extension of the policy towards Tamazight. Students’ responses were rated on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1
indicates strong negative feelings and 5 indicates strong positive feelings. 94.4% of respondents answered the first question, and 92.1% answered the second question.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Should Tamazight be taught in schools?</th>
<th>Should Tamazight be used as language of instruction?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Avg. Score 1-5</td>
<td>Avg. Score 1-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>2.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>2.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>2.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private school students</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>2.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public school students</td>
<td>3.46</td>
<td>2.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private school females</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>2.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private school males</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public school females</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public school males</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French speakers</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>2.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hassaniya speakers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamazight speakers</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>3.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southerners</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 24: Opinions on Teaching Tamazight by Demographic Group

9.2.1 General Attitudes

On average, students felt slightly positively towards teaching Tamazight in schools. The average score for responses to this question was 3.5. Native Tamazight speakers felt more strongly that Tamazight should be taught, with a score of 4.1 compared to 3.4 for other respondents (t-test 0.001), and more positively towards the use of Tamazight as a language of instruction, with an average of 3.6 compared to 2.5 for other respondents (t-test 0.02).

In general, students feel slightly negatively towards using Tamazight as a language of instruction, with an average response score of 2.7. Certain groups of students disagree with using Tamazight as a language of instruction more strongly. Students who spoke French in their households before school have an average score of 2.2, compared to 2.7 for other respondents (t-test 0.03). Students who spoke Hassaniya before school are more negative towards this issue,
with an average of 2.0 compared to 2.7 for other respondents (t-test 5.6 x 10^{-7}). Women are also less supportive of this idea, with an average score of 2.3 compared to 3.0 for men (t-test 0.005). These results indicate that while students are moderately supportive of teaching Tamazight in schools, few believe that it should be used as a language of instruction. Tamazight speakers are more enthusiastic about both ideas than their peers, who are often indifferent about the issue.

Students who supported teaching Tamazight in response to the first question had a variety of reasons for their view, including many of the reasons for which students supported using Tamazight in general in the previous section. For instance, some students indicated that teaching Tamazight in schools was important in order to protect Moroccan culture. One student wrote, “It should be studied because it's an important part of our Moroccan culture and each one of us[,] being a Moroccan proud of his/her Moroccanness[,] should know this language and be introduced to at least a little bit of it.” Another response mentioned that “Tamazight has rituals and traditions [that are] different and students should learn and know it more.” For these students, Tamazight is a central component of a unique Amazighe culture that is distinct from the hegemonic Arab culture of Morocco: one wrote that Tamazight should be taught “in order to strengthen the relations between the inhabitants of the Arab Maghreb and the Amazigh people.” Tamazight “must be taught at schools… and universities,” wrote another, a native Tamazight speaker, “so that the Arabs feel the obligation to learn it.” These students perceive a strong and possibly antagonistic divide between Arab Morocco and Amazigh Morocco, and see teaching Tamazight in schools as a crucial step in protecting Amazighe culture.

Other respondents feel that teaching Tamazight in schools is feasible because so many foreign languages are already taught. These respondents feel that more importance should be placed on learning Moroccan mother tongues rather than foreign languages. As one respondent
commented colorfully, “We don't want children who master foreign languages and know shit about their mother languages.” Another wrote that “Tamazight is more important than French in schools,” a strong statement considering that French is taught from early in primary school and that some university subjects are taught in French. These respondents feel that mother tongues should be given more importance in education, and that if Moroccan students can learn so many foreign languages in school, they can also learn Tamazight.

Other students were much more ambivalent about the teaching of Tamazight. Some felt that Tamazight should be taught only at certain levels or to certain groups of students. One such student felt that Tamazight could be taught to foreigners to help them understand Morocco, but that “local people don't have to learn Tamazight.” Others accept the idea of teaching Tamazight, so long as it is not a mandatory subject. “You can teach Tamazight,” writes one student, “in a simple and not compulsory way so as not to stifle the learning abilities of the Moroccan students.” These students do not feel strongly that teaching Tamazight is bad, but they also do not see it as useful or necessary. One student felt that there was no reason not to teach Tamazight, but that since “it doesn't have a very important role in the development of our society… it’s sufficient to study other languages.” In other words, these students feel that although there is no harm in teaching Tamazight in schools, there also is no benefit.

In addition to the large numbers of neutral students, some felt that Tamazight should not be taught in schools. One student wrote that she does not really disagree with teaching Tamazight, but that she is “against it because it's not interesting.” While this may seem like a trivial response, it lies close to the root of why teaching Tamazight is not popular: students do not feel interested in learning Tamazight. Tamazight is not important enough to motivate students to learn it: they see it as impractical, old-fashioned, and thus, uninteresting. Another
student writes, “I don't agree with this idea, and it's not intolerance/prejudice from before. I think that students need to learn helpful world languages to open up to the exterior and understand other diverse cultures easily.” In other words, Tamazight should not be taught in schools, because students should be learning world languages that can teach them about diverse cultures. In this view, Tamazight does not represent a distinct culture that students could benefit from knowing. This suggests that increasing the prestige and awareness of Amazigh culture alone could help promote the prestige of the language.

9.2.2 Language of Instruction

The answers to whether Tamazight should be used as a language of instruction, discussed in the next section, illustrate the many different ways of teaching Tamazight that students envision. Some students feel that teaching Tamazight should be restricted to certain groups of students or certain levels of school. Many students like the idea of teaching Tamazight, but do not think it should be a language of instruction. Students who believe that Tamazight should be used as a language of instruction have diverse justifications and strategies for how this should be accomplished, while students who are against it also reach their conclusions in a variety of ways.

Some students are wholeheartedly in favor of using Tamazight as a language of instruction. One student writes that “the new constitution calls for that even if [the constitution] is a lip service to the language.” In other words, this student feels that recognizing Tamazight as an official language in the constitution means that it should be used in all the same domains as Modern Standard Arabic, including education. Another student who supports the use of Tamazight strongly, however, feels that the implementation of teaching in Tamazight must be gradual, writing that Tamazight should be a language of instruction, “but not in the first level,” because “Tamazight needs to settle itself among the existing languages before including it in
instruction.” Another respondent hedges on the issue, writing that “everything depends on the ability of native speakers, whether they [are] able to transform the information from Arabic and French to Tamazight, and this issue is still being discussed.” This speaker, who is willing to use Tamazight as the language of instruction only if it is shown to be practical, brings up the issue of developing pedagogical materials in Tamazight. Respondents who support using Tamazight as a language of instruction still feel that this move must be undertaken carefully. Many of them are unsure whether the time is right for this change, feeling that pragmatic issues must be addressed first, or that Tamazight must prove itself to students as a legitimate language of study before it can be used for instruction.

Many students feel that Tamazight could be used as a language of instruction, but only in certain situations. For instance, some support using Tamazight as a language of instruction only for children who speak Tamazight natively, as a way of helping them transition into school. One respondent writes that Tamazight could be a language of instruction “for people who speak it fluently, but not for people who are going to start studying it because it is difficult to learn.” Another concurs, writing that Tamazight should be a language of instruction “maybe in certain regions where they speak only Amazigh but not everywhere.” This is the role for Tamazight teaching envisioned by the 1999 Charter for Education, which mentions that mother tongues may be used to help children learn Modern Standard Arabic. Other students feel that Tamazight should be used as a language of instruction in certain classes, such as “some subjects that are culturally specific like language and history.” Another student who agrees that Tamazight should be the language of instruction “within the framework of knowing the Amazigh culture” qualifies his answer further, writing that “if this requires teaching it, then in my opinion, it should be taught at the university level.” While these students are somewhat willing for
Tamazight to be used as a language of instruction, they feel that its usage should be limited to certain situations, like teaching Amazighe culture; to certain groups, like native Tamazight speakers; or to certain levels of education, like universities. These students do not envision Tamazight being used as a primary language of instruction in schools in the same way that Modern Standard Arabic is. They would rather that it be used as a supplemental second language like English or German, or as a mother tongue used to clarify lessons, like Moroccan Arabic.

Many students do not feel that Tamazight should be used as a language of instruction at all. Their reasons are various, and similar to those discussed in the previous section. The most hostile students do not see Tamazight as a real language capable of being written, so they do not think that it can be used to teach at all. One student writes that Tamazight cannot be a language of instruction because “it uses just... symbols instead of letters.” Others feel that teaching in Tamazight will take time and resources away from teaching in Modern Standard Arabic, and lead to a decline in proficiency in that language. “I don't favor [teaching in Tamazight],” writes one student, explaining that “Arabic should get the priority in teaching and learning because we face problems even in [the] Arabic language.” This student echoes a concern of the pro-Arabization movement, that teaching other languages in schools leads to a decrease in knowledge of Modern Standard Arabic.

In addition, many students do not favor investing time into teaching in Tamazight because they do not think Tamazight is useful. One respondent writes that he does not think Tamazight should be a language of instruction “because most of the social classes speak Arabic but there is among Amazigh people of the new generation some who do not master Tamazight.” In other words, if fewer members of Tamazight-speaking communities are learning Tamazight, there is no point to teaching it in schools, because it is becoming even less useful. Another
student seconds this opinion and adds a new reason, writing that “few people in the city speak Tamazight, besides, the media and teaching… are in Arabic or French.” This is an interesting response, because IRCAM has been producing more Tamazight media as well as introducing Tamazight into elementary schools. This response suggests that such measures may eventually be effective at increasing the prestige of the language. Many respondents voiced concerns that Tamazight was not as useful as French or Arabic, and that spending time teaching in Tamazight would detract from students’ abilities to learn these other languages. One such student wrote that Tamazight should not be a language of instruction “because to be open to all developed countries like America, European countries, necessitates mastering French and English.” Students do not feel that Tamazight can compete with more prestigious languages like Modern Standard Arabic, French, and English. Because of the high demands already placed upon students to learn multiple languages (and multiple alphabets), many feel that students cannot be expected to learn yet another language, and that Tamazight, as the least prestigious language, is the easiest to remove from the curricula. While students may believe that there are cultural reasons to teach Tamazight, many echo the sentiment of the student who wrote, “I don't think that it is sufficient that [Amazighe languages] are deeply rooted in our heritage.” Some students feel that cultural reasons alone are not enough to justify teaching Tamazight at the expense of more prestigious languages.

9.2.3 Summary

Students’ justifications for their opinions about whether Tamazight should be taught in schools were diverse and complicated. Some echoed those expressed by students in Ennaji’s 2002 study, such as preferring it to be an optional course; preferring it to be limited to a certain level of education, a certain segment of the population, or to certain subject areas; worrying that
pedagogical materials are not adequate; or feeling that if foreign languages are taught, Tamazight should be as well (Ennaji 2005: 179). Ennaji also found slight positive feelings towards the teaching of Tamazight, with 57% of his respondents indicating that they support teaching Tamazight (2005: 179). Our results agree with his, indicating that students feel slightly positively towards teaching Tamazight in general, particularly those who see Tamazight as an important part of Moroccan culture. However, students disagree about whether Tamazight should be used as a language of instruction. Even those who like this idea feel that it is premature, and that it must wait until Tamazight establishes itself in schools and until more pedagogical materials are developed. Students who are indifferent to the idea of teaching Tamazight feel that it should not be used as language of instruction, for although they do not care if it is taught as an optional language, they do not support taking resources away from any language in order to give Tamazight more time. They feel that Tamazight is not useful and cannot displace French, English, or Modern Standard Arabic. Because students feel that Tamazight cannot compete with these more prestigious languages, they believe that schools should focus on teaching languages that are useful in international trade and employment rather than Tamazight.

These results indicate that creating a niche for Tamazight in the linguistic market by emphasizing it as the language of Moroccan culture, while beneficial, may need to be supplemented by other methods as well. While some students want Tamazight to be taught in order to preserve Amazighe culture, many other students feel that cultural importance is not sufficient to make Tamazight equal to French, English, and Modern Standard Arabic. One change that some Tamazight activists advocate for is to make Tamazight one of the subjects covered in examinations. Students might take the language more seriously if they were required to know it to earn their baccalaureates. Our results indicate that this step and similar actions are
necessary to increase the popularity of Tamazight, as our results show that the current implementation of Tamazight in schools is not enough to convince students that Tamazight is useful in education.

9.3 Human Rights Discourse and Tamazight

In the previous sections, we have proposed two strategies that could increase the prestige of Tamazight: creating a linguistic niche for Tamazight around the idea of Tamazight as the language of Moroccan cultural authenticity, and using universal human rights discourse to argue for the protection of Tamazight. In the next section, we explore the latter option by examining the ways in which the Tamazight movement has appealed to the kind of universal human rights discourse promoted by the United Nations.

The Tamazight movement has engaged internationally with other activist groups working for the rights of minority language communities. Tamazight activists have represented the movement at many United Nations conferences on indigenous rights. The movement has often justified their demands with references to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights, and other international documents. For instance, the following quotation from the president of the World Amazigh Congress appears on the organization’s website: “the Amazigh people, like other people, have the right to fully enjoy all the human rights and fundamental liberties recognized by the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and international law relating to human rights” (WAC). The Amazigh movement is strongly connected with international indigenous rights movements, and frequently utilizes rhetoric from the United Nation’s human rights discourse to promote its aims.
One of the concrete ways in which the Tamazight movement has sought to incorporate appeals to universal human rights discourse is in the textbooks developed by IRCAM. The Modern Standard Arabic textbooks used in Moroccan schools portray traditional gender roles and reinforce conservative religious beliefs and stereotypes. Sadiqi (1995: 75) reports that:

“Stereotypes relating to how Moroccan women are perceived and talked about are dangerously reinforced in children’s textbooks. Females (both girls and women) are always shown performing domestic duties like cleaning the floor and washing up dishes; whereas males (both boys and men) are shown piloting an airplane, playing violent games, etc. Words and expressions that little boys utter like ‘bnat fushlat!’ (girls are weak!) mutla ‘bish an’ ana! ‘Don’t play with us!’ (said to a girl), etc, reflect this attitude.”

Bentahila also reports finding that Arabic textbooks promote conservative values, and attributes the popularity of French over Modern Standard Arabic partly to the fact that “the content of the Arabic textbooks used in Moroccan schools tends to relate to the past, to religion and moral themes, while the French textbooks have themes which are more up-to-date and in touch with the tastes of young readers” (1983: 158). In contrast to the conservative content in the Modern Standard Arabic textbooks used in schools, one of my collaborators at IRCAM reports that IRCAM intentionally designs its textbooks to promote diversity, tolerance, and gender equality. A cursory review of the textbooks, available publicly on the website of IRCAM, supports this claim, as the textbooks depict women in a variety of professional settings and incorporate ethnically diverse characters.

Indeed, while the Tamazight movement has worked to portray itself as progressive and international, this decision has not been without controversy. They have faced criticism by
conservative religious groups, who feel that the United Nations universal rights discourse is incompatible with Islamic values. These groups accuse the Tamazight movement of being a Westernizing influence in the country. However, our results show that despite this criticism, the use of human rights discourse has positively influenced our respondents’ feelings towards Tamazight. Students frequently included references towards tolerance, diversity, and other values promoted by international human rights discourse, writing, for instance, that Tamazight “should be respected and preserve its continuity because it is part and parcel of human culture.”

It appears that the strategy of appealing to universal human rights has been highly effective among segments of the population similar to the university students we studied. Although some students in our survey are Islamic Studies majors, and are likely to be religiously conservative, no students criticized the Tamazight movement for allying itself internationally: indeed, most of the criticism was that Tamazight is not important enough internationally, and that it is too traditional or old-fashioned. Utilizing human rights discourse seems to be an effective strategy for the Tamazight movement, at least in appealing to educated, urban youth.

Ennaji reiterates Spolsky’s (2004) notion that “it is extremely difficult to write about language policy without taking a stand on the “desirability for linguistic diversity” (2005: 15). It may be difficult for linguists, for whom the case for linguistic diversity is often so obvious, to separate themselves from their own beliefs in universal human rights enough to consider other perspectives\(^\text{21}\), but the government actors who shape national language policies are not usually equally convinced of the desirability of linguistic diversity. Linguists should separate their own

\(^{21}\) For instance, Ennaji himself, in his most recent book on Moroccan sociolinguistics, makes a strong appeal to diversity, without discussing the considerations involved in taking this stance, when he writes that: “The strength of a culture resides in its power to assimilate other cultures. A strong culture is less likely to be invaded by a foreign culture than a weak culture. When a culture is weak, it tends to be less flexible and less tolerant towards other cultures. The people evolving in this sort of culture become dogmatic and hostile to foreign cultures. The strength of a culture may be measured by the degree of tolerance of and openness to other cultures” (2005: 21).
assumptions of about the value of linguistic diversity from its perceived value in the population they are studying. It is our belief that the assumption of a common grounding in and acceptance of universal human rights should not be made lightly. Appeals based on these values will not motivate someone who does not accept the basic premise that tolerance, openness to other cultures, and diversity are important. It is useful to consider the presuppositions of the appeals being made in order to determine which lines of reasoning will be most effective with which groups.

Our study shows that the Tamazight movement’s utilization of human rights discourse is effective at convincing educated urban youth that the preservation of Tamazight is important because these youth already believe in the values in which the Tamazight movement has grounded its appeals. When aiming to be equally successful in persuading groups that are not as familiar with universal human rights discourse, the Tamazight movement may need to find justifications that rely on other systems of values as well. In order for appeals taken from international human rights discourse to be effective, they should not be utilized unconsciously, but deliberately, with the values of the community to which they are addressed in mind. Indeed, we argue that if language activists (or linguists) wish to shape national language policy in general, they would do well to make the values upon which they are basing their claims explicit and appropriate to the communities which they are hoping to influence.

9.4 Gender Dynamics and Tamazight

In the previous section, we discussed the fact that the textbooks developed by IRCAM attempt to promote gender equality, in contrast to the gender stereotypes presented in the Modern Standard Arabic textbooks used in public schools. In this section, we delve more deeply into the intersection of gender issues and Tamazight.
While the Tamazight movement generally holds progressive views of gender equality, Hoffman points out that the situation of monolingual Tamazight speakers, the majority of whom are female, presents a quandary for language activists. These women are highly effective at preserving the language, but only because they are denied access to schooling and are thus unable to learn other languages. The patterns of illiteracy and poverty that keep women monolingual Tamazight speakers at home, in the country, and out of schools, are the best preservers of the language (Hoffman 2008: 232). When these women receive increased access and opportunities, they are less likely to pass on the language to their children. In this view, then, the promotion of women also hastens the decline of Tamazight.

Ennaji sees the issue differently, however. He believes that it is possible to raise the status of the language in a way that would raise the status of the women, as keepers of the language, as well. He writes that raising the status of indigenous languages will bring about a transformation of gender roles, for, “in almost every society, women are the protectors and saviours of native languages, mothers transmit the mother tongue to their children through generations. The promotion of indigenous languages consequently leads to the emancipation of women and ultimately to development…. Conversely, the empowerment of women is concomitant with the promotion of native languages and sustainable development” (Ennaji 2005: 34). In Ennaji’s optimistic view, increasing the prestige of Tamazight will also increase the prestige of its primary preservers, rural women.

Our study did not specifically address the issue of language gendering in Morocco, nor did many of our respondents bring up gender issues. However, this issue had significant impact even on small studies like ours, as one of the issues we faced in interpreting the results of our survey was that almost all of our native Tamazight speakers were male, a reflection of the fact
that women in rural opportunities are much less likely to be able to leave home to pursue their studies.

In our view, however, Ennaji’s envisioning of the promotion of Tamazight as part and parcel of the promotion of rural women is too optimistic. It assumes that rural women will maintain their control over the language as it is being promoted. In reality, however, there is a centralization and standardization of the Tamazight language concurrent with its promotion that is shifting power over the language away from rural communities and towards urban centers of activism, like IRCAM, which is located in Rabat. This is an issue not only because of the ways in which transitioning a language from an oral form to a written form can devalue the oral traditions of the language, but also because it takes away the power that rural speakers have over the language. As work on standardizing the three Amazighe languages into one national Tamazight language is undertaken, rural women run the risk of speaking not only an unpopular language, but also an un-prestigious dialect of that language. While on the one hand, the transformation of Tamazight into a written language of education may allow rural women access to education in their native tongue, it may also deprive them of competency in their native tongue, if they do not receive access to the written form of the language and others do.

In other words, although the Tamazight movement desires to promote gender equality and to empower rural women, it must be careful about how it approaches language standardization. Although urban activists have the most power to advocate for the language, they also risk stripping rural communities of their power over the language. The way Tamazight activism and language planning is done should be redesigned in order to give more voice to rural language users and advocates. In fact, an effective network of Amazigh cultural associations in rural communities is already in place: if IRCAM and other centers of urban activism committed
to a deeper partnership with these grassroots organizations, a way of promoting Tamazight and promoting rural women simultaneously could be envisioned. In some ways, the Tamazight speakers in our study represent a bridge between the rural communities of Tamazight speakers and the urban activist groups, for while our students have had access to education and currently live in an urban center, the majority of them come from rural areas in the south of the country. This transitional generation, who study in cities but call rural Morocco home, could prove an instrumental one making the voices of rural communities heard among urban activist groups like IRCAM.

9.5 Tamazight Conclusion

Students’ attitudes towards Tamazight are complex. Few students in our study report using Tamazight frequently in any domain: the situations in which Tamazight was most used were at home, when listening to music, and when watching television, but Tamazight was used infrequently even in these domains. Tamazight received the lowest scores for importance and positive perception of speakers of any language in our study. Slightly less than a fifth of students felt that Tamazight should be an official language, indicating that students do not support the recent constitutional recognition of Tamazight. Yet, when asked how they feel about Tamazight itself, results were slightly positive, as were responses to whether Tamazight should be taught in schools.

While some students have strongly negative feelings towards Tamazight, and do not recognize it as a real language, most students who expressed negative feelings towards Tamazight or towards the use of Tamazight in schools were not strongly opposed to the language. Instead, they felt that Tamazight was simply not very useful. Many of these students even acknowledge the cultural significance that Tamazight has, but feel that since Tamazight
cannot compete with more prestigious languages like Modern Standard Arabic, French, and English, it is futile to promote its use.

Our results indicate that the only way to gain acceptance for Tamazight is to make students believe that it is useful. There are two main approaches that language planners have taken to increase the prestige of indigenous or endangered languages: increase the use of the language in media and technology in hopes of making the language seem trendy, and introduce the language in schools in hopes of making the language seem scholarly and official.

In his 2001 article, Saib argues that electronic media is more effective than pedagogical programs in preserving languages (242). Electronic media is arguably better at instilling desire to learn the language in young children. It does not require as much cooperation from the government, which is an advantage for the Tamazight movement, having faced significant difficulties in implementing Tamazight education due to resistance from the Ministry of Education, hostile principals, and unenthusiastic teachers. Ennaji reports that 78% of his respondents felt that having more news broadcasts in Tamazight would improve the situation of the language (2005: 178). Despite the fact that IRCAM has worked to promote Tamazight media, successfully making a wide range of television and radio programs available in Tamazight, students in our study reported using Tamazight only infrequently when watching television or listening to music. It may be that despite the fact that programs are widely available, the programs themselves are not popular because of their content. A more in-depth study could focus on what specific programs in Tamazight are popular. In order to be most successful, electronic media should promote the idea of Tamazight as a modern, international language by offering plenty of entertainment targeted towards young people. This is one area in which IRCAM could
focus its efforts to promote Tamazight, as it is likely to be effective at changing the attitudes of
the youth, who are the most important part of the population for language preservation.

The introduction of Tamazight into schools, on the other hand, has not been highly
successful thus far. Cornwell and Atia estimate that 25% of Moroccan elementary schools teach Tamazight, but this seems like an optimistic assessment (2012: 262). Even my consultants at IRCAM did not claim that more than 10% of elementary schools were teaching Tamazight. Indeed, the results from Hannafi’s 2005 study suggest that many of the teachers who were initially enthusiastic about teaching Tamazight have, due to the difficulties caused by the uncooperative reaction of the Ministry of Education, become discouraged. Only 27% reported satisfaction in their teaching of Tamazight, while 68% indicated that they were dissatisfied (Errihani 2008: 151). The most common cause of dissatisfaction was the lack of training and supplies that the teachers had received (Errihani 2008: 151). Only 38% responded that they were still willing to teach Tamazight, while 60% felt that they were too frustrated to continue (Errihani 2008: 151). While our respondents were slightly in favor of Tamazight being taught, even those who strongly supported the move often made their approval conditional. Many students felt that it should be taught to native speakers, not all students; that the teaching should proceed slowly, as materials are developed; and that it should only be used as a language of instruction in certain subjects, with certain students, or at certain levels of education. The teaching of Tamazight is bound to be controversial in whatever form it takes, as students have very different visions of how and where it should be taught.

Both of these strategies may be effective at increasing the prestige of Tamazight, as both seek to make Tamazight appear useful. Students who have negative attitudes towards Tamazight most often hold these views because they do not perceive Tamazight as a language that plays an
important role in Morocco. While religious conservatives in Morocco may feel that Tamazight threatens the idea of Modern Standard Arabic as a symbol of national unity, these students do not perceive Tamazight as threatening. They have embraced the “pluralism [that] is both a historical tradition and a way of life in this region of the world,” as Ennaji writes. He goes on to say that “this is one of the reasons why most Moroccans do not view multilingualism and multiculturalism as a danger for national unity” (2005: 26). It is not that students feel actively hostile to Tamazight, but simply that in the crowded linguistic market of Morocco, other products sell faster. As Kaye writes, “The insistence on plurilinguality is not an effective position when it is locked into a trajectory where languages are graded as steps giving access to higher levels of power” (1990: 31). Tamazight is not essential to unlock a domain in the same way that more prestigious languages are. If Modern Standard Arabic is the language of religion and school, French is the language of business and romance, English is the language of science and international relations, and Moroccan Arabic is the language of the street, then what is left for Tamazight?

We suggest that Tamazight must carve out a linguistic niche in the market, and that, given the responses of the students in our survey, culture is the domain in which it is most important. Given the belief expressed by many students that Tamazight is an integral component of Moroccan culture, Tamazight activists should promote the idea of Tamazight as the most culturally Moroccan language. This process involves distinguishing a Moroccan culture separate from Islamic culture, for otherwise Modern Standard Arabic will continue to represent Moroccan national identity. A response by one student encapsulates this idea: when asked what languages should be official, she wrote, “Arabic for religious reasons. Tamazight for cultural reasons.” If activists can convince the population that there is a need for a language to express Moroccan
culture, then Tamazight can secure itself a unique niche on the Moroccan linguistic market and raise its prestige accordingly. Our findings do not support Davies’ and Bentahila’s view that “Berber is rapidly being lost, but that this is not felt to imply a loss or change of identity” (quoted in Boukous 1995: 19), as even many of the students in our study who do not support Tamazight concur that Tamazight represents Moroccan culture. The challenge, rather, is to convince the population that culture is enough of a reason to preserve Tamazight, that culture is not old-fashioned, traditional, and folkloric, but rather living, vital, and capable of adapting to modernity.
10 French

French has historically been a language of prestige, with connotations of modernity and Western culture. Ennaji writes that “French has gained more prestige and influence in the country because of its utility in economic and technical sectors and its role in social promotion. Thus, modernity, social success, prestige, economic and scientific matters are associated with French” (2005: 37).

Results from this survey show that French is one of the languages that students use most frequently with technology, in formal situations like work and interactions with the government, and in informal settings such as with romantic partners. Students are also frequent consumers of French media. Students use French often, and they rate it as one of the most important languages to them.

Yet for all the positive attitudes towards French, it is also associated negatively with colonialism and classism. Results from this study have shown that women who attended private schools value and use French much more than their peers. Public school students may see English as a way to circumvent the advantage that upper class students gain from their superior French skills. In order to examine the complex attitudes that students hold about French, we will examine students’ feelings towards the language more closely.

10.1 Attitudes

Students were asked to rate their own feelings towards French and the feelings of others towards the language. 78.7% of students responded to the first question, and 85.4% to the second. Students’ descriptions of their own feelings were rated on average a 3.7, indicating that they feel more positively about French than they do about Moroccan Arabic, but less positively than they do about English or Modern Standard Arabic. Students’ descriptions of others’ feelings towards French were rated on average 3.7 as well, placing them more towards positive than Modern
Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic, but still below English. French majors felt more positively than other majors towards French, with an average score of 4.1, compared to 3.6 (t-test 0.006). Women also felt more positively towards French, with an average score of 3.9 compared to 3.5 for men (t-test 0.04). On the other hand, religion majors feel that others view French less positively than other majors do: they rate others’ feelings on average 2.9, while other majors rate them 3.7 (t-test 0.04). These demographic differences reflect similar trends found in responses to previous questions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How do you feel about French?</th>
<th>How do you think others feel about French?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avg. Score 1-5</td>
<td>St.Dev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.68</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 25: Feelings of Self and Others Towards French

10.2 Reasons

In addition to these questions, students were given six possible responses and asked to select reasons that French is important. 68.5% of respondents answered this question. Of these, 55.7% chose business and employment purposes as a reason that French is important. Students mentioned these reasons when describing how they feel about French as well: one student wrote that “since all institutions use it... it is impossible to have a job without it,” a sentiment that many others students seconded in their own responses. Several students described it as the “language of the Moroccan administration,” indicating that the Arabization of the government has never really been completed. Others point to its utility abroad, describing it as the “official language with a third of the world,” while one student notes that people like French “from learned people because it opens doors for them to the world.” Some students go as far as to call it an “official language,” although many qualify this statement with “after Arabic.” These results are unsurprising, given the demand for French in many sectors; indeed, Ennaji found that “topics
and situations like computing, medicine, work, and banking were associated with French” (2005: 140). In his sentence completion study, Bentahila also found that scientific, technical, and industrial topics favor the use of French (1983: 63). The value for French skills on the job market and its use internationally are strong incentives for students to learn French.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Why is this language important?</th>
<th>Business / employment</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Informal communication</th>
<th>Not important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of responses</td>
<td>55.74</td>
<td>32.79</td>
<td>13.11</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 26: Reasons Why French is Important

32.8% of respondents chose education as a reason that French is important. This is unsurprising, as university students in almost all fields must study French. While natural science majors and some social science majors study entirely in French, even students majoring in other languages must continue taking French classes. One student worries in his answer that French is “important but the means to teach it have decreased.” Another notes that “learning it is important to me for my educational journey and in enriching my culture.” Neither of these students are French majors. French maintains a high level of prestige due to its role in higher education.

The next most frequently selected reason that French is important is cultural reasons. 13.1% of respondents chose this answer. No religion majors did, although 19.1% of other majors did (t-test 0.003), nor did any respondents from the south, although 15.4% of respondents from other areas did (t-test 0.004). Religion majors, who are in general more conservative, may feel more negatively towards French culture, and thus do not see this as a reason to value French. Many students indicated that they feel French is a cultured language when describing their own feelings towards French. One student wrote that he “feel[s] like a poet speaking French.”
Another respondent, also male, wrote that it is “classy and girlish, very important though.” This last response also suggests that French has a feminine connotation, supporting Sadiqi’s theory that French is a female-gendered language (Ennaji 2005: 146). When asked to evaluate others’ feelings towards French, several students also mentioned that French speakers are seen as cultured. One student wrote that others associate “eloquency” with French, and that people “would consider that you are educated and civilized” if you spoke French. Another echoed his sentiments, writing that “people who speak [F]rench are considered cultivated.” However, there is a risk to this association with erudition and culture: one student reports that when one uses French, people “think that you [are] trying to show off.” Although French gains prestige from its association with education and sophistication, the same effect can create a backlash against its usage.

Only 1.6% of respondents indicated that informal communication is a reason that French is important. This is an interesting finding, because, when questioned about their usage of French in various domains, students indicated that they use French fairly frequently in a range of informal settings, particularly when speaking with romantic partners and when sending emails and text messages. It seems that although students use French in daily life, they do not associate the language with informal communication. Indeed, the usage (and perception) of French in this context seems to vary greatly from speaker to speaker: while some students note that French is only for “formal correspondence and communication”, or that “only students and employers speak it,” other respondents mention that they use French informally. One student comments that she “like[s] using it in daily life.” Another describes it as a “good romance language.” Most notably of all, one student writes, “I play with expressions when [I] am with my friends.” This answer supports the idea that French is popular because students feel more comfortable playing
with it, that they feel it is a more permissive language. One reason for this perceived
permissiveness is no doubt its association with Western values and modernity: for instance,
Bentahila found in his sentence completion task that independence and romance were more often
discussed in French than in Modern Standard Arabic (1983: 44). Kaye writes that “French can be
transformed by the poet into a means of transcription of the private self. French lends itself more
easily to being a language of inwardness then Arabic, the “written national language”, which
remains bound to surfaces” (1990: 49). Bentahila found that 44% of his respondents had a
preference for “self-expression” in French, over 34% who preferred Modern Standard Arabic
(1983: 68). Despite the fact that students do not rate informal communication highly as a reason
that French is valuable, the permissiveness of French and its association with Western values of
independence and self-expression make some students feel more comfortable being playful with
the language.

Some results also indicate that students value French for its use in media and
entertainment. While this was not an option included in our question, when asked what
languages they use in technology and entertainment domains, students indicated frequent use of
French. Bentahila found students preferred French films and music because of their content
(1983: 70). He also found that students preferred to read in French, both because they find it
easier and because of the content of French materials, although students felt that they should read
in Modern Standard Arabic instead (1983: 69). One of our respondents also described French as
the “language used in reading,” supporting this view. As Ennaji writes, “Arabic and French have
come to symbolise different cultures and conflicting lifestyles,” so that “respondents associated
certain topics, interlocutors, and situations with Arabic, and associated others with French”
(2005: 140). Students choose to use French in domains of entertainment and media because they
find the content of the French options more interesting; the use of French in these domains, then, is tied to the popularity of the Western culture that is presented through French. If popular entertainment and media is presented in French, then French will have prestige from its trendiness.

3.28% of respondents selected religion as a reason that French is important. No students elaborated on this choice in their answers.

No students answered that French is not important. Not all students have positive attitudes towards French, but no student denied that French is important. Negative attitudes expressed by students are based instead on the feeling that French is a colonial imposition or that it is difficult to learn. One student, a philosophy major, writes that most people, himself included, “hate it because it's a hard language to understand.” When asked about his feelings towards French, another student wrote simply, “We were forced to learn it.” Several students mentioned that French is a colonial language: while some students speak of historical colonizing influence of France, one student notes that the French influence is still strong, describing contemporary Morocco as an “indirect” French colony. While students indicate that they use French frequently, in a variety of situations, responses indicate that students have very mixed feelings towards French. Part of French’s prestige is rooted in the fact that it is a language associated with the upper class, and students who struggle with the language dislike it because it prevents them from accessing certain domains.

10.3 Summary

Despite these negative associations, students use French in many situations and generally feel positively towards it. This indicates that the use of French is not going to cease any time in the
near future. French’s prestige comes from its association with culture and education (although, as we have seen, there is also a negative backlash from this association), from its utility internationally and on the job market, its association with science and technology, the trendiness of French language media, and the permissiveness and freedom association with the language. Hammond quotes Laroui 1973 as stating that French can only maintain its prestige if it continues to be the language of science and technology; otherwise “its situation will be comparable to the situation of Spanish in the Northern zone of Morocco where, because it is not a technological language it never constituted a danger for Arabic, and where it has not ceased to step backward since independence” (1982: 128), which would suggest that as English becomes increasingly popular in science and technology fields, French may decline. This view is perhaps too extreme, as it does not take into account the other differences between French and Spanish: French has considerable prestige from the other non-science and technology associations enumerated above. However, we have seen in other sections that English is becoming more popular in many of these domains, and we will discuss in Chapter 14 how English, as a language without the colonial and class baggage of French, is particularly popular among certain sectors of the population. Thus, we conclude that although French is in no immediate risk of a decline, if English begins to surpass French in the categories enumerated above, the use and popularity of French in Morocco may well decrease.
11 Spanish

Very few students in our study speak Spanish well or use it often. Only 4.7% of respondents describe themselves as fluent in Spanish, and none of them spoke Spanish before school. In general, few demographic differences have appeared in responses to questions about Spanish, because our respondent group uniformly does not use Spanish frequently. Only one Spanish major was included in our study, and our study took place in Rabat, where Spanish has never been popular, so the indifference towards Spanish is perhaps unsurprising.

11.1 Attitudes

When asked to evaluate their own feelings towards Spanish and the feelings of others towards Spanish, the majority of students gave neutral responses. 74.2% of students answered these questions. The average score for students’ feelings towards Spanish was 3.3, and the average score for students’ evaluations of how others feel towards Spanish was 3.1. The standard deviation for each question was below 0.9, indicating that in general, students are not divided about Spanish.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How do you feel about Spanish?</th>
<th>How do you think others feel about Spanish?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avg. Score 1-5</td>
<td>St.Dev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 27: Feelings of Self and Others Towards Spanish

11.2 Reasons

When asked to pick reasons that Spanish was important, out of five possible areas, the most popular response was that Spanish is not important. 66.3% of respondents answered this question, and out of the students who answered, 30.5% chose this response. Some responses to the free response questions about students’ own feelings towards Spanish reflected this view; one student commented that “no one use[s] this language in the streets.” Another wrote that “it’s
loved by the people who use it in their studies but the general public doesn't care about it.”

Several students described it as an optional language, and commented that people do not like Spanish because they do not understand it. The fact that Spanish is not widely used in the country causes students to feel that it is not a very valuable language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Why is this language important?</th>
<th>Business / employment</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Informal communication</th>
<th>Not important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of responses</td>
<td>13.56</td>
<td>18.64</td>
<td>27.12</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td>10.17</td>
<td>30.51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 28: Reasons that Spanish is Important

The next most popular response, however, with 27.1% of responses, was that Spanish is important for cultural reasons. The cultural reasons that Spanish is important seem to be the historical presence of Spanish. One student wrote that Spanish is “important since we were colonized by the Spanish too.” Several students mentioned specifically that Spanish is popular in the north of the country, in one case commenting that the “people of the North of Morocco love it; a very fast and beautiful language.” Indeed, although students do not seem to feel that Spanish is useful, several of the positive responses mentioned that the language itself was beautiful; one even describes it as “romantic and girlish,” while another mentions liking Spanish pronunciation in particular. Students do not seem to dislike Spanish, as many describe it as aesthetically pleasing, but they do not value it because they do not think it is useful.

18.6% of respondents felt that Spanish was important for education purposes. While only one of our respondents studies Spanish at the university level, Spanish is an option for public school students at the high school level, so some students may have studied it in school. Some students did describe Spanish as a “language of lectures”, perhaps because it is not frequently
used in their daily lives. No students from the south of Morocco gave education as a reason that Spanish is important, while 20% of other students did (t-test 0.001). No religion majors gave this answer either, while 20% of other majors did (t-test 0.001). Interestingly, private school attendees were more likely to give this answer: 42.9% of private school students and 11.6% of public school students gave education as a reason Spanish was important (t-test 0.048). It is possible that these students hope to study at Spanish universities; as mentioned previously, some students from wealthy families have been choosing to study in Spain rather than Britain or North America in recent years because Spanish universities are less expensive (Ennaji 2005: 113). It is also possible that private schools teach more Spanish.

13.6% of respondents answered that Spanish is important for business and employment reasons. Several students also indicated these reasons when describing how they feel towards Spanish. Trade with Spain and the hope of getting a job in Spain are two major reasons to learn Spanish. One respondent even described Spanish as the “illegal immigrants’ must-know language.” Students see Spanish as another possible global language, another “language that... helps in communication with the world,” in the words of one student. French majors say that Spanish is important for business and employment more than their peers: 50% of French majors gave this reason, while only 6.3% of non-majors did (t-test 0.03). Interestingly, no students from the south gave this reason, although the south historically had a stronger Spanish presence because of the colonial history in the region. 14% of students from other regions gave this answer (t-test 0.007). While students do not feel that Spanish is very useful, some students see it as potentially useful in business and in finding employment, particularly for those who plan to immigrate to Spain.
10.2% of respondents selected informal communication as a reason that Spanish is useful. Few individual responses referenced this function of Spanish, however. In general, responses to the question of how others’ feel about Spanish and about how the respondent feels towards Spanish indicated that Spanish is not frequently used. Responses to the domain questions, in which Spanish very rarely received a score above 4 ("I rarely use this language in this situation"), support this assessment.

An additional 3.4% of students answered that Spanish is useful for religious reasons. No student mentioned this in their answers to other questions about Spanish.

11.3 Summary

In general, then, Spanish is not widely used and not highly valued. Despite the fact that Spanish media is readily available in Morocco, no student mentioned that they feel positively towards Spanish because of music and movies, as they did for English. While some students feel that Spanish is important for cultural reasons, in education, and in business and employment, especially in Spain, most students do not see Spanish as very valuable. In the saturated linguistic market of Morocco, Spanish, as a language that is not perceived as giving any unique benefits unavailable through French or English, is likely to lose out to other more versatile, more popular, and more widely used languages.
12 Modern Standard Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic, along with, as of 2009, Tamazight, is the official language of Morocco. It is the language that is mandated for use in public schools. It is the language of religion, and the language of administration. Modern Standard Arabic, used in all formal domains, should be a prestigious language. Yet the results from the questions about domain usage suggest that other languages may be chipping away at the dominance of Modern Standard Arabic in Morocco, for while students reported using French, English, and even Moroccan Arabic some of the time in many formal situations, they did not report using Modern Standard Arabic often in informal situations. Even in the media, where state-sponsored programs have long been broadcast in Modern Standard Arabic to encourage Arabization, students report that other languages are more frequently used. In order to see whether the prestige of Modern Standard Arabic has indeed decreased since the heyday of Arabization in the 1980s, we will examine students’ attitudes towards Modern Standard Arabic more closely.

12.1 Attitudes

Students were asked to describe their feelings towards Modern Standard Arabic and to describe how others feel about Modern Standard Arabic. The response rates for these questions were 82.0% and 79.8% respectively. Students’ responses rated a 3.9 on a scale where 1 represents strong negative feelings and 5 represents strong positive feelings. Students’ evaluations of others’ feelings towards Modern Standard Arabic were rated 3.5. Students’ own feelings towards Modern Standard Arabic were more positive than they were towards French or Moroccan Arabic, but less positive than they were towards English. Their evaluations of others’ feelings towards Modern Standard Arabic were equally positive as those for Moroccan Arabic, but less positive than those for French and English. This shows that despite the fact that Modern
Standard Arabic may be losing ground to other languages in its usage in formal domains, it is still a prestigious language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How do you feel about MSA?</th>
<th>How do you think others feel about MSA?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avg. Score 1-5</td>
<td>St.Dev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>1.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 29: Feelings of Self and Others about Modern Standard Arabic

As part of her discussion of language gendering in Morocco, Fatima Sadiqi claims that Modern Standard Arabic is a male language. She writes that “Moroccan men in general do not display positive attitudes towards women that are proficient in [Modern Standard Arabic]. They are more favorable towards their proficiency in [French], because proficiency in [Modern Standard Arabic] symbolizes cultural identity and power and hence, is more threatening to the established male-biased status quo” (2008: 160). However, no gender differences were found in attitudes towards Modern Standard Arabic in our study, nor were gender differences apparent in competency in or usage of Modern Standard Arabic. This suggests that either Modern Standard Arabic no longer symbolizes cultural power, so women using MSA are no longer threatening; that a change in the way that women’s use of language is viewed has taken place; or that the gendering of Modern Standard Arabic does not affect our respondents. While our present study does not delve deeply enough into the gendering of languages to distinguish between these factors, our results indicate that some shift has taken place since Sadiqi’s work was published, and that this topic merits further investigation.

12.2 Religion

Religion plays a central role in preserving the prestige of Modern Standard Arabic. Students feel attached to this language because it is, as many students responded, “the language of the Qur'an”; one student even added that it is the “language of the people of heaven.” When asked to select
reasons that Modern Standard Arabic is important from six responses, 46.8% of the 69.7% of students who answered selected religion. Wrapped up in the religious significance of Modern Standard Arabic is the idea of Islam as a unifying force in the country. Students feel that Modern Standard Arabic, as the language of Islam, connects them to other Muslim countries, particularly the Gulf states, as well as bringing together diverse parts of the country through a common religion. One respondent expressed this idea in her description of her feelings towards Modern Standard Arabic, writing that it is “the language of my religion and the source of pride for me…. I feel that it links me with a territory… that extends from the ocean to the Gulf.” She went on to write that “it gives me the feeling of belonging to Arabness and knowing it means having a culture that unites… religiously and nationally.” Modern Standard Arabic incites strong feelings because it is seen as a language that unites Morocco and connects it to other countries through religion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Why is this language important?</th>
<th>Business / employment</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Informal communication</th>
<th>Not important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of responses</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>22.58</td>
<td>20.97</td>
<td>46.77</td>
<td>4.84</td>
<td>4.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 30: Reasons that Modern Standard Arabic is Important

12.3 Culture

Indeed, it is sometimes hard to differentiate between cultural and religious motivations for valuing Modern Standard Arabic, as the two are so interconnected. 21.0% of respondents indicated that they feel Modern Standard Arabic is important for cultural reasons. One respondent, an Arabic Studies major, weaves the two motivations together in her response, writing that she feels “proud to use this language because it is our language and the language of the Qur’an.” She feels very strongly about Modern Standard Arabic, writing that “it is obligatory
to be proud of it.... I am one of its lovers and I love speaking it.” Her response hints at the idea that students feel obliged to value Modern Standard Arabic, both because of its religious significance and because of the perception that it is central to national unity. Another student, who studies Spanish, not Arabic, echoes this idea, writing that Modern Standard Arabic is an “official language of the country so we must interest the people in all levels.” Marley found in her study that 42.1% of her respondents strongly agree with the statement that “MSA represents Moroccan national identity,” while an additional 31.4% agreed slightly (2005: 37). Modern Standard Arabic represents for many the unifying force of Islam in the country.

Several students also described Modern Standard Arabic as a mother tongue, which is very surprising, as Modern Standard Arabic is not frequently spoken in the home. In some sense, however, it seems that Modern Standard Arabic is viewed as the mother tongue of the nation, not of the individual; for instance, one student who described Modern Standard Arabic as “our mother tongue” actually reported in the demographic portion of the survey that she was raised in a French-speaking household and spoke neither Moroccan Arabic nor Modern Standard Arabic before school. Thus, these responses should be interpreted to mean that students feel the cultural attachments that one normally feels towards one’s mother tongue, not that Modern Standard Arabic is actually the mother tongue of these respondents.

While cultural reasons for valuing Modern Standard Arabic were common, they were much less prevalent among certain demographic groups. No French majors chose cultural reasons as the reason that Modern Standard Arabic is important, while 25.5% of respondents from other majors did so (t-test 0.0001). Private school students are also less likely to choose cultural reasons as the justification: only 6.7% of respondents who attended private schools did, in comparison to 26.7% of respondents who attended public school (t-test 0.04). These groups
are also those who value French the most highly; perhaps students who have greater exposure to French culture value the cultural associations of Modern Standard Arabic less highly than their peers.

12.4 Education

Modern Standard Arabic is the primary language of education in all public schools, and it is used at the university level in humanities and some social sciences. 22.6% of respondents chose education as a reason that Modern Standard Arabic is important. While students did not often mention wanting to improve their command of Modern Standard Arabic for educational purposes, they did indicate that skilled speakers of Modern Standard Arabic are viewed as erudite and cultured. One student notes that she enjoys reading poetry and literature in Modern Standard Arabic, while another remarks that “only the intellectuals know its value.” In fact, the connotation of erudition and culture that Modern Standard Arabic carries seems in some cases to work against the popularity of the language. When asked to describe how others feel towards Modern Standard Arabic, one student writes that “they feel, as [if] you are trying to show off being educated.” Moroccans have high expectations for competency in Modern Standard Arabic, because it is the primary language in schools, so speakers who make mistakes feel especially self-conscious. Indeed, one respondent notes that people “usually feel shy when you talk to them in [Modern Standard Arabic],” most likely because they are not confident in their ability to reply without mistakes. Although Modern Standard Arabic connotes cultivation and education, these associations work against the popularity of the language, because speakers feel self-conscious and prefer speaking languages in which they are more confident or in which their mistakes will be less socially penalized.
Interestingly, one respondent, an Islamic Studies major, writes that she suspects the association of Modern Standard Arabic with religion works against Modern Standard Arabic in a similar way. “I think that some people don't like to use this language,” she writes. “Some people attribute it to the devout people,” she continues, “and maybe they are repulsed by it even if it is the language of the Qur'an and the language of the people of heaven.” While Modern Standard Arabic, as a language of culture, religion, and education, is prestigious, some of the very reasons why it is prestigious seem to work against its usage and popularity.

12.5 Business and Employment

Few students indicated that Modern Standard Arabic is useful for business and employment purposes. This reason was chosen by 12.9% of respondents. This is surprising, given that Modern Standard Arabic, as the formal variety of Arabic, should be used in the workplace. In our questions about which languages students use with professionals and at work, however, students also indicated that they use Modern Standard Arabic infrequently. Some of the students did mention using Modern Standard Arabic at work in their responses to how they and others feel about the language, though: for instance, one student wrote that Modern Standard Arabic is “related to school but some use it to communicate with superiors.” While some students feel that Modern Standard Arabic is useful at work, other languages, including Moroccan Arabic, are more popular, even in this formal domain.

12.6 Informal Domains

Few students indicated using Modern Standard Arabic in informal domains. Only 4.8% of students chose this response. In fact, every single respondent who chose this answer was a male public school student. 11.5% of them gave this reason, while no female students or male private school attendees did. It is not surprising that Modern Standard Arabic, as the high variety of
Arabic, is not used in informal situations. The negative perceptions of those who speak Modern Standard Arabic discussed above, such as the feeling that they are trying to show off, or that they are too devout, no doubt also contribute.

Yet, for all this, only 4.8% of respondents answered that Modern Standard Arabic is unimportant. Female private students are the only group who feels that this is true, with 33.3% of them answering that Modern Standard Arabic is not important, while no public school females, no private school males, and only 3.9% of public school males agreed. In general, it is not the case that students feel that Modern Standard Arabic is unimportant; it is more that they themselves do not prefer to use it. Modern Standard Arabic is seen as inflexible, easy to make mistakes in, and perhaps even boring. One student writes that he loves Modern Standard Arabic, but that it makes him fall asleep, while another describes the language as “romantic but old-fashioned.” In El Essawi’s 2011 article, which focuses on the use of Latin script in Egypt, she notes that her respondents do not prefer to send text messages in Modern Standard Arabic, because they “fear to “mess up Arabic.”” (268). Similar fears may inhibit the use of Modern Standard Arabic by students, even in the domains in which it has traditionally been used, such as the workplace. The perceived rigidity and old-fashionedness of the language may also explain why media in Modern Standard Arabic is not popular, even though it is widely available.

12.7 Summary

Although Modern Standard Arabic continues to be a language of prestige within Morocco, due to its affiliations with religion, nationalism, culture, and education, students do not choose to use the language frequently. In general, students respect the language, but they do not love it, because fears of expressing themselves poorly in the language or of being perceived as snobbish and overly religious inhibit their use of the language. While Modern Standard Arabic maintains
its prestigious place as the language of religion, its dominance in many formal domains, such as the constitution, the workplace, and the classroom, is gradually being chipped away at by Moroccan Arabic, English, French, and perhaps even Tamazight.
13 Moroccan Arabic

The view that much of the literature on language attitudes in Morocco takes of Moroccan Arabic is that it is an unwritten language used only in informal situations. The results of our study qualify the first characteristic, as students report reading in Morocco Arabic occasionally. They also call into question the validity of the second. As discussed previously, students report using Moroccan Arabic in formal settings such as work, interactions with professionals, and in the classroom. In addition, our results suggest that Moroccan Arabic has a high level of covert prestige among our respondents. In the following section, we will examine students’ attitudes towards Moroccan Arabic more closely, in order to examine the prestige of the language.

13.1 Attitudes

Students were asked to describe their own feelings towards Moroccan Arabic and the feelings of others towards Moroccan Arabic. 82.0% of students answered the first question, and 84.3% answered the second. Their responses were then rated on a scale where 1 indicates strong negative feelings and 5 indicates strong positive feelings. On average, students’ feelings towards Moroccan Arabic scored a 3.5, while students’ descriptions of others’ feelings received a 3.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How do you feel about MA?</th>
<th>How do you think others feel about MA?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avg. Score 1-5</td>
<td>St.Dev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 31: Feelings of Self and Others Towards Moroccan Arabic

Some students’ answers reflected the view of Moroccan Arabic as an unwritten language without any prestige. These answers generally expressed the feeling that Moroccan Arabic should not be used, that it is not a complete language, or that it is merely a necessary evil that should ideally be replaced with Modern Standard Arabic. One respondent goes as far as calling it a “vulgar and barbaric language.” Another voiced the idea that Moroccan Arabic is threatening
to Modern Standard Arabic because it mixes foreign words with Arabic: “darija is a blow to Arabic language,” wrote this Islamic Studies major, “because most words in Darija are originally from French like “moteur,” “camion,” …”. Others conclude that although Moroccan Arabic is necessary, it is not ideal. One such student describes it as “our original language which one must use,” but goes on to conclude that “it's not good.” These responses illustrate the typical perspective on Moroccan Arabic that has been described by sociolinguists.

Yet for all these typical responses that surfaced, there were also surprisingly positive reactions. Some respondents called Moroccan Arabic an official language, although it has never been recognized as such by the government; one student wrote that Moroccan Arabic is “used in an official way in Morocco and we cannot do without it because it’s the communication tool between Moroccans even for the rulers.” Responses like these indicate that Moroccan Arabic actually possesses overt prestige. Other students express more covert pride in Moroccan Arabic, associating it with cultural identity, or favoring it because it is widely spoken. One such student wrote simply “Darija = Morocco.” Indeed, the sentiment that Moroccan Arabic is the true language of Moroccan identity because it is the language that most Moroccans speak was recurrent. As one student wrote, “everyone speaks Darija, [that] is why it is the first language in the country.” Many students believe that Moroccan Arabic is an important unifying language that expresses national identity.

13.2 Reasons

When asked to choose reasons why Moroccan Arabic is important out of six possible responses, almost a quarter of the 65.2% of students who answered the question selected cultural reasons. These reasons, undoubtedly, include those expressed above. Students also believe that Moroccan Arabic allows them to access the cultural heritage of the country. In one student’s descriptions of
her feelings about Moroccan Arabic, she writes that it “makes me feel that I belong to my country and my region and my family environment... it’s my way to learn about the language of the culture of my ancestors.” Another student commented that “people like to speak in darija because Morocco contains a prolific popular culture.” Unlike Modern Standard Arabic, entertainment and media in Moroccan Arabic is popular. As the only uniquely Moroccan language, Moroccan Arabic is the proper language in which to access Moroccan culture, whether through Moroccan media or through connections to historical traditions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Why is this language important?</th>
<th>Business / employment</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Informal communication</th>
<th>Not important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of responses</td>
<td>17.24</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>24.14</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>3.45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 32: Reasons that Moroccan Arabic is Important

The fact that Moroccan Arabic is used to access media and entertainment adds to its popularity and trendiness, especially among youth. Unlike Modern Standard Arabic, which students associated with old-fashionedness and religiosity, Moroccan Arabic is described by students as a “current (modern) language.” Students reported using Moroccan Arabic in informal technology domains such as text messaging and sending emails. As an easily adaptable, flexible language, Moroccan Arabic is a good choice for such quickly developing forms of communication. While students might feel as though they are “messing up” Modern Standard Arabic if they send messages in the Latin alphabet, they do not feel guilty about using a new transliteration system for Moroccan Arabic, because it has no prescribed proper form to get wrong. Students also feel that they can borrow freely from other languages into Moroccan Arabic.
Indeed, a common theme in students’ descriptions of feelings towards Moroccan Arabic is that it is above all a comfortable language. 43.1% of respondents to the question of why Moroccan Arabic is important chose informal communication as the reason. Moroccan Arabic is the dominant language of informal communication, and it is perceived positively for this reason, despite the fact that it is not a formal language and has no standard written form. In fact, the lack of a standardized form of Moroccan Arabic may actually contribute to its popularity, as students are not concerned about expressing themselves poorly in the language. As one student writes, it is “a language which is understood by everybody and they can express themselves through it freely.” Other students describe it as a “simple and magnificent language” or as a “comfortable, suitable language.” These findings support Marley’s view that “despite the fact that this language has no written form and no official prestige,” Moroccan Arabic has “a high degree of ‘covert prestige’ [as] the only language in which these young people can really feel confident and able to express themselves adequately” (2005: 39). Moroccan Arabic is popular because it is widely spoken and because students feel at liberty to express themselves in the language without fear of making mistakes.

In addition to these reasons, some students feel that Moroccan Arabic is important for business and employment purposes. 17.2% of respondents gave this reason. Students indicated in questions about domain usage that they use Moroccan Arabic sometimes at work and sometimes with professionals, despite the fact that these formal domains are traditionally places for Modern Standard Arabic.

Very few respondents felt that education and religion were reasons that Moroccan Arabic is important. 6.9% feel that it is important for education, despite the fact that students report
using it in the classroom. 3.5% responded that it is important for religious reasons, although no respondents elaborated on this view.

13.3 Summary

Only 3.5% of respondents replied that Moroccan Arabic is not important. In general, then, despite the fact that some respondents do not see any value in Moroccan Arabic, many students attribute a high level of covert prestige to it, and some even feel that it has overt prestige as a national language. Despite the fact that Moroccan Arabic has been seen as an informal, unwritten, low prestige language, students value Moroccan Arabic, indicating that it possesses a high degree of covert prestige. It is the language that expresses Moroccan culture. It is a language that they use even in formal domains like work, school, and in the media. It is the language in which they can communicate with most Moroccans, and the language that is unique to Morocco. Above all, it is the language in which they feel the most comfortable expressing themselves. Moroccan Arabic continues to evolve and to adapt to new technologies and domains; given the positive attitudes and even pride that students demonstrate for Moroccan Arabic, and its growth in formal domains, the usage and popularity of the language may increase in the future. Certain responses even hint that Moroccan Arabic may be transitioning from a high level of covert prestige to a level of overt prestige, given the fact that several respondents describe it as a national language. If Moroccan Arabic continues to rise in importance as a marker of national and cultural identity, it may eventually become a prestigious language recognized in official functions like Modern Standard Arabic.
While English is a foreign language without a historical presence in the country comparable to the colonial languages, Spanish and French, the popularity of English in Morocco is growing. Although no respondents spoke English in their homes before starting school, 51.8% describe themselves as fluent in English. There are no gender or class differences in fluency in English, in contrast to French. Results from Chapter 7 indicate that the domains in which English is most used are technology, entertainment, and with friends. Results from Chapter 6 show that students feel that the use of English is perceived positively, while Chapter 8 indicates that a significant portion of students would favor teaching science in English. More students believe that English is a language of the future and that children should learn English than any they do for any other language. In this section, we focus more closely on the attitudes towards English that these results illustrate.

14.1 Attitudes

Students were asked two open-ended questions about language attitudes towards English. The first question asked students “How do you feel about English?”, and the second asked, “How do you think others feel about English?”. We then rated the responses on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 indicates strong negative feelings and 5 indicates strong positive feelings. The response rate was 78% for the first question and 81% for the second.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How do you feel about English?</th>
<th>How do you think others feel about English?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avg. Score 1-5</td>
<td>St.Dev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 33: Feelings of Self and Others Towards English

The average score for how students feel about English was 4.1, which indicates that students generally have positive feelings towards English. The average score for how others feel
about English was slightly lower, at 3.9, but still positive. In fact, English scored higher than any other language in both categories.

14.2 Reasons

Students explained their own positive feelings towards English with reasons that echoed the popularity of English in the domains discussed above. One student described English as his “favorite language for movies and music,” reflecting the popularity of English in television and music found in Chapter 7. Another student wrote that English is “very important in the opinion of science students... each one of us wishes to know this language.” Students also perceive English as a stylish or trendy language, describing it as a “language used and loved by the youth.” In one particularly interesting response, a student described English as chic, and drew in a heart made of a less-than sign and the number three, a symbol used in text messaging and online chatting. These responses indicate that English has a positive association with science, technology, and trendy culture.

In addition, students value English as an international language. Many students, aware of the global growth of English, implied in their answers that English is particularly important today, perhaps in contrast to languages whose presence in Morocco has been influential historically. For instance, one student describes English as the “most important language nowadays,” while another writes that it is “an essential language whose learning has become obligatory if you want to communicate with the world.” Students also emphasized that English is important for international relations and trade, writing that English is “the language of the world economy today.” While students may feel that other languages are useful within the country, they value English because they are aware of its growth and importance internationally.
In order to understand more specifically why English is valued, students were given five possible reasons that languages are important and asked to indicate which reasons applied to English. The five reasons given were business and employment, education, culture, religion, and informal communication; students also had the option of choosing a sixth statement that said, “I do not feel that it is important to know this language.” Students were allowed to choose as many options as they felt were appropriate to the language. The response rate for the question was 66.3%.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Why is this language important?</th>
<th>Business / employment</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Informal communication</th>
<th>Not important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of responses</td>
<td>42.37</td>
<td>38.98</td>
<td>22.03</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>1.69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 34: Reasons that English is Important

Students felt that the most important reason to know English is for business and employment purposes. 42.4% of students gave this answer. Religion majors were less likely to give this answer, with only 12.5% choosing this reason, while 46.0% of other respondents chose it (t-test 0.04). Private school females and public school males were more likely to select this reason, with 83.3% and 54.2% choosing it respectively, while only 15.8% of public school females and 25% of private school males selected it (t-test on class difference between males: 0.15; t-test on class difference between women: 0.007; t-test on gender difference between public school students: 0.007; t-test on gender difference between private school students: 0.03). No explanation for the asymmetry between the genders and classes presents itself. Ennaji found even greater support for the importance of English in the workplace: 79% of his respondents felt that English might help them get a good job (2005: 115). Ennaji also notes that English is particularly useful in certain sectors of the international job market, including “trade, diplomacy, aviation and
finance” (2005: 120). Students feel that English is desirable because it makes them more attractive job candidates.

The second-most popular reason to know English was education purposes. 39.0% of respondents gave this choice. Indeed, several students noted in their responses to the question of how they feel about English that it is important for academic purposes, particularly in science and technology. Surprisingly, Arabic majors gave this answer more frequently than their peers, with 75% of majors and only 34% non-majors giving this reason (t-test 0.04). In addition, while fairly comparable rates of private and private school males and public school females gave this response, no private school females gave this reason (t-test between women: 0.0008; t-test between private school students: 0.01), perhaps because private school females tend to support French overwhelmingly. While students mentioned technology and science education in their answers, students may value English for its utility in other educational purposes as well, particularly, in enabling them to possibly study abroad. Ennaji found that while only 23% of his respondents said that “their main purpose for studying English is to be able to write or do scientific research”; 80% said that English could help them continue their education abroad (2005: 115). Knowledge of English is an asset for students who are considering further study in North America or Britain.

22% of respondents answered that English is valuable for cultural reasons. As English has had little historical presence in Morocco, this may be interpreted to mean that students feel that English is useful for learning about the cultures of English-speaking countries. Indeed, Ennaji finds that 81% of students study English to “become familiar with the cultures and institutions of English-speaking countries like Britain, the United States and Canada” (2005: 115). However, our own respondents did not elaborate on cultural reasons for learning English.
Only 5.1% of respondents felt that English was useful for informal communication. 1.7% of respondents answered that English was useful for religious reasons, and the same percentage answered that English is not important at all. Some students also noted in their responses to how they feel about English that it is used infrequently or that, as one respondent put it, “no one uses this language in the streets.” Students do not feel English is useful in daily informal communication; instead, English seems to be taking over some of the formal domains in which French was previously preferred, such as business, education, and media.

14.3 Summary
The question for English, then, is why are attitudes towards English so positive when the language is not as widely used as French, Modern Standard Arabic, or Moroccan Arabic; fills the same niches as French; and has less historical significance within Morocco than any of the five other languages in this survey?

One factor may be precisely the fact that English has less of a historical presence in the country. Because the colonial powers in Morocco were France and Spain, French and Spanish have negative associations with colonialism that English does not. In addition, English may be popular because it is free from the classist associations of French: the perception is that the prestige of French favors the wealthy, who can afford to send their children to French-taught private schools. On the other hand, few private schools focus on teaching English, so public school students, who learn English in secondary school, can compete with their private school peers in English better than they can in French. Buckner posits this theory as well, writing that “lower classes- who have not mastered French- see English as a way of circumventing the language of power and seeking another future for themselves” (2011: 243). In some ways,
English is popular because it is a language that fulfills many of the same roles as French, but that is not actually French.

While students do not give explicit class justifications for their positive attitudes towards English, they do frequently contrast English with French. One student wrote in response to the question of what the official language of Morocco should be that English was the best choice, but “the existence of this language in Morocco is in opposition to the colonizer (France)”.

Another student wrote in response to the question of how they feel about English that English is “good as a second language, but most people wouldn't consider as French.” Because English is useful in domains in which French is already used, English is seen not as a supplement to the linguistic array of Morocco, but as a potential rival to French.

While French is strongly associated with France, students see English as an international language. As Ennaji suggests, English is seen as a global language because “unlike Chinese, French, Portuguese, Spanish or German, which are associated with particular countries and cultures, English is not necessarily associated with one specific country or culture…. Thus, English belongs to the whole world” (2005: 120). Students often use phrases that emphasizes English’s global role in their responses, describing it as “the language of the world,” “the language of the time,” and “the language of the future.” Because students see English as a global language that is not associated with a colonial power, English can provide the same benefits as French in terms of international relations, trendiness, and utility in science and technology with none of the negative colonial associations. Indeed, students also seem to feel that while French is an international language, English is even more important globally. 67.9% of Marley’s respondents agreed completely that English is more important in the world than French, and an additional 17.0% agreed slightly (2005: 37). Because English is an important international
language that is free from the negative colonial associations carried by Spanish and French, it is beginning to rival French in popularity, if not in use.

In addition, Ennaji suggests that English may be popular among students because while it is seen as equally permissive\(^{22}\) as French, a lack of competency in English is not judged as harshly, because it is not learned from such a young age. He writes that “English is regarded by Moroccan students as being more flexible than French... [Students]... are less socially penalised when they make mistakes in English than in French” (Ennaji 2005: 196). English is growing in popularity, especially among youth, because it has all the same advantages of French—global importance, permissiveness, utility in science, technology, and business, prominence in media, and trendiness—without the negative history of colonialism and classism.

\(^{22}\) See Chapter 10 for more on this term.
15 Conclusion

Our study shows that attitudes towards language in Morocco are shifting, and that some of the previous models used to examine language attitudes are no longer as useful. Students’ usage of Modern Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic are challenging the traditional model of diglossia. The rise of English is challenging the dichotomy between French as the language of Western culture and Modern Standard Arabic as the language of Islamic identity. Students’ utilization of human rights discourse and the reasons they find multilingualism desirable suggest that the Arabization discourse of the past half-century has been replaced by a new view of language that sees Moroccan identity in the Moroccan mother tongues and uses other languages to become open to the world at large. Moroccan language attitudes and usage are evolving as students approach issues of language from new perspectives.

While the growth in popularity of Tamazight is perhaps not as significant as Tamazight activists might hope, the language is nonetheless seen as an important marker of Moroccan culture by many students. In general, even students who disagree with encouraging further use of Tamazight feel that it represents a part of Moroccan culture: their objections to the language spring from the fact that they do not see it as useful in many areas of life. This suggests that the Tamazight movement must either promote the usage of Tamazight in more domains of communication, like business, education, and the media, or that they must convince people that culture is in itself an important enough reason to value a language. By promoting the use of Tamazight in domains such as education and media, the Tamazight movement is seeking to reclaim some of the linguistic niches of Modern Standard Arabic. The challenge to Modern Standard Arabic is seen most clearly in the recognition of Tamazight as a national language and the introduction of Tamazight in the school system. The strategy to compete with Modern
Standard Arabic rather than Moroccan Arabic is wise in light of the increasing popularity and usage of Moroccan Arabic found in our study. In addition, by promoting multiculturalism and thus multilingualism as national values, the Tamazight movement might ultimately reshape national identity around these values, exemplified by Tamazight, rather than around the old vision of Morocco as an Arab country united by Modern Standard Arabic. Our results show that arguments made for the language that appeal to these and other values from human rights discourse are very effective with the educated urban youth that we studied, although they may be less effective for other segments of the Moroccan populace.

Our results suggest that Moroccan Arabic has more prestige, both covert and overt, than previously thought. It is a source of pride to students, because they feel that it is the language that most belongs to them. While Marley found similar levels of covert pride in Moroccan Arabic, she attributed it to students’ lack of competency in any other language. Our students, on the other hand, report fluency in many languages, but still see Moroccan Arabic as a language of Moroccan identity and culture. Moroccan Arabic is not restricted to informal domains, but is being used in education, at work, with professionals, and with the government. Far from looking down on Moroccan Arabic as an ignorant or illiterate language, students feel that it is the most truly Moroccan language and take pride in its versatility and comfortableness.

Modern Standard Arabic, on the other hand, is in some ways losing status to other languages. Modern Standard Arabic is no longer the exclusive language of culture and national identity, as Tamazight and Moroccan Arabic increasingly take over this realm. Moroccan Arabic is encroaching on the formal domains of use in which Modern Standard Arabic has traditionally been used, such as work, education, and communications with the government, while Modern Standard Arabic is not being used in any new domains. The ways in which Modern Standard
Arabic is prestigious (its connotations of erudition and formality), also work against its popularity, as students feel that others will think they are showing off their education if they use Modern Standard Arabic. This may indicate that students value covert prestige over overt prestige. Despite these trends against Modern Standard Arabic, however, it remains the only language of religion in Morocco, and its prestige in this area is unlikely ever to change.

French faces some of the same difficulties as Modern Standard Arabic. It is being challenged in many domains by English, which is growing in usage in the workplace and the media. French is forced to compete with English for the position of most prestigious European language in Morocco, and French is hindered by its negative colonial associations. French also has a classist reputation, due to the fact that students who attend private schools have a significant advantage in the language. French is particularly popular with upper class females. Some students also feel that speakers of French are seen as conceited or affected, because of French’s association with education, class, and sophistication. Our results indicate that French, despite this significant competition from English, is still more popular in communication with the government, professionals, and romantic partners, in education, and in the workplace.

English has grown dramatically in popularity in the past two decades. It is a potential challenger to French, as it has none of the negative colonial associations and all of the benefits of internationalism. English is growing in use and popularity in the media, in education, and in the workplace. English is seen by many lower and middle class students as a way to overcome the language privileges that many upper class students receive by attending French private schools. If English continues to grow in usage, it could potentially replace French in many of its domains of usage.
Spanish is little used and little cared for by the students in our study. Despite its use in the media and its historical presence in the country, few students consider it an important language to study. While students think that it is useful for those seeking employment in Spain, they do not see it as an international language in the same way that they see French or English, nor do they find its use in the Americas a motive to learn the language.

In general, the ways in which students justify their responses to questions about language value indicate that a shift in the way Moroccans see language has taken place. We would like to characterize three possible views of language in Morocco, and discuss their implications for future language attitudes: the Arabization view, the Westernization view, and the localization view.

The Arabization viewpoint is the language ideology that characterized most Moroccan discourse on language from the end of the colonial period through the 1980s. In this view, the most important function of language is to unite the country around a common tongue and a common set of beliefs. Language is used to define Morocco as separate from the colonial powers, and to ally the country with others that are perceived as more ideologically similar. Modern Standard Arabic is promoted as the language of culture and national identity in order to center Moroccan unity and culture in Islam. This strategy allies Morocco with other Arabic-speaking countries, particularly the Gulf states, and distances Morocco from Europe.

The Westernization viewpoint is a language ideology that is used to balance and counter arguments for complete Arabization. This position takes a utilitarian view of language, and argues that the most important languages are those that are useful for economic gain. Western languages, as the dominant world languages, and the languages that open up opportunities in prosperous European and North American countries, are the most important languages. While
few policy makers openly side with this view, justifications for continued bilingual use of French are often rooted in this view of language, and individual decisions to prioritize Western languages may of course be based on it.

Localization is our name for a third viewpoint that is held by many students in this study. Those who hold this view see mother tongues as the most important markers of national culture and identity. This view utilizes concepts from human rights discourse, such as tolerance, diversity, and cultural understanding. Tamazight and Moroccan Arabic are sources of pride because they are the most uniquely Moroccan languages, the only languages that Morocco can contribute to the global potluck of languages. In other words, the international human rights view’s emphasis on cultural understanding and diversity promotes the idea of each country having a unique culture, which makes Moroccan Arabic and Tamazight important because they distinguish Morocco from other countries. In addition, the values of tolerance and diversity make unbounded multilingualism into a positive virtue instead of a threat (as it is to the Arabization viewpoint). Those who hold this ideology are motivated to learn foreign languages in addition to the mother tongues because they desire openness to the world, internationality, and cultural understanding, not in hope of solidifying specific political alliances or gaining economically. This viewpoint is idealistic, hopeful, and sets remarkably few constraints on the languages seen as beneficial and useful.

The growth of the last viewpoint, which was expressed by many respondents in our study, indicates that Moroccan Arabic and Tamazight will become the languages of Moroccan culture and national identity. It suggests that if Tamazight continues to portray itself as the language of culture, it will increase in prestige as it gains ground over Modern Standard Arabic. It furthermore predicts that multilingualism will continue to be seen as a positive attribute, not
solely for pragmatic reasons of economic gain and employability, but also for intrinsic reasons like cultural awareness and tolerance. The value placed on multilingualism within this ideology suggests that Modern Standard Arabic, French, and English will continue to be important in Morocco as well, even as Moroccan Arabic and Tamazight rise in prestige, as all three languages represent international cultures.

While the localization viewpoint is popular among our respondents, educated urban youth who are likely to impact linguistic policy decisions in the future, the other two viewpoints are also present. In reality, the third viewpoint is unlikely to win out against the other two viewpoints any time in the near future. Instead, all three viewpoints will interact together to shape language attitudes, usage, and policies in the future. The interplay between language ideologies in Morocco is fascinating, complex, and difficult to predict, because language itself is such a strange and changeable force. We use it to reach out to others, and to separate ourselves from them. We use it to create national identities, and to ally ourselves with communities at home and abroad. We use it for to buy things, to learn, to romance, and to create great works of imagination and beauty. The ways in which we reason about language, every day, consciously or unconsciously choosing one style, one dialect, one language over another, are important, because they reveal not just our thoughts, but also our deep beliefs and strong emotions, for language, in the end, is not just what we speak, but also what we feel.
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17 Appendix: Questionnaire

**Personal history**

What are you studying at university?

What is your gender?

In what city or region did you grow up?

What languages do you consider yourself fluent in?

What languages do you know besides darija, fusha, French, Spanish, Tamazight, and English?

What language did you use in your home before starting school?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Elementary school</th>
<th>Middle school</th>
<th>High school</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In what city did you attend school?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Was your school private or public?</td>
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<tr>
<td>What language did your school use for instruction (i.e, for history and math classes)?</td>
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<tr>
<td>What language was science taught in?</td>
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<tr>
<td>What other languages were you taught?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

How do you feel about Amazigh languages?
Do you think that Tamazight should be used more widely?

Do you think that Tamazight should be taught in schools?

Do you think that Tamazight should be used as a language of instruction?

What languages do you think it is important for children to learn?

Would you want your children to be multilingual?

In what ways (if any) do you think multilingualism is an advantage?

In what ways (if any) do you think multilingualism is a disadvantage?

How frequently do you use each language in each situation?
1 = Very often  2 = Often  3 = Sometimes  4 = Rarely  5 = Never

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Darija</th>
<th>Fusha</th>
<th>Tamazight</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>At home</td>
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<td>With friends</td>
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<td>In writing letters/emails</td>
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<td>In texting</td>
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<td>In class</td>
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<td>In written assignments for class</td>
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<td>At work</td>
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<td>When buying things</td>
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<td>When dealing with the government</td>
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<tr>
<td>When seeking services from professionals--- (doctors, lawyers)</td>
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<td>With romantic partner</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
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<td>Watching TV</td>
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<tr>
<td>Listening to music</td>
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</table>

How well do you speak each of the following languages?

1 = I am fluent in this language.
2 = I can converse easily in this language.
3 = I can make myself understood but with some difficulty.
4 = I know some words or phrases but cannot communicate well.
5 = I don’t know this language at all.

Darija [ ]  Fusha [ ]  French [ ]  Tamazight [ ]  Spanish [ ]  English [ ]

How well do you read each of the following languages?

1 = I can read literature without much effort.
2 = I can read the newspaper easily.
3 = I can only read simple things.
4 = I recognize words and phrases but cannot understand the meaning of most passages.
5 = I cannot read this language at all.

Darija [ ]  Fusha [ ]  French [ ]  Tamazight [ ]  Spanish [ ]  English [ ]
How important do you think it is to know each of these languages?

1= Very important  2=Important  3= Neutral 4= Little importance 5=No importance

Darija [ ]  Fusha [ ]  French [ ]  Tamazight [ ]  Spanish [ ]  English [ ]

How important do you think other Moroccans consider these languages?

1= Very important  2=Important  3= Neutral 4= Little importance 5=No importance

Darija [ ]  Fusha [ ]  French [ ]  Tamazight [ ]  Spanish [ ]  English [ ]

Why do you feel the following languages are important to know?

1= Business and employment purposes.
2 = Education purposes.
3 = Cultural reasons.
4 = Religious reasons.
5= Informal communication purposes.
6= I do not feel that it is important to know this language.

Darija [ ]  Fusha [ ]  French [ ]  Tamazight [ ]  Spanish [ ]  English [ ]

Do you think the use of certain languages is growing? If so, what languages?

What do you think the official language/languages of Morocco should be? Why?

If you have a Facebook account, what language setting did you choose?

What language should be used in science classes?

How do you feel that others perceive you when you speak the following languages?

1 = Positively  2= Slightly positively  3= No reaction  4= Slightly negatively  5= Negatively

Darija [ ]  Fusha [ ]  French [ ]  Tamazight [ ]  Spanish [ ]  English [ ]
How do you think people feel about the following languages?

Darija ________________________________________________________________

Fusha ________________________________________________________________

French ________________________________________________________________

Tamazight ______________________________________________________________

Spanish ________________________________________________________________

English ________________________________________________________________

How do you feel about the following languages?

Darija ________________________________________________________________

Fusha ________________________________________________________________

French ________________________________________________________________

Tamazight ______________________________________________________________

Spanish ________________________________________________________________

English ________________________________________________________________

What language/languages do you think most Moroccans will speak in the future?

__________________________________________________________