The Mother Tongue in Morocco:
The politics of an indigenous education

'Setber' in the Moroccan Mother Tongue

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Glossary

**Amazigh**
The indigenous term for Berber people.

**Code-switching**
The ability to change from one language to another within a single communicative episode.

**Derija**
The Arabic term for Moroccan Arabic (MA), the vernacular tongue.

**Fusha**
The Arabic term for Standard Arabic (SA). The official language and used for religious purposes.

**Imazighen**
The plural term for Amazigh.

**L2**
A second language learnt through formal or informal means. A further language acquired would be an L3.

**Limsidd**
A pre-school, either Quranic or modern in teaching style.

**Mother tongue**
Has many definitions. It is principally the primary language a person speaks taken from the individual’s home environment.

**Mother tongue education**
Using the mother tongue as the principal language of instruction in the classroom.

**Multilingualism**
The occurrence of three or more languages in a single domain.

**Multilingual education**
Adopted by UNESCO in 1999, it refers to the use of at least three languages, the mother tongue, a regional or national language and an international language in education.

**Tamazight**
The Amazigh language consisting of three principal dialects. Tamazight, the most widely spoken of these dialects has been adopted officially as the mother tongue and is another vernacular.

**Tifinagh**
The written form of the Amazigh tongue, reportedly over 2,000 years old.

The spellings of Arabic words are taken from Daniel Wagner and Katherine Hoffman.
Abstract

Morocco is a multilingual country where three languages are recognised and afforded hierarchical status. A fourth, previously unrecognised language, Tamazight, the mother tongue, has recently been introduced into the formal education forum. Mother tongue education is seen as fundamental in the maintenance of traditional cultures and national heritage by preserving and valuing indigenous identities. It is also seen as an essential educational pedagogy, enabling better building of basic cognitive abilities and facilitating faster acquisition of a second language. This research suggests that ordinary Moroccans see little need for the official discourse on mother tongue education, and instead prefer to promote multilingualism to its full extent for global interaction, career opportunities and potential economic improvement. Also examined is the role politics plays in the context of language choices.

The Tamazight Alphabet ‘Tifinagh’
Setting the Scene

Being multilingual is an admirable quality. For Moroccans multilingualism is essential for formal education, religious practice and to function efficiently in daily life. It is this notion of having no choice but to acquire a second or third language for survival in their home country which drew me to study this topic, especially from the viewpoint of a native English speaker who will rarely be placed in this position due to the global dominance of the English language.

Current educational discourse states that education in the mother tongue (in this case *Tamazight*) is beneficial cognitively, psychologically and pedagogically for teachers and students, leading to increased literacy levels and a more efficient educational system. International rhetoric also supports the preservation of the indigenous tongue as a way to maintain traditional culture and indigenous identities.

I was drawn to research the opinions of teachers and householders to this discourse on mother tongue education and in particular whether they support the introduction of Tamazight in Morocco. I was also interested in the role politics played in this discourse of language choice. I planned to examine the official reasons government delegates, and as a contrast activists for the preservation of the indigenous culture, gave for the introduction of Tamazight into the political and educational arena.
1. Multilingual Morocco

Spoken language …is the most intimate expression of the personality and identity of a people. Language is also the clearest expression of freedom, culture, wisdom and knowledge of the peoples and of their creative spirit. Language helps to build the collective consciousness of a people and to reflect on it - Joan Oro (1998).

Multilingualism and multiliteracy is the norm rather than the exception in today’s world. This is especially true in developing countries where centuries of colonialism have enforced the use of an official language(s) (Wagner 1993).

The language issue in Morocco is interesting and complex, shadowing every facet of society from human rights and education to rural development and politics. Standard Arabic (Fusha) is the official language; Moroccan Arabic (Derija) the vernacular; French, a relic of the colonial period, maintains a dominant role as an elite language; and three-quarters of all Moroccans speak the indigenous language (Tamazight), the mother tongue. The majority of the population is functionally multilingual and able to effortlessly switch from one language to another according to need.

Explaining the language dilemma: the arrival of a multilingual nation

A brief history of Morocco is essential in explaining the origins of Morocco's multilingualism and the position and status of the Amazigh people and their language.

In 146 BC the Romans reached The Maghreb and occupied North Africa, overpowering the local people known as Amazigh (or Berbers meaning ‘Barbarian’). Arabs arrived in 680 AD establishing the first Moroccan state. The Arabs brought Islam, which dominated all aspects of life and demanded discipline and memorization of the Quran where the learning of Classical (Standard) Arabic (Fusha) was fundamental. Being a Muslim was seen as necessary to being a ‘true’ Moroccan. By 1911, Spain occupied parts of Morocco and by 1912, The Treaty of Fes signed Morocco over to France as a protectorate. Inhabitants of these areas were forced to learn
Spanish and French, as well as Fusha for religious practice and Derija, which evolved as the generic form of Arabic for Moroccans. 1956 brought independence. By then, colonization had given birth to multilingualism.

The 44 year French occupation left an education system dominated by the needs and ideologies of the colonizers. The teaching medium from age six until university graduation was French, which absorbed and displaced alternative languages to become Morocco's primary language. The use of this colonial language as the language of knowledge and opportunity erected a barrier to those without access to this language, thus establishing an elite class. Correspondingly, the status and value of ‘Moroccan languages’ became hierarchical with the indigenous, or mother tongue, falling at the bottom. Language became an indicator of prestige as particular domains e.g. education became grounds for specific language use i.e. French which in turn would signify the level of education (and therefore wealth) of the speaker i.e. urban, modern and powerful.

The language issue today: in school / in society

Morocco’s pre-independence anti-colonialist protest gave way to a collective awareness that the country needed to create its own identity after independence. The francophone dominance ended in 1956 and the process of Arabization, began establishing Fusha as the official language. French retained it’s elite status as Morocco’s second language. Derija remained the vernacular. Tamazight, spoken by the majority of Moroccans, was not recognised or afforded any status and remained a second-class language. Today, these four languages compete in the linguistic market (Boukous 1995; Elbiad 1985; Ennaji 1991) to vehicle culturally meaningful, social, ethnic and identity values in a pluralistic multilingual nation. In addition, Spanish and English, though not yet mainstream curriculum¹, hold important roles as regional languages of geographic and global dominators. Table 1 identifies the various languages and their purposes.

¹ English will be taught in primary schools from 2005.
Table 1: Linguistic variants used in Morocco

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fusha – Classical / Standard Arabic (SA)</td>
<td>• Official language of Morocco – used in education, media and government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• From primary to tertiary education – official teaching medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• All religious teaching at Quranic schools and within mainstream education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Written communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Marker of Muslim identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derija – Moroccan Arabic (MA)</td>
<td>• The lingua franca of Morocco used in public domains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Not written (can be written phonetically)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Used in trade transactions, on radio and television</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>• Superordinate second language of Morocco – used in government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Language of the urban and the elite - socially linked to modernity, open-mindedness and job opportunity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Used in business and administrative sectors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Used in schools as a second or third language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Taught from Grade 2 onwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamazight (Berber)</td>
<td>• Language of indigenous people, mostly in rural areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Developed from three main Amazigh dialects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Tifinagh is the newly written form developed from 2,000 year old hieroglyphics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Used among Amazigh people primarily in private domains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• An oral language with traditions of folklore and fairy tales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Has a low status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Will be taught in schools from 2004 as government recognizes importance of the indigenous people and responds to Berber demands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>• Official language of Ceuta and Melilla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>• Language of tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Language of the internet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The global language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Will be taught from Grade 3 from 2005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Sadiqi 2003

The reassertion of the indigenous Morocco

As globalisation and cultural homogenisation threaten cultural diversity, international organisations are promoting the importance of preserving and maintaining indigenous populations, culture, and subsequently language (UNESCO 2004; Linguapax 2004; Terralingua 2004; Kubchandani 2004). Concurrently, Morocco has finally established support for its national heritage and indigenous population. In 1994 King Hassan II advocated local dialects in primary education, prompting King Mohammed VI (his son) to set up l’Institut Royal de la Culture
Amazigh (IRCAM) to preserve the indigenous language and culture, and promote fuller integration of the indigenous populace into mainstream Moroccan society.

Language and the formal schooling regime thus becomes integral to this integration, enabling and empowering local communities to reclaim their indigenous identity through recognising and reasserting their mother tongue. In 2004, the government approved the teaching of Tamazight in schools and the first Tamazight textbook was printed using Tifinagh as its alphabet (BBC Online 2004; MEN² 2003). Tamazight, spoken by 75 per cent of the population, is now viewed as a, language, not only a tool for communication and knowledge, but also a fundamental attribute of cultural identity and empowerment, both for the individual and the group (UNESCO 2004).

The formal inclusion of the indigenous tongue in the education forum demands questioning of the political intentions behind current language planning policies and language choices where language rights have become a current political focus, both in Morocco and internationally. Furthermore, the dialogue on the cognitive appropriateness, psychologically and pedagogically of mother tongue education, a discourse begun in 1953 by UNESCO, is highly relevant in a multilingual country. Formal schooling in an unfamiliar language is an issue under contest between practitioners and policy makers, which some believe could attribute to Morocco’s inability to achieve Universal Basic Education (UBE), as advocated by the World Bank, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and UNESCO through the ‘Education for All’ programmes (EFA).

The Research Aims

This research aims to investigate the views of ordinary Moroccans and those employed within the education sphere, on the issue of language: language choice; language value; and language shift, and their thoughts on multilingualism. The concept of mother tongue education in the primary sector will be examined, as well as the views of practitioners and parents to this concept. It aims

² MEN - Moroccan Ministry of Education
to investigate the role of politics on the language choices ordinary Moroccans make. In addition, suggestions are made on the reasons the government finally legitimized the indigenous language. Investigation of the education system also uncovered inequalities such as rural and urban disparities in resource allocation and curriculum inappropriacy, issues which are inextricably linked to the decentralization process. Here the rhetoric of decentralization (a current popular international discourse) appears to be starkly different from the Moroccan reality.

Two main research questions become apparent:

1) What role does politics play in the language choices of ordinary Moroccans?

2) What are the opinions of teachers and householders to education in the mother tongue, particularly in a well-adjusted, functioning multilingual nation?

Additional aims of the research are summarized in Box 1:

*Box 1: Research Aims*

- Concepts of mother tongue education: advantages and disadvantages
  - the identity of language.
- Suggestions behind the legitimising of the indigenous tongue
  - the politics of language.
- Rural and Urban disparities as a consequence of decentralisation
  - the power of language.
- Phenomena within a multilingual society
  - the uses of language.

This paper will begin with discussing the justification for research into the issues of language in Morocco by examining the current theories and debates surrounding this topic. The methods adopted to conduct the field research will be reviewed followed by the two main themes that could be unpacked from the field data: the debate surrounding the importance of learning in one’s mother tongue supplemented with examining the phenomena of code-switching and mediation;
the politics of language - examining status, value and domains of use, reasons behind choices, and
the concept of decentralization – the rhetoric versus reality. Suggested answers to the research
questions will be offered as way of conclusion.

Although gender plays a significant role in education equality and language maintenance as
women bear the burden of language transference to their children (Hoffman 2003; Sadiqi 2003;
Mernissi 1975) it will not be investigated in depth in this study. In addition, the research examines
oral language use in a multilingual society as opposed to literacies, which would be another study
altogether.
2. Conceptualizing the Theory and Debates

In order to provide answers to the research questions we must first unpack various theories concerning the politics of language status, use, and planning, and the concepts and debates contiguous to learning in the mother tongue. These theories have been addressed in various literatures and suggest answers, some debatable, to the research questions. However, there are gaps in the existing literature, and field research undertaken aim to fill these gaps or offer alternative theories.

The politics of language

The linguistic environment

Broadly defined, socialization is the process through which a person acquires the knowledge, orientations and practices that enable effective and appropriate participation in society. Language is fundamental to this process being, “the primary symbolic medium through which cultural knowledge is communicated and instantiated, negotiated and contested, reproduced and transformed” (Garrett and Lopez 2002:339). This knowledge and practice allows one to function and to be regarded by others as a competent member of a community. However, language is not an autonomous system unreceptive and unresponsive to changes in society. On the contrary, it is penetrated, historically and politically, by outside influences (Hanks 1996; Bakhtin 1986).

Language is a code of entry (Haugen 1972) to a linguistic ‘ecology’ where languages interact within the ‘environment’ of human society. An ecology of language paradigm promotes multilingualism and the preservation of linguistic diversity (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1996) by examining societal divisions such as ethnicity, gender, religion and generation (Irvine and Gal 2000). Ignorance of this language ‘ecosystem’ during interventions, such as language planning policies, can be detrimental to the community (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997) if important cultural features which meld communities together and safeguard diversity are ignored. Therefore
inter-relationships between language choices and the wider cultural and political environment require attention (Muhlhausler 2000; Ricento 2000).

**Language and ideologies**

Language movements and the politics of language are inherently and necessarily associated with the modern state and modern politics (Brass 2003).

Language is political, ‘making it difficult to discuss in a rational perspective as all arguments are tagged by the interlocutor’ (Blommaert 1997:508). Which tongue you choose to speak to which person in what domain constitutes political decisions influenced by broad historical and cultural discussions (Sadiqi 2003; Norag News 2004). Ideologies pervade language choice and language policy by categorizing which language practices are considered ‘good and valued’, ‘normal’, ‘appropriate’ or ‘correct’ and who are likely to win and lose in the ideological orientations (Creese and Martin 2003). The concept of linguistic pluralism (Cobarrubias 1983), where the rights of minority languages, cultures, and education are recognized explicitly in the national constitution appears to be the ideology currently followed in Morocco though the reality may differ.

**Language and identity**

Language is the essence of identity (Blommaert 1999).

Nationality, citizenship, religion, tribe, culture and language are all markers of identity.

Colonization often leads to assimilation, integration and/or resistance as dominant cultures overpower minorities, effectively distancing individuals from their original society. If features e.g. language(s), central to the group’s cultural identity are viewed negatively by the dominant society, the group may incorporate a negative view of itself (Blommaert 1999; Gal 1998;

An additional approach applies to both linguistic assimilation and linguistic pluralism: non-recognition or laissez-faire, where countries choose to ignore or devolve linguistic issues. This could result in a policy of linguistic assimilation depending on the policy decisions made at the local level.
Bourdieu 1992; Ferdman 1990). Governments and language elites tend to make language identity, hitherto a cultural trait, more political (Kubchandani 2004; Brass 2003).

A sociolinguistic relationship between minorities and the majority does not necessarily perceive the minority as being demographically smaller – it can be a de facto minority due to an inability to exert power or influence. In valuing and using students' languages, teachers can challenge coercive structures of power which undermine and diminish the identities of minority language speakers through a process of ‘symbolic domination’ (Bourdieu 1991). Pluralist societies can produce ‘multiple identity’ (Grant 1997:20) e.g. home and school and the languages therein, and can thus value cultural relations and minority appreciation. Multilingual societies can accommodate diversity but not necessarily maintain equality.

**Language choice, power and equality**

The essential point about relationships between minorities and the dominant population … is that it is about power and affects many aspects of identity – linguistic, religious, national, and educational self-respect (Grant 1997:13).

Language practices have inextricable links crucial in shaping and challenging power relations (Sadiqi 2003; Street 1993). As a 'means of communication' within specific communities, language acquires social values in proportion with the values a society attaches to the situations in which they are used (Bourdieu 1991; Labov 1972). Thus acquiring language is more than learning how to communicate; it also entails learning how to use language in socially appropriate ways in everyday interactions (Garrett and Lopez 2002). Much of this cultural and social knowledge that underlies these interactions is part of the practical but not discursive consciousness (Giddens 1979). This can be related to issues of power and status a language holds within a country and how a particular language is used by a speaker. Dell Hymes (1996) observed that although all languages are potentially equal, they are, for social reasons, not actually so. Thus creating the hierarchical status where indigenous tongues usually occupy the lowest rung.
Colonization often leads to the appearance of a dominant language which can usurp the power of the native tongue in many societal spheres, as explained by Bourdieu,

Cultural and linguistic unification is accompanied by the imposition of the dominant language and culture as legitimate and by the rejection of all other languages into indignity (1998b:46)

allowing the endorsement of some languages over others (Creese and Martin 2003). This leads to issues of language choice, as the struggle for power and status begins, and internal and external pressures vie for prominence. A functioning multilingual society like Morocco has at least seven languages located within the hierarchy, involving strategic choices which introduction of a further tongue into the formal arena may exacerbate.

The speakers’ sense of self, identity, community and morality as well as national history, politics and economics, influence choice motivating language ‘shift’ where the value and utility of a language, often a mother tongue, ceases or is discouraged or banned by powerful groups wielding a dominant language (Hoffman 2003). This shift can be an unconscious move, as the cultural norms of a majority seep into and gradually overtake the indigenous/minority identity/language. Assumptions that the 'traditional' language will continue to be transferred through generations may ignore the fact that children are not acquiring full command of the mother tongue which is not taught at schools or used outside the home (Field 1999; Garrett 1999; Kulick 1992). These macro-sociological changes, a typical product of modernisation, may have direct bearings on daily language socialization practices leading to the rapid decline of the vernacular; or language shift / change (Field 2001); maintenance and contestation of community boundaries (Fader 2001); and the construction of ethnic and cultural identity (Baquedano-Lopez 2000).

**Language planning**

Language planning involves “the authoritative societal assignment of scarce resources to language” (Kloss 1952 and 1967) where there are "deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocations of their language codes" (Cooper 1989). Language planning influences the languages people acquire at school which in
turn allows entry into certain societal and economic spheres. It also assigns status to languages which influences language choices made.

Haugen’s ‘form and function’ model of language planning, adapted by Kloss and Cooper, forms the current three stranded model: **corpus planning** - planned efforts to change or construct the lexicon, grammar, phonology, orthography and/or writing system of a language; **status planning** - planned efforts to change the societal functions in governmental, educational, media, legal, religious and private domains in which languages are used (Kloss 1952 and 1967); and **acquisition planning** (Cooper 1989) - planned efforts to influence the allocation of users or the distribution of languages and literacies by means of creating or improving opportunities or incentives to learn (see Table 2.1). The strands are intrinsically linked - without a different status for a new language, corpus planning is worthless and acquisition hampered.\(^5\)

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\(^4\) Einar Haugen’s model uses “form” and “function” involving selecting different languages or linguistic structures (codification), and the function involves applying the chosen forms in either the societal (implementation) context or the linguistic context (elaboration).

\(^5\) In Morocco corpus planning shaped by the elite via organisations such as IRCAM relates to the development of Tifinagh; status planning to Tamazight in the school curriculum; and acquisition planning to the reacquisition and maintenance of Tamazight in formal education.
Table 2.1: Language planning approaches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approaches</th>
<th>Policy Planning Goals (on form)</th>
<th>Cultivation Planning Goals (on function)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corpus Planning</td>
<td>Standardization</td>
<td>Modernization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(about languages)</td>
<td>• Corpus</td>
<td>• Lexical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Auxiliary Code</td>
<td>• Stylistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Graphization</td>
<td>Renovation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Purification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Reform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Stylistic simplification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Terminology unification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status Planning</td>
<td>Standardization status</td>
<td>Revival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(about uses of language)</td>
<td>Officialization</td>
<td>Maintenance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nationalization</td>
<td>Interlingual communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proscription</td>
<td>• International</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Intranational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Spread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquisition Planning</td>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Reacquisition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(about users of language)</td>
<td>Education/School</td>
<td>Maintenance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>Foreign language/second language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Shift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mass Media</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Hornberger 1994

Proponents of a rights orientation to language issues focus squarely on language and language use. They view learning and using one’s mother tongue as a necessary human right that is vital for the “linguistic, psychological, cultural, social and economic survival for minorities and for basic democracy and justice” (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000).

Macro-sociopolitical forces have an important role on the status and use of languages at the societal level (Ricento 2000). Changes in the political orientation of a society, either within or influenced from outside, impact upon the planning of language by shifting to meet the objectives of the new authorities (Fishman 2004; Guibernau and Hutchinson 2004; Brass 2003). Language planning programs in post-colonial countries have largely been ideology-driven and elite-sponsored. It is mainly the custodians of language, i.e. the elite intellectuals, who have the opportunity to engage in and decide what is ‘good’ for the masses, by virtue of their hold on the socio-political and literary scene, “common man, the consumer of language policy programs [sic], is present only by proxy” (Khubchandani 1983). Meanwhile, the “rank and file members of
sociocultural aggregates are not really interested in corpus planning for its own sake” (Fishman 2004:84) unless their language is recognised, the status raised and a positive function exists.

Globalisation has made the world linguistically smaller and languages that epitomize modern power are favourites for language planning, where adjusting the speech behavior of a community to the demands of modernization prepares them for success in the global arena. Multilingualism generates advantages for economic survival and understanding and operating in other cultures (Genesee and Cloud 1998). Conversely, modernity is not a deleterious ‘foreign import’ but rather a further indication of the eternal superiority of the classical or indigenous language (Guibernau and Hutchinson 2004) as the modern world (read western world) is now encouraging the veneration of indigenous/ classical tongues (see UNESCO 2004). Thus globalisation may invigorate a sense of nationalism and a need to preserve and maintain cultural identities and diversities whilst promoting the benefits of multilingualism. The question then arises: Why has Tamazight been introduced when it serves little functional purpose?

The importance of decentralization in this discourse

In the context of schooling, academic performance is determined by a complex of inter-related factors and poor performance cannot be attributed to language proficiency in isolation of wider social, cultural and political factors that infuse schooling (Baker 1993). This leads to a discussion on the quality of education and how external factors hinder educational performance and create difficulties seen in Box 2.3.

Box 2.3: Factors affected by the quality of the educational system

- Efficiency: levels of enrolment, repetition, continuation and gender differences;
- Physical: resource levels and distribution, infrastructure and access;
- Training: rural and urban disparities, gender bias, quality;
- Pedagogy: curriculum appropriacy, national and international drivers.

Decentralization directly affects education quality. Communities, languages and needs are not homogeneous (Suzuki 2002) and decentralization facilitates brings education closer to a diverse
population by responding to individual communities, not political expedience (Freire 1970). Embracing local initiatives with local power, a decentralized system is better able to: match supply and demand by understanding, stimulating and catering to local diversity and needs; allow teaching in different languages (critical in Morocco); address specific local issues such as resource supply and school access; give parents and other stakeholders greater avenues for involvement; encourage competition facilitating a more efficient, transparent delivery leading to greater accountability and autonomy; and promote curriculum flexibility and relevance to suit different regions, religions, occupations and languages (World Bank 2004; Dimmock 2000; Mokhtar 2000; IDB 1994). Corson (1994:15) verifies, Only a community can decide what is necessary. When communities themselves are in charge of education, when they themselves have the respect and the dignity that goes with deciding the future of their offspring, they themselves come to see education in a much broader way. They begin to ask each other about the best way to educate their children and about what is wrong with the alternative processes of schooling that they are familiar with.

This decentralization paradigm results in greater participation, efficiency, gender equity, better quality and a relevant education (Muskin 1999) especially pertinent within a diverse multilingual society. But are there systems in place in Morocco which can accommodate decentralization effectively?

A multilingual classroom

UNESCO’s ‘multilingual education’ (1999) refers to the use of at least three languages, the mother tongue, a regional or national language and an international language in education in the belief that global and national participation, and the specific needs of culturally and linguistically

---

6 "Relationships of power often set the conditions for participation" (Mosse 1995:27) and as such local school-based management teams consisting of teachers, village leaders, ministry delegates, parents, business people and members of the religious community (IDB 1994) advise, support, and oversee administration and appointments.

7 Common standards must also be considered so students can be ‘recentralized’ (Muskin 1999) as they progress through the education system where standard academic achievements and criteria are essential for national equality and employer recognition.
distinct communities can only be addressed by multilingual education. In regions where the language of the learner is not the official language, multilingual education can make mother tongue instruction possible while simultaneously providing the acquisition of languages used nationally and globally. However, profound difficulties exist with this model as teachers, children and parents must be orally confident in the appropriate language within the school domain and able to accurately and efficiently code-switch between language mediums.

Educationally, some academics argue that under certain conditions multilingual skills can have positive effects on the learning process (De Klerk 1995), although others maintain that multilingualism has negative effects on language development, educational attainment, cognitive growth and intelligence (Grosjean 1982) and challenges the education system by needing to “… attend to an ethnolinguistically diverse population, many of whom do not speak a country's official language” (Hornberger (1994:277). Low middle-income8 countries in particular may have difficulties in promoting multilingualism as costs are manifold. This intensifies the debate on learning in the mother tongue and the advantages and disadvantages of such a policy.

Thus questions are raised as to why 2004 has seen the recognition and transliteration of a language more than 2,000 years old with minimal use outside of rural Moroccan areas culminating in the delivery of the indigenous language into compulsory mainstream education. What are the benefits to Morocco and ordinary Moroccans? Can a relatively poor democratic state accommodate new language politics and the associated issues of power and identity? How does the rhetoric match reality?

__________________________

8 Low middle-income as defined by The World Bank is a country with a GNI of $766-$3035 per capita.
Mother tongue education

What is ‘Mother Tongue?’ – identity and status, Derija and Tamazight

Mother tongue can be defined in a variety of ways: the first language a child speaks; the language used at home; the language learnt from the family; the language most competent in; the language used in the community (SIL 2004, Terralingua 2004); or the ‘preferred’ language (Beardsmore, 1986) (see Table 2.2). It forms a person’s identity, their defining quality (Terralingua 2004). Debi Prasanna Pattanayak (1992) elaborates,

Places are not geographical concepts; they exist in people's consciousness. So does the concept of 'mother tongue'. It is not a language in the general sense of the word, neither is it a dialect. It is an identity signifier, waiting to be explained.

The governing definition is dependent on who holds the most power in the negotiation process for language validity and status (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000).

Table 2.2: Definitions of mother tongue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Origin</td>
<td>the language(s) one learned first (the language(s) in which one has established the first long-lasting verbal contacts).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Identification</td>
<td>a) the language(s) one identifies with/as a native speaker of; b) the language(s) one is identified with/as a native speaker of, by others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Competence</td>
<td>the language(s) one knows best.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Function</td>
<td>the language(s) one uses most.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Skutnabb-Kangas 2000

A neglect of the indigenous language and its concomitant culture by the dominant formal schooling system, results in a lack of linguistic competence in the mother tongue and any subsequent positive identification with the culture. Institutional and cultural linguicism⁹ and discrimination (ibid.) exists where people in powerless positions are unable to negotiate the

---

⁹ Ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, regulate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000)
validity of their mother tongue. The challenge for educators and policy-makers is to shape the evolution of national identity in such a way that the rights of all citizens are respected, and the cultural, linguistic, and economic resources of the nation are maximized. As Morocco is a largely agricultural country with 55 per cent employed in this rural sector, the mother tongue takes precedence making it of primary importance to uphold the rights of this language in the interests of the country as a whole.

Mother tongue education has become an essential component of the language choice/policy discourse. Following UNESCO’s 1953 document ‘The use of vernacular languages in education’, studies by Cummins (1996) and Dutcher and Tucker (1997), show that instruction in the mother tongue is beneficial for first language competence, achievement in other subject areas, and is a necessary foundation for cognitive development for second language (L2) acquisition. L2 often remains the language of access and power promoting language policy makers to advocate an additive model of multilingualism including related language practices like code-switching in the classroom. This is a debatable proposition pedagogically, psychologically and financially. In addition UNESCO stated education and cultural diversity to be a priority during their Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity adopted in 2001. It is committed to supporting Member States wishing to encourage linguistic diversity while respecting the mother tongue at all levels of education, wherever possible, to promote through education an awareness of the positive value of cultural diversity and to make full use of culturally appropriate methods of communication and transmission of knowledge. The quest for quality education today is inextricably bound up with the processes and impact of globalization.

11 Additive multilingualism is the addition of other languages to their first, while developing conceptually and academically in their first language. Code-switching uses at least two languages (or dialects) during speech often in a multilingual setting (Eastman 1992) as a survival practice and mechanism for learning and access whilst speaking in overlapping domains within juxtaposing hierarchies. This additive or pluralistic approach to bilingualism is different from the so-called subtractive bilingualism which aims to move children on to a second language as a language of instruction (UNESCO2004; Shameem 2002).
Is a low-income nation like Morocco able to finance education in the mother tongue while balancing an effective, efficient and significant entry into the global economy where L2 is indispensable?

Language and literacy in Morocco - Tamazight and Tifinagh

Currently there are no reliable and official statistics concerning the number of Amazigh and Amazigh speakers (see Table 2.3) in Morocco. Available numbers are an assessment by people active in the Amazigh linguistic and cultural domains, e.g. IRCAM or political parties such as the Mouvement National Populaire (MNP). Suggestions range from 75 to 78 per cent Imazighen with 70 to 75 per cent speaking Tamazight. These speakers are concentrated in the mountainous regions of Morocco and are loosely divided into several tribes which speak one of three principle dialects of the Amazigh language (see Table 2.4). The written language is etymologically derived from ‘Tifi negh’ – ‘our find, our discovery’ (Haddou Ghamen 2004 pers. comm.). See Figure 2.1 for a map of Morocco.

Table 2.3: Local terminology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Western Terminology</th>
<th>Moroccan Terminology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berber</td>
<td>Amazigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berbers</td>
<td>Imazighen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoken Language</td>
<td>Tamazight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alphabet</td>
<td>Tifinagh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.4: Amazigh dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Who</th>
<th>Where (approximation)</th>
<th>% of Amazigh population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tarafiyte/Rifi</td>
<td>Rif Mountains – North</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamazight</td>
<td>Middle, Central and High Atlas</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tashelhit</td>
<td>Central and Anti Atlas South</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 2.1: Map of Morocco showing Atlas Mountains and Taza city.

Source: Worldatlas 2004
Despite the positive multilingual nature of Morocco, the dominant discourse is one which values Fusha and French as having symbolic capital at the expense of other languages leading to “the institutionalised circle of misrecognition” (Bourdieu 1998b:131 or 1991:153), by majority and minority language speakers alike. This choice results in the vernacular tongues of Derija and Tamazight not being socially perceived as equal because the linguistic environments they are used in are not socially perceived as such. Moreover, even between these two languages a hierarchy exists. Derija has benefited from its perceived similarity to the prestigious classical Arabic of religion and state (Boukous 1995) and an empowering role economically (Sadiqi 2003). Tamazight is seen as a rural and thus unmodernised language, transferred by females in a patriarchal society exacerbating its role as a second class language. Tamazight transference is thus seen as the prerogative of the women who perceive the acquisition of the mother tongue as implied and generate opposition to learning the mother tongue in school.

The origins of Tifinagh and contemporary Tamazight are subject to questions needing further research. Tamazight is not strictly pure as it consists of the amalgamation, harmonisation (Moyo 2002), or subsumation (Brass 2003) of three Amazigh dialects: Tamazight is spoken by 43 per cent of Moroccans; Tashelhit 32 per cent; and Tarafiyte 25 per cent (see Table 2.4). Thus can it still be considered pure and therefore an example of true Moroccan heritage supporting maintenance of the bona fide mother tongue? Language purification is a matter of removing words identified with an alien (or colonial) language and disallowing further borrowings (Brass 2003) but surely Tamazight is an example of languages borrowing from one another (Edwards J 1994).

Indeed which language should be classed as the ‘mother tongue’ when two languages simultaneously exist as vernacular, first learnt, comprehended, most used or preferred - Derija and Tamazight – depending on the speaker’s location? The argument for a harmonization / purification of dialects by choosing a common dialect that can be freely understood and used by speakers and users of other dialects is evident which is precisely the avenue taken by IRCAM and
the ‘elite’ in formulating the generic indigenous oral and written language formally taught\textsuperscript{12} (see Figure 2.2).

\textit{Figure 2.2: Hierarchy of language in Morocco}

Therefore Morocco’s mother tongue is identified as Tamazight. The contested advantages of a mother tongue education discussed from the perspective of the elite and of those practicing will be examined as well as the role of this paradigm in a functioning multilingual country.

\textsuperscript{12} Alternatively caution must be taken over favouring a prestigious dialect and disregarding ‘dialect democracy’ (Moyo 2002:155).
The theories conceptualised in the Moroccan educational context

Morocco has one of the highest illiteracy rates in the Middle East, 56 per cent for men and 31 per cent for women (USAID 2003; Maamouri 2000). While there has been rapid expansion of the educational system with enrolments increasing by 85 per cent from 1975 to 1991, the proportion of school-age children who remain out of the system, mostly girls, is still extremely high (Table 2.5). Education quality is poor with few resources, poor infrastructure, rural and urban disparities and inadequate teacher training or evaluation, despite the government assigning more than 25 per cent of its annual budget to education. Maamouri (2000) sees the primary problems in Moroccan education as being a questionable relevance, an unacceptable low quality, and high repetition and drop-out rates especially in poor rural and urban communities, leading to a lack of motivation and funding (and see Table 2.6). The large number of indigenous people and linguistic diversity create further challenges for the struggling education system to manage (Mourad Diouri 2004 pers. comm.).

Table 2.5: Education Data Profile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Morocco</th>
<th>Middle-East and North Africa</th>
<th>Lower middle-income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Per-capita GNI (US$)</td>
<td>1,190</td>
<td>2,230</td>
<td>1,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public expenditure on education (Total spending as a % of GDP)</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult literacy rate (% age 15+)</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>90.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female literacy (% age 15+)</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>45.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross primary enrolment (% of school age population)</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>112.4</td>
<td>96.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attainment (to Grade 5)</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition (%)</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross secondary enrolment (% of school age population)</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>70.3</td>
<td>74.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition (%)</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross tertiary enrolment (% of school age population)</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Effect</th>
<th>Options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| High level of adult illiteracy  | • poor educational quality  
  • social / cultural values and beliefs  
  • multilingual society     | • may not see value of education, especially for girls                | • adult literacy programmes  
  • contextualised learning                                                 |
| Poor quality                    | • lack of teacher training, pre-service and in-service  
  • traditional pedagogy (e.g.: Quranic schools)  
  • lack of resources (esp. with EFA)  
  • lack of monitoring or evaluation  
  • inappropriate curriculum  
  • poorly educated teachers  
  • inappropriate language used for teaching medium  
  • inexperienced teachers especially in rural areas | • high levels of dropouts, repetition, absences (of teachers and pupils)  
  • low level of enrolment, attendance, retention, achievement  
  • disillusioned parents (and teachers)  
  • poor teacher morale  
  • unprepared to meet new demands of globalised economy | • teacher training programmes  
  • improved, relevant and individualised curriculum (contextualised)  
  • improved resources  
  • school-based management (decentralisation)  
  • increased parent / community participation  
  • user fees  
  • identify ‘best practice’  
  • improved flexibility |
| Rural and urban disparity       | • centralised system  
  • urban migration  
  • inexperienced teachers | • drain to urban centres  
  • increased poverty in rural areas | • decentralisation  
  • rural incentives  
  • effective multi-grade approach |
| Gender inequality               | • social / cultural values e.g.: religious beliefs  
  • poverty  
  • lack of role models | • increase male/female divide | • girl-centred initiatives  
  • increase in role models  
  • educate families of value of girls education |
| Multilingual society            | • multiple colonisers  
  • indigenous communities  
  • cultural imperialism | • urban / rural divide  
  • don’t value indigenous language and culture  
  • children who don’t function in dominant language fall behind  
  • extra issue for teacher to deal with | • initial education in mother tongue  
  • local curriculum |
| No monitoring or evaluation     | • poor government control  
  • weak education ministry  | • poor quality  
  • decreases teacher morale | • introduce monitoring and evaluation system |
Maamouri (2000) identifies the gap between the language of formal education; the vernacular spoken at home, the marketplace and almost everywhere outside the school; and the absence of the mother tongue as a major cause of low learning achievement rates in schools and low adult literacy. Additionally, Fusha and French as keys to socio-economic promotion are difficult to learn because they are not native languages; lack immediate relevancy; are abstract and decontextualised; and bring with them linguistic insecurity. The mixture of language patterns and therefore necessity of code-switching in the classroom contributes to pedagogical problems leading to a lack of adequate language competence, self-confidence, identity and increased social inequality abetting the contentious ideology behind a mother tongue education. The rhetoric and reality provide an interesting debate to be examined.

As a form of conceptual framework, embedded within the current literature and revealed during field research, unfolds a classic rhetoric versus reality discourse (Figure 2.3). This framework provides a summary of the issues to be examined and offers suggestions to the research questions.

Figure 2.3: The Rhetoric versus Reality discourse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Rhetoric</th>
<th>The Reality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural and linguistic diversity must be preserved allowing the indigenous identity to survive and regain equal status. Societal multilingualism supports this. Decentralization is an important factor of this being a vehicle for promoting / supporting / encouraging diversity within communities. Mother tongue education is also a significant element enabling better cognitive development, facilitating learning leading to increased literacy levels and a more empowered and economically viable populace. Supported by: International organisations, the government and the elite.</td>
<td>Maintenance of diversity will occur naturally as Morocco is fundamentally a colonially created multilingual nation. The indigenous tongue is organically transferred through generations when necessary. Therefore preservation of the mother tongue through official curriculum status is a pointless exercise as the language is not used globally, nationally or even locally serving minimal functional purpose. It has no practical value outside rural Moroccan areas and has no cultural, social, political or financial worth. Teachers and parents experience this reality first-hand.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26
3. Methodology

A methodology was originally conceived via literature review and communication with knowledgeable Moroccans. I hoped to interview education delegates, administrators, headmasters and teachers on their opinions of why Tamazight had been formally introduced. I also planned to observe classes and monitor specific pedagogies. However, the political sensitivity of this line of questioning was unexpected and most respondents refused to answer any questions concerning politics of language and language choice, leading to none of the educational officials or headmasters agreeing to be interviewed. Additionally, delays in acquiring permission to access schools for observation radically reduced time available for data collection. The study area, participants, a summary of methods and objectives are detailed with further information on the problems and limitations which led to the aforementioned modifications.

The sample area

A traditional area was chosen where people are typical and stable in terms of income, attitudes, language use and educational aspirations (Wagner 1993) providing representative case studies for urban/rural comparatives. They were also sites where I was likely to be well received due to previous research activity, of particular importance owing to limited time and the inability to establish a deep rapport and level of trust with participants (May 1997).

- Taza is a medium-sized modern city, population 150,000, maintaining its traditional medina. It is primarily agricultural with a wealth of public and private schools, Quranic and modern pre-schools and a diverse ethnic and linguistic population.

- Ain Bechar, Bab Boudir and Lanzar are rural villages found at the foot of the Atlas Mountains. They are small agricultural villages consisting of approximately five to 20 households. Most houses have electricity but few have running water. They are strictly Tamazight speakers with strong Muslim traditions. Women are mostly monolingual and a proportion of men are bilingual, speaking Derija due to employment and trade. They will
be familiar with Fusha only in a religious sense. Few can write. Each village has one primary school and the children are sent to Taza, the nearest city, if they want to continue education. The Quranic pre-schools in all the villages were closed due to lack of government funding.

The participants

Householders, teachers, primary school children and Amazigh activists partook in formal interviews and questionnaires. Due to officials refusing to be interviewed, only assumptions concerning official stances can be accrued based on my own observations, discussions with IRCAM members, householders and more significantly teachers and informed individuals who cared to express their opinions. Only the primary system was investigated to provide comparable units of analysis. I was fortunate to have prior contact with a translator (who speaks Arabic, Tamazight, French and English) facilitating direct contact and access.

Methods and objectives

A triangulation of qualitative and quantitative methods were employed producing “depth, nuance, context, multidimensionality and complexity” (Mason 2002:1) prompting significant comparisons and ensuring rigour. Table 3.1 summarizes the varied methods used and outputs expected. The Appendices detail the interview questions. Data was assessed and analysed with the interpreter as soon after completion as possible where special circumstances which may have affected the responses were noted and further queries resolved. More detailed analysis was conducted in England where comparisons were made with existing literature.

Table 3.1: Qualitative methods and objectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit of Analysis</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Outputs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RURAL AREAS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households</td>
<td>Semi-structured interviews (with local interpreter)</td>
<td>• Stratify parents into language abilities and preferences, education levels, occupations&lt;br&gt;• Assess parents’ aspirations for children&lt;br&gt;• Assess importance of education&lt;br&gt;• Assess children’s access to media in the home</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• Investigate parents’ thoughts on curriculum
• Assess views on language preference for children
• Children as mediators
• Children and parents code-switching

• Level of education
• Language competencies
• Aspirations for self and students
• Usefulness/relevance of the curriculum
• Views on multilingualism
• Problems encountered
• Opinions on mother tongue versus second language learning

• Language used in classroom – to students, to peers
• Pedagogy used
• Resources available

• Pedagogy used
• Student participation – gender, ethnic bias?
• Language used – teacher to student / student to student / teacher to teacher
• Language used visually e.g. texts, school signs
• Coping strategies e.g. peer support

• Assess language abilities, preferences, usage, mediation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Semi-structured interview (with local interpreter)</th>
<th>Classroom observations (with local interpreter)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Classrooms</td>
<td>Observations of classes (with local interpreter)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>Student Questionnaire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**URBAN - TAZA**

| Teachers | As above | As above |
| Classroom | As above | As above |
| Students | As above | As above |

**RABAT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Members of Amazigh movement</th>
<th>Questionnaire via email following several informal meeting and telephone conversations.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

• Moroccan educational policy – past, current and future
• Reasons for current reform of education system to include Tamazight in the classroom
• Amazigh statistics – to contrast with governments

**Table 3.2: Quantitative Methods and Objectives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statistics to compare with qualitative data</th>
<th>Objective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gross enrolment rates - primary</td>
<td>Assess efficiency and effectiveness of teaching pedagogy, curriculum and educational system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% completion rates</td>
<td>Assess rural / urban differences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% drop-out rates</td>
<td>Compare with qualitative findings, such as observations of language use in the classroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% repetitions</td>
<td>see Wagner (1993:76) for explanations of figures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% continuations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attainment levels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% literacy levels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language use in general</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language used in classrooms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Pre-school attendance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Problems and limitations

The cultural and political sensitivity surrounding this research was a factor overlooked when planning the methodology. This sensitivity was highlighted during the struggle for permission to gain access to schools for observations and interviews. It became a protracted process with access eventually being granted through cultural nepotism. This was detrimental to my research, particularly the observation needs, but conversely provided an interesting insight into the intricacies of an alleged decentralised educational system. Political factors now took greater precedence in the research.

As no-one agreed to be tape-recorded which I suspect was due to political reasons, limitations in interview data resulted as transcribing full responses during the interview proved too time-consuming. Therefore full and detailed quotations are limited. Multilingualism is complex and to observe and research the particular languages being used is problematic (Wagner 1993). Much dependence, responsibility and trust was placed on the interpreter and her abilities to create a rapport. Time-constraints did not allow a pilot study of participating schools to be conducted, however interviews with Mr Mourad Diouri (the Moroccan Arabic teacher at the University of East Anglia), and Mr and Mrs Nash (ex-Peace Corps workers in Morocco) provided valuable information reinforcing my literature review. An unbalanced survey size between the rural and urban area is not a true representation of multilingualism in Morocco. However, case-studies in the field research, despite being of a limited period, provided valuable insights.

Ethical issues

Consent from participants was requested beforehand and clarified during the study. Research involving government institutions such as schools required official ministerial permission. Anonymity (all names have been changed) and confidentiality of all respondents was assured.
4. Learning in the Mother Tongue

The person who knows only one language does not truly know that language (Goethe 1821).

Acquiring another language is acquiring another soul (Wittgenstein 1922).

Chapter 2 defined mother tongue and outlined the concepts surrounding mother tongue education. This chapter will unpack further the debate surrounding learning in the mother tongue and analyse the field data in relation to these notions in Morocco. Language ability, exemplified by code-switching and mediating skills, demonstrates the organic ability that Moroccan children inherit within their multilingual environment questioning the need for mother tongue education. This questioning was supported by responses from the field.

The debate

…it is one's sense of self that is at stake, one's self-respect, one's sense of importance, the loss of the sense of centrality of one's person in a world of communication (Brass 2003:20).

Arguments for

UNESCO’s 1953 paper Use of vernacular languages in education\(^{13}\) encouraged mother tongue education. It is a contested theory that children who maintain proficiency and begin their education in their mother tongue make a better start and continue to perform better than those who start school in a new language (UNESCO 1953, 2004; Dutcher 2004; Larson 1981). They have increased self-confidence contributing to higher retention rates and lower repetition\(^{14}\). Parents and

\(^{13}\) In full the report states, “It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child to read is his mother-tongue. Psychologically, it is the medium of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar medium” (UNESCO 1953:11).

\(^{14}\) Results of a pilot project showed that Grade 1 and Grade 2 bilingually-taught children were learning Spanish as well as their counterparts in the all-Spanish schools, despite less classroom time devoted to Spanish. Furthermore, they dropped out less and were promoted more than their peers in all-Spanish classes (Dutcher 2004).
school staff can communicate more easily. Talking leads to exploration and meaning-making through informal language (Mercer 1995) therefore skills in one's native language (the base of thinking) provide a firm foundation to learn a second or third language, of fundamental importance in a multilingual country. Native language has therefore a central role in education. Box 4.1 shows the advantages of learning in the mother tongue.

Box 4.1: Advantages of Mother Tongue learning

- **Psychological** – Prevents feelings of inferiority and alienation which may come about when learning in a colonial tongue. Their personal and conceptual foundation for learning is not undermined by an L2.
- **Educational** - Grasps new concepts more easily and encourages freedom of expression. Deeper understanding of language and how to use it effectively.
- **Cultural Identity** - Language is inextricably bound with cultural identity – instils respect for own culture and language.
- **Linguistic** – easier to learn an L2 as languages are able to nurture each other.
- **Socio-economic** – an L2 or L3 offers more promise of economic advancement and a higher status associated with knowledge of these languages, the mother tongue promotes faster learning of an L2 or 3, better adjustment and therefore less alienation from society.
- **Financial** – a colonial language assures a country international access but investment in a mother tongue will eventually prove more productive in terms of access to information and knowledge for the general population.

Source: Adapted from Moyo 2002, Cummins 2000

**Arguments against**

Assimilationist policies in education discourage students from maintaining their mother tongues and encourage identification with mainstream cultures learning the mainstream/majority/dominant language of that society. Wagner (1993) documented Amazigh children acquiring Fusha literacy with apparent ease demonstrating the flexibility of Moroccans functioning in a multilingual nation where they acknowledge the inevitability of the dominant tongue. This supports the notion that there is little value in promoting a mother tongue education in a functioning multilingual nation despite pressure from international rhetoric. Advantages of learning in an official, high status language (L2) can be seen in Box 4.2
Box 4.2: Advantages of learning in L2

- **Political** – Promotes national integration at a political level particularly if the country is linguistically fragmented.
- **Educational** – A more global or instructional language for wider knowledge acquisition is preferred as there are more texts in global languages for higher learning. Affords more opportunities for collation of a wider knowledge base.
- **Economic** – More employment opportunities in a global language. The notion of globalisation has reduced the world to a global village with a dominant global language. Practically, the fewer languages learnt results in fewer textbooks produced.

Source: Adapted from Moyo 2002

The debate contextualized in Morocco

Oh women, oh Tamazight,  
the one who is carrying  
a baby on her lap, who is teaching him what  
must come first, Tamazight, teach it to yours  
So that those roots won't be lost, at least to  
those who are in your hands [your children]  

So that those roots won't be lost, at least to  
those who are in your hands, my liver, oh  
Tamazight  
It's in the small boy that there's hope, my  
soul is Tamazight  
Oh roots, oh honorable one, the one who didn't  
forget them [roots]  
how beautiful God makes the place where you  
stand …  

… There are those who say  
"just leave that boy to be smart  
if we teach him Tamazight  
he is only going to be lost"  
The day he goes to school he doesn't know  
awal [speech - here it's Arabic speech], this goes contrary to our awal  
But studying is easy for those who want to  
learn  
If the child is smart it's easy for him to  
learn, my mother, oh Tamazight  

Fatima Ta'abamrant 'Azaw anim a Tamazight' - 'Struggle for you, Oh Tamazight'  
song from 1998

What do you mean. ‘What difficulties arise from a multilingual classroom?’ There are no difficulties. We are Moroccan. We are used to speaking at least three languages. Our brains are tuned into performing in this way from a very young age. And anyway, what is the use of speaking only one language? Where does that get you? Nowhere. (Mohammed, rural teacher)
Multilingualism within society and schools was inherently perceived within Morocco, something I had not expected to discover. People accepted, encouraged and actively sought language as a means to productively function and improve their social and financial standing within their immediate spheres and the wider environment (see Figures 4.1 - 4.4). Therefore the benefits of a mother tongue education as proposed by the larger international community provided an interesting concept to discuss with grassroots practitioners. Firstly I will examine three general concepts that became apparent as views were expressed on mother tongue education: rights; equality; and support. This is followed by the analysis and the opinions of householders and teachers, i.e. those who will be directly affected by educational policies.

**Rights**

A relevant education in the mother tongue encouraging appreciation of indigenous values and linguistic skills is often found to be undermined by national school systems (Dutcher 2004). Schools fail to build on the experience, knowledge and abilities that indigenous children bring to the classroom. To squander the linguistic resources of a nation by failing to build on children's natural language abilities by discouraging the development of the mother tongue is detrimental to national self-interest and represents a violation of human rights (Cummins 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). Rejecting a child's language in school is to reject the child and to undervalue their mother tongue, their culture, their basic identity and their desire for future learning.
Figure 4.1: American Fusha

Figure 4.2: Fusha, French and a pictoral shop sign

Figure 4.3: Newspapers in Rabat in Fusha, French and Tamazight

Figure 4.5: Fusha and French road signs – the colonial past
When they feel this rejection, they are much less likely to participate actively and confidently in school (Cummins 2000; Setati and Adler 2000) as Fatima concurred,

*Imazighen are not as sociable because don't know Arabic and live in rural areas with no TV or radio therefore don't have confidence* (Fatima, rural teacher).

The priority of the EFA paradigm should subscribe to UFA (Understanding for All) which arguably is inseparable from learning in the mother tongue (Norrag News 2004). This ‘rights’ issue was not of concern to householders but was of pedagogical interest to teachers.

**Equality**

There is evidence that failure to use the mother tongue for initial education is a significant factor in the failure to provide equality in educational opportunity for all children. UNESCO’s paper on multilingualism states,

Speakers of mother tongues, which are not the same as the national language, are often at a considerable disadvantage in the educational system (2004).

Children who speak native languages live predominantly in rural areas and attend classes often taught by teachers who speak an incomprehensible language by which they cannot learn (see Chapter 5). As a result, many children drop out before finishing the primary level without mastering skills in their first language, not to mention skills in the official language - the language of instruction,

*Several languages at a young age are an obstacle to study* (Najat, rural teacher).

In multilingual classrooms no-one has the language of learning as their main language. It is only heard, spoken and written in the formal context (or in religious contexts as with Fusha). However, even when adequate language access exists, educational opportunity is denied when physical and social access prevents attendance and equality. Poor infrastructure, inaccessible buildings and general poverty intensify inequalities (see Table 5.2),

*Environmental barriers, especially in winter, such as rivers, make coming to school impossible* (Hicham, rural teacher).
Some families are unable to send ALL children to school as it's too expensive to buy books, pens and warm clothes (Hassan, rural teacher).

Support

The equality of education is further affected,

where the parents are illiterate, … if the medium of instruction in school is a language that is not spoken at home the problems of learning in an environment characterized by poverty are compounded, and the chances of drop-out increase correspondingly (Mehrotra 1998; Dutcher 2001).

It is believed that parents’ years of education, level of attainment, disposable income and occupation, predict and affect children’s school achievement and future employment (Coleman 1966; Wagner 1993),

Illiterate people have a poor mentality. They don’t see the importance of education, especially for women (Hamid, urban teacher).

In addition, pre-school attendance plays a significant role in a young child’s education. Moroccan Limsidds (Quranic schools) teach the fundamentals of Islam and basic literacy and numeracy, and attendance affects language ability in primary school (Wagner 1993) and the speed of acquiring cognitive skills in a second language. Limsidds rarely exist in rural areas.

Views of mothers to Mother Tongue education

The parents interviewed demonstrated an unenthusiastic yet pragmatic response to the question of mother tongue education. Rural respondents thought it irrelevant to learn Tamazight at school as children already speak it at home, exhibiting a practical view of the function of language,

What’s the use of them wasting their time at school learning a language they can already speak? (Touria, Amazigh mother in a rural village)

The three educated urban participants believed it extraneous for their children’s education, which was an interesting finding as it is predominantly the educated who support the value of maintaining diversity and culture.
Languages, in general, were thought to be of great importance in school by rural women, seen as an important ‘out’ creating more opportunities for children to leave their village and succeed in the urban job market. Urban women didn’t place the same value on language, realistic in their knowledge that there are, 

no jobs no matter how many languages you speak (Zahara).

The rural women, the ‘real’ Amazigh, showed no desire to preserve the Amazigh culture or village way of life and were reluctant to peg their aspirations for their children's upward mobility on state schooling (Hoffman 2003). They wanted children to leave the village as proof of success, and they perceived language, predominantly L2 or L3 as a fundamental element in accomplishing this.

Women, who are the predominant force in language transference (ibid., feel trapped by their Tamazight monolingualism and tie to the land where their language is perceived as provincial and backward by Moroccan urbanites (Durham 1999; Maggi 2002). Domains of language use, the orality of their language and the social appropriateness were for them immutable. This language ideology and the related linguistic hierarchy contribute to the process of language shift where Tamazight is not valued, recognised, nor transferred, creating a battle to encourage the maintenance of the native voice.

Views of teachers to Mother Tongue education

Teachers demonstrated diverse opinions towards learning in the mother tongue. Most observed little cognitive difference in learning achievement between Tamazight and Arabic speaking children,

Grade 1’s experienced some difficulties with Standard Arabic but by Grade 2 there were no problems (Hessna, rural teacher).
Advantages of a Tamazight speaking teacher were clear but rarely expressed,

*I speak to them in Tamazight so they can learn better* (Aziz, rural teacher).

Some teachers saw Amazigh children as having distinct advantages over Arabic speakers,

*They are curious and motivated to learn other languages* (Moussa, rural teacher).

*The French accent is easier for Imazighen* (Karim, rural teacher).

*Imazighen are more competent in maths* (Abdul, rural teacher).

*Imazighen are better because they don’t know Arabic and live in rural areas but are still more intelligent* (Zahara, rural teacher).

However, on the negative side,

*Imazighen are shyer and not as sociable resulting in a reluctance to talk* (Halima, rural teacher).

*They are not as fast at learning Fusha and not exposed to French due to their rural location* (Abdullah, rural teacher).

*They’re slower at learning a new language* (Mouhssine, rural teacher).

A more direct question on whether learning to read in a child’s home language, i.e. Tamazight (as Derija is not written), would enhance their performance at school relative to those who learn in a second language, i.e. Fusha, received 17 negative answers and the overriding approval of learning in L2,

*Should teach in L2 as already know home language* (Karim, rural teacher).

*They can learn more as they can learn their mother tongue at home* (Said, rural teacher).

*L2 more important because Fusha is used everywhere. Can use Derija on a daily basis so will know well. Therefore should teach in a new language i.e.: L2* (Halima, rural teacher).

*Have to learn in another language because there are some subjects such as scientific subjects, which need French or Fusha for. Or if you leave the country you will need an L2. It used to be French but now it’s Fusha. If we teach Tamazight in primary and secondary schools, we’ll have to teach it in tertiary too. It may cause some problems* (Mohammad, urban teacher).

Merely three teachers responded in the affirmative,

*Yes, because they will have more vocabulary so can participate more with the teacher* (Karima, rural teacher).

*Also the teacher can communicate better with parents if they both speak the mother tongue* (Miriam, rural teacher).

*Easier to understand* (Fatima, rural teacher).
Therefore, within the reality of the education system there are distinctly contrasting views, expressed equally throughout the rural and urban teaching cohort on the benefits of a mother tongue education. Overall teachers saw little value in the concept, preferring children to function in a multilingual environment as early as possible where the skills learnt will be transferable to the wider economic sphere.

The debate continues between the policy makers and the practitioners. Householders perceived no useful value in promoting and preserving their language and held little regard for their native culture, a view possibly generated from their low economic and social status. Language should be practical and functional and serve a real purpose. Teachers identified minimal differences in ability between Arabic and Tamazight first language learners despite the current literature on the cognitive benefits of learning in the mother tongue and saw little practical usage of a language not globally recognised. Field data suggests that this is a reflection of multilingualism being seen as the preferred societal norm in Morocco, and a state the populace is willing and able to function efficiently, therefore rejecting the current discourse for a mother tongue education.

**Code-switching**

*A female teacher in her late 50's (therefore educated during the Francophone era) is teaching a maths class in a relatively wealthy urban school to her Grade 6 class (age 12). She speaks in Fusha, the children answer in Fusha. Problems are written on the blackboard in Fusha. However, technical terms such as 'kilometres' and 'prix' are taught using Fusha and French. Upon asking why she used both languages she answered, "It's my choice. I want the children to learn as many terms as possible in as many languages as they can. It's important for their future." Meanwhile the children discussed the problems amongst themselves in Derija. After 50 minutes and without a pause, the teacher moved onto a French lesson, spoken only in French to a class who responded both verbally and in writing in French. This was an example of an organic multilingual classroom (observed in an urban school).*

Included in the realm of mother tongue education is code-switching, which has become an unofficial yet established practice in Morocco. Code-switching is the use of at least two languages during a spoken episode where the linguistic codes are manipulated according to contexts of language use (Heath 1989, Meyers-Scotton 1993) in a systematic and rule-governed manner.
(Gumperz 1982). It can be an ‘unmarked’ choice when mixed languages are used implicitly or
'marked' when people explicitly invoke another language to negotiate a position of social, political
or economic strength (Meyers-Scotton 1993). It is a powerful symbolic ability which can
construct identities by exclusion or inclusion and can encode power and solidarity (Sadiqi 2003).

Teacher code-switching can be used: to focus or gain students attention; to clarify material; to
substitute words or concepts where there is no equivalent; and to add to knowledge by expanding
vocabularies (Setati and Adler 2000). It may be accounted for by national and school policy or by
individual language choice in a preferred language or a language the students comprehend. Adler
(1998) describes the 'dilemma of code-switching' where teachers need to switch languages in
order to reformulate a question or instruction or to re-explain a concept but are also tied to the
official/formal language and the need to encourage use of the mainstream tongue.\(^{15}\)

Despite its functionality, there is no formal policy to encourage code-switching as a method of
efficient language-learning in Morocco. It was a method of language use I encountered in formal
and informal domains across generations and socio-economic groups. The anecdote above
perfectly represents its utilitarian purpose within schools. Here the teacher moved between Fusha
and French, the students effortlessly following, peer-checking in Derija when necessary.

**Teachers code-switching**

In Moroccan classrooms teachers used a ‘marked’ choice following national policy using mostly
Fusha despite this being an L2 for their students and themselves as seen in Table 4.1. Only one
teacher professed to using a greater proportion of vernacular Derija. Teachers, as government
workers, were on the whole reluctant to discuss any issues which reflected a political stance to

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\(^{15}\) Piaget (1959) argues that unmarked code-switching was controlled by the superiority of the
teacher deciding what students are exposed to. In contrast Freire (1970) supports the discovery of
choice by questioning the accepted norms and values imposed by modernity and schooling.
explain their language preferences. The lack of Tamazight, even in the rural areas, supports the views of the teachers on mother tongue education, namely that learning an L2 is more useful and provides more opportunities. The lottery system of teacher placement is also exemplified\(^6\) compounding the possibility that none of the teachers placed in these rural locations are literate in Tamazight.

\textbf{Table 4.1: Teacher code-switching}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Fusha</th>
<th>Derija</th>
<th>Tamazight</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Urban    | 90    | 10     | 5         |
|          | 50    | 50     | 5         |
|          | 95    | 10     | 5         |
|          | 80    | 20     | 5         |

Teachers expressed difficulties of teaching subjects in Fusha while the students were still learning it. Yet more complex language issues arose in rural schools where there is limited L2 infrastructure in the surrounding community for teachers to build on in school. Additionally, rural areas lack limsidd’s to reinforce Fusha.

Other examples of code-switching occurred in official domains. Government delegates and staff always spoke to me in French, to each other in Fusha and often to my translator in Derija, despite

\(^6\) A teacher may be placed in an area where they have no working knowledge of the local mother tongue.
her fluency in five languages. These occurrences illustrate ‘marked’ code-switching reflecting remnants of the colonial past and respect for the current process of Arabization.

Children code-switching

Children code-switched between family members and within contrasting domains of school and home. Figures 4.5 and 4.6 illustrate the differences between rural and urban children’s abilities, their language of choice in each domain and with each speech partner.

Figure 4.5: Incidences of code-switching amongst rural children

Figure 4.6: Incidences of code-switching amongst urban children
Figures 4.5 and 4.6 clearly show rural children code-switch more regularly than their urban counterparts. This reflects the low status value of their mother tongue, illustrating their aspiration to become competent in the more widely spoken languages of Morocco. All children are multilingual and perform their switching in an ‘unmarked’ manner adopting their codes to the particular domain, such as Fusha to teachers or mother tongue to grandparents. It also demonstrates the ease and normality of code-switching in a multilingual environment.

**Children as mediators**

*Waiting for a taxi one day, I watched a young child of no more than eight read the bus timetable for her Derija speaking mother. She was evidently illiterate and needed her young daughter to decipher blatantly useless information, as who has ever experienced an African bus to be punctual* (Author’s journal entry, June 3rd 2004).

A related aspect of code-switching is mediation where families rely on children to serve as cultural, linguistic and informational mediators in order to function in the dominant society (Chu 1999). These mediators gain access via information for linguistic minorities who can then actively participate within mainstream social structures and social processes (Edwards V 2002; Jones 2000).

Literacy is essential for this participation, and communities assign it significant value as a resource gained from modernity and formal schooling. Therefore multilinguals become lynchpins to community access and are sometimes the only link between home and school, particularly teacher/parent communication, a link which plays a crucial role in the success of a child’s education, demonstrated in Box 4.3. Teachers complained that parents have minimal interest in their child’s education. In all likelihood the parent does not understand linguistically or psychologically the importance of their participation, especially in rural areas and particularly

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17 The role of the formal mediator which entailed the use of a public scribe ‘Adil’ is now being replaced by ‘cybercafes’ which perform similar tasks in less time. Informal mediators are family, neighbours and friends. Due to the exceptionally multilingual competence in Morocco, the mediator’s role is predominantly one of reading and writing.
women who are often illiterate (Lamb 1976; Hoffman 2003) but who are usually the key carer for their child.

*Parents should visit the teacher but it’s very rare as many are illiterate and don’t give importance to education* (Fatima rural teacher).

Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) feature in Morocco but are often ineffective, a possible reflection of the literacy level of participating parents. Having not experienced the education system firsthand it becomes difficult for parents to appreciate the importance of their presence and encouragement. The socioeconomic status of the family; the opportunities the children have for learning; access to printed material; parents’ willingness and ability to assist their children with homework and the aspirations of the parents for their children all compound a student’s success in the classroom and increase the expectations on formal schooling (Stevenson et al 1999)\(^\text{18}\).

*Box 4.3: Teachers’ answers to ‘What makes a good student?’*

- Discipline
- Parental support
- Communication between teacher and parents
- Low absenteeism
- Conducive environment to study
- Relevant curriculum
- Inquisitive mind
- Sociable – encouraged by home and school
- Complete homework

The children were asked if they ever performed a mediator’s role for their parents or neighbours, see Figure 4.7. It is evident that for every category, the rural children played a larger mediating role, indicating a higher percentage of illiteracy in rural areas reflecting official statistics. Letter reading and writing for siblings in the military was the most frequent activity.

\(^{18}\) The relation of the parents’ level of education to their child’s reading ability is evident in many studies (Binkley and Williams 1994; Snow et al 1991).
As a conclusion, the issue of motivation for the Moroccan youth to attend school is a prominent one. The region continues to face economic and social challenges, the most significant of which being unemployment. Unemployment stands at 21.4 per cent and expectations for employment are low due to minimal private enterprise and an overtaxed government. As one teacher sympathised,

*Student:* “Why should I do homework? I have two brothers with university degrees but they can’t get a job.”
*Teacher:* “They don’t have a job but they have an education.”
*Student:* “I don’t want an education. I want a job.”

This leads on to the role of politics behind language choice and the place the mother tongue holds in this political paradigm.
5. The Politics of Language

She’s a racist! She’s calling us Berbers! Does she know what that means? We are Amazigh. We speak Tamazight. We are not barbarians! (Said, rural teacher).

Politics surround language, in the language chosen to be used in which domain by whom and to whom. In Morocco a clear hierarchy exists (see Figure 2.1, p.23) between the four principal languages, a direct product of political ideologies, posing issues of language rights and human rights and prompting questions over the rhetoric of current policies. In the previous chapters I examined the concept of learning in the mother tongue, the benefits of this theory and the opinions of local practitioners and users to this model. This chapter will investigate the role of politics behind language choice, principally Tamazight, and suggested reasons for this choice.

Moroccan language planning

Independence and Arabization led to the government advocating Fusha as the official tongue and teaching medium.

Arabic is the official language of our identity, our Quran and our nation. The Moroccan citizen is duty-bound to speak his national language (Khalid Shebal of the government’s Institute for Arabization).

Current liberal thinking recognises the inevitable need for a global language creating a global workforce enabling global economic entry so as not to fall behind Western competitors.

We were occupied by the French and Spanish. Now we’re occupied by the Americans, globalisation and the internet (Mohammed, urban teacher).

Language is often linked to development and modernisation, and promoting understanding in other languages and cultures as part of basic education becomes a matter of economic survival (Genesee and Cloud 1998), enabling Morocco to define itself globally. This means teaching and learning languages which have global currency as opposed to a low status language with little functionality outside Morocco’s borders. Politically and economically weak governments are aid-reliant on the international community, thus are under pressure to conform to international
ideologies. As an ex-colonial country with a heavy reliance on international bodies financing social projects, including education, one must question how independent Morocco’s political manoeuvrings are. The pressure to integrate and perform in a globalized world must influence the decision-making process.

This suggests that politics play a role in the introduction of Tamazight. The official view promotes respect for the indigenous heritage and maintenance of Morocco’s ancestral roots. A controversial suggestion is the dilution of Arabic and therefore Islam, in a world where Islam and Arabs are misunderstood and feared through ignorance (Mourad Diouri 2004 pers. comm.). Additionally, it may avert Amazigh unrest where nationalistic groups call for equal rights and status to be awarded to indigenous Moroccans. Brass (2003) recognises that language recognition may divert attention away from asserting/recognising fundamental human rights, as activists are kept happy with minimal concessions allowing the government to use Tamazight as a deflection from more pressing and costly rights issues. Radicals view the government as abetting illiteracy through a low quality education system in order to retain power,

*I live in a constitutional monarchy but in reality it’s a dictatorship. Fifty per cent of the nation is illiterate. It helps to maintain the King’s power as people don't have the ability to question him* (Rada, a student).

The underlying agenda behind the implementation of a Tamazight language policy prompts investigation, and the role of politics in language choice is apparent.

Causal to the retardation of rural development and general economic stagnation is poor linguistic understanding and lack of language functionality (Moyo 2002) which prevents the majority rural population from contributing efficiently to their full capacity. This exacerbates existent disparities between urban and rural regions. A mother tongue education with its attendant advantages may elevate development. Simultaneously, the government must curry favour with international organisations in the reverence of their indigenous heritage. After all, these are the institutions that provide much needed aid which contributes significantly to the education system and the possible achievement of EFA and MDGs where failure is imminent without outside help.
The elite may be encouraging Tamazight preservation and maintenance as a reaction against the onslaught of globalisation, or as colonial backlash linking the Amazigh movement to post-modern nation building where language plays an integral role. Alternatively the elite, holding a privileged position in society, maintain their socialist intellectual belief that language, and therefore cultural maintenance, is a way to protect and promote their nation. Haddou Ghanem (2004) states their linguistic claims,

underpin the important objectives of sustainable rural development, the fight against illiteracy and the reduction of the gap between the country and the town.

However, the masses who will be teaching, learning and who already functionally use Tamazight see differently from their dominators. In rural areas the householder expressed no interest in the new status of their mother tongue or its written form. Householders recognise the importance of mainstream and global languages to increase the opportunities of their children’s economic prospects,

*What good is Tamazight outside of Morocco? Our king is trying to modernize the country, not take a step back* (Ahmed, a small businessman).

**Amazigh Rights / Human Rights / Language Rights:**

**The Amazigh Movement**

_In Morocco Imazighen fight for the recognition of their identity, their age-old culture, their history and the values of tolerance, understanding and dignity that this culture has conveyed for centuries* (Ghanem 2004).

Amazigh discontent derives from unequal deprivations. Economically, Amazigh regions have not seen the development aid that coastal and urban Arabized regions have received, despite comprising the majority of the poor where 50 per cent live on less than $50 a month. Culturally, an unvalued and low status language is problematic in a pluralistic society where identity relies on

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19 In recent years, the exploitation of oil resources in traditional Amazigh areas (with the appropriation of Amazigh lands and the distribution of oil profits away from Amazigh development) has intensified their grievances.
language as the principal determinant of their ethnicity. Some blame Arabization for the high illiteracy rate (50.2 per cent) and an affronted culture creates discrimination and marginalization, exemplified at police registries where Moroccans officially designate their children’s names. Non-Arab names like Jurgurtha and Messina - the names of ancient Amazigh kings - are blacklisted. Only Arabic names are allowed, reflecting the democratic and human rights narrative.

To Amazigh militants, this is a case of trying to completely eradicate any Amazigh heritage. We are people in our own country who don’t exist (Jalali Saib, activist from Rabat University).

In 2000, Amazigh activists and cultural associations at national and international level, e.g. the Amazigh World Congress, submitted the ‘Amazigh Manifesto’ (Box 5.1) demanding the state to: recognize Tamazight as a national language; teach Tamazight in schools; license an Amazigh television station; allot government money to speed up development in historically neglected areas; and end restrictions on registering Amazigh names for their children.

**Box 5.1: Summary of Amazigh Manifesto (2000)**

1. Officialization of the Tamazight in the same way as Arabic and French in the next constitution.
2. Teaching of Tamazight in all schools.
3. Promotion of the Amazigh language through the creation of centres for language research e.g. CAL (Centre of Linguistic Planning).
4. Creation of an Amazigh radio and television channel.
5. Use of the Amazigh language in courts and public administration in Morocco.
6. Television and radio, currently broadcasting in Arabic and French, should integrate broadcasts in Amazigh dealing with films, plays, Amazigh poets and musicians, reports in Amazigh, broadcasts for children and even publicity in Amazigh etc.

These linguistic claims underpin the important objectives of sustainable rural development, the fight against illiteracy and the reduction of the gap between the country and the town.

Source: Haddou Ghanem 2004

Despite current rhetoric, the teaching of Amazigh is far from being fully accepted into public education and rarely complies with the requirements of Amazigh cultural associations (Haddou Ghanem 2004 pers. comm.). Amazigh rights are not featured in the constitution or recognised in

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20 Amazigh World Congress (1995) is an international organization focusing on the defence and promotion of the cultural identity of the Amazigh nation.
any official sense. The government has merely paid ‘lipservice’ via minimal media recognition\textsuperscript{21}, the establishment of cultural centres and Tamazight in the curriculum. The question is whether language recognition is sufficient in the eyes of activists.

**Further political sensitivities and considerations**

*Why is it taking so long? How could a short fax granting me permission to observe classes, interview teachers and talk to students take more than three weeks? I have no intention of unearthing a hideous Moroccan secret. I just want some data!* (Author’s journal extract, June 7\textsuperscript{th} 2004).

Permission to interview and access to observe classes was frustratingly difficult to obtain. Officious local gendarmes prevented me from beginning research without relevant paperwork; time and financial limitations barred me from extending my stay; the summer semester was drawing to a close leading to a danger there would be no classes to observe or teachers to interview. I spent three and a half weeks visiting Taza’s Ministry of the Interior, the local Mayor’s office, the British Embassy in Rabat, the office of the Minister of the Interior for Morocco in order to gain permission. Meanwhile my host father had attended an Amazigh festival where he was approached by Taza’s Minister of Education who was eager to become more influential in local government. My host father’s brother was the only orthodontist in town and also president of the election committee. My name and difficulties were mentioned in exchange for an introduction to the dentist and within three days my permission had been stamped and sealed. Nepotism worked wonders.

This anecdote demonstrates the complete lack of freedom and decision-making power held by individual schools and local governments despite decentralization being ideologically embraced by the national government. Decentralisation’s role in this paper demonstrates that despite the current regard government is paying to the mother tongue discourse, effective instruments are not in place to take this further, suggesting further ‘lipservice’ as opposed to a concrete move. Greater

\textsuperscript{21} Currently there exists one radio station broadcasting daily in the three indigenous dialects for four hours, 10 newspapers and a 20-minute segment on one TV channel.
problems defined within the education sector will need addressing before practitioners and householders alike will concede to agreeing to the mother tongue discourse. The anecdote also highlights the sensitivity of the language choice issue and thus the role of politics.

Theoretically, decentralization is not a new concept in Morocco. A range of legislative measures and reforms in 1973, 1986 and 1992 broadened the powers of the decentralized municipalities to exercise policy consultation, decision-making and implementation. The 2000 Moroccan Education Reform further emphasized decentralization and devolution by: transferring power to regional delegates; expanding public and parent participation; increasing trained teacher numbers assisted by decreases in education attainment needed to become a teacher\textsuperscript{22}. The Ministry of Education's statistics for 2002-2003 (MEN 2003) maintained this trend. Strategic objectives for 2003-2004 further identified the “qualitative improvement of teaching and a plan for the formation of the regional academies” (MEN 2004:5). These objectives should lead to more efficient, or in some cases ‘actual’ decentralization. In co-operation with Morocco's Ministry of Interior, international organisations such as US Agency for International Development (USAID), Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), UNICEF, EFA in the Arab States Region (ARABEFA) and Oxfam are also pushing to enhance and enforce decentralization and local governance. Most recently, in July 2004 the World Bank approved a US$100 million loan to support government efforts to improve the effectiveness of public resource management via increased efficiency by de-concentrating expenditures and accountability providing greater flexibility to regional administrations.

However tensions exist between the rhetoric and the maintenance of a highly-centralized management system where key areas such as teacher training, recruitment and curriculum design remain in the hands of central government maintaining its role as controller opposed to enabler of development, despite promoting the need for diversity (Shaeffer 1994, Bray et al 2003). Common
difficulties (or excuses) involving the process of decentralizing in Morocco can be identified in Box 5.2:

Box 5.2: Challenges with decentralization in Morocco

- Is government strong enough to allow real empowerment? Catering to regional diversity is an example of true empowerment. Locally run education systems are answerable to the local populace. Users may be unable to express preferences or complaints due to a lack of information, resources, training or literacy.
- Are ministries willing to relinquish power? Redistributing power is complex.
- Costs can increase with localized decision-making and resultant increase in staffing (Bray et al 2003).
- A lack of communication between ministries can result in inefficient human and capital resource distribution creating regional disparities as local governments proceed individually with no central organization.
- Local financial participation is seen as critical to the enhancement of accountability (IDB 1994). But increased community participation and parent involvement is often about ‘paying for education’. Are fees really about the privatization of education? Is it equitable? Or are fees really a regressive tax? How do user fees fit into EFA?
- The long-standing popularity and growing governmental acceptance of Quranic schools, as well as the growing popularity of mixed schools (with a combined lay and Quranic curriculum), involves schooling that provides children with an educational context and content that reflects the true priorities of parents in many communities (Muskin 1999). Morocco has handed pre-school provision over to the private sector while it focuses on training, pedagogy and regulations (UNESCO 2004) raising issues of transparency and inequity within this market approach.

Source: Wagner 1993

Success depends on capacity building, legislation, community financing, bottom-up decision-making, maximizing effectiveness of teachers, educating stake-holders, political consensus and the ability to functionally carryout reform. Ideally a balance of centralized or decentralized elements with central authorities concentrating on setting goals, generating and targeting resources and monitoring performance while everyday management of schools is devolved to lower-level authorities and to the institutions themselves is needed (Fiske 1996). Autonomy at school level allows more experimentation and flexibility to accommodate diversity relevant in Morocco because of: language; varying needs in rural/urban regions; different contexts in rural/urban regions; and gender, religious and familial expectations. Therefore decentralization should provide an equitable, fast acting, transparent, appropriate, accountable system empowering

22 Graduates holding a Baccalaureate are now able to become teachers as opposed to university
parents to demand and access the best free education for their children’s needs. However the reality bears little resemblance to the rhetoric. Four primary issues were revealed.

**Insufficiently trained stakeholder management**

Illiteracy in Morocco, at 50.2 per cent is a major restraint on the democratic process. Ironically … the push toward decentralization … shifts more responsibilities to the group of educational administrators least ready to accept it (Chapman et al 2002:187).

An uneducated populace is unable to fully understand or question the authorities who govern them, or assess the quality of education their children are receiving when they have no personal experience to base their opinions. Moreover, how can they bring those accountable for any inadequacies to address them?

Our government doesn't want us to study; it needs only dumb people. It has no need for people with brains; there are too many Moroccans as it is, and smart people are difficult (Tayler 2003:51).

Information on the process of decentralization as well as training of local communities have not been a priority in Morocco. Given this situation, the major constraints on the decentralization process are first the absence of coordination between levels of government, and then the weak capacity of civil society organizations, local governments and involved local people, including parents (CIRESIN 2004). Effective participation requires a level of knowledge concerning educational issues and proper training, for those involved, especially parents, for true accountability and management of schools to flourish. There is a danger of drawing on “conventional wisdom” and past experiences rather than “well-grounded understanding of the educational process” (Chapman 2002:187) and a lack of training for those adopting new managerial roles with poor education, especially in rural areas, compounds this (see Table 5.1, points 4,6 and 13, Table 5.2, points 4,7 and 11).

degree holders (Amharef, rural teacher).
Table 5.1: Teacher challenges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Difficulties faced by teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. lack of resources – old materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Inappropriate curriculum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Poor infrastructure – e.g. toilets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. No governmental support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Travel time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. No support from Headteachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Poor training – reality does not match theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Students ask questions in Tamazight which most teachers don’t understand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Multi-level classroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Crowded classroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Far from family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Syllabus too full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Lack of parental support – illiterate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2: Student challenges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Difficulties faced by students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Distance from school – especially difficult in winter, environmental barriers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Gender - resistance from home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. A syllabus bearing little meaning to personal experience and context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Needed in home – help mother, harvest time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Money – unable to send ALL children to school (affects girls first), no materials, no warm clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Lack of textbooks – have to share</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. High absenteeism – help family, distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Language (mentioned by only three teachers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. No canteen service at school and live too far away to return home for lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Secondary school too far to attend therefore decline in motivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Parental illiteracy and ignorance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Too many subjects especially for young students</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inappropriate teacher management and training

Effective teacher distribution and training, and efficient, locally administered teacher management are fundamental to a quality education.

Rural and urban areas experience diverse teacher-related concerns (Wagner 1993). Teachers in general are likely to be from urban areas. To become a teacher you must have completed high school and passed the baccalaureate. A low incidence of secondary or high schools in rural areas
means a comparatively low number of rural students continue onto secondary education thus the majority of teacher trainees originate from an urban background. Teacher placement is based on a lottery system and the newly trained are obliged to work in the less popular rural areas for at least five years before they are able to apply for transfer to preferred urban areas where their family may reside and where they can experience a better lifestyle and improved school infrastructure. This affects quality (ibid.) as those in remote areas become disillusioned and de-motivated with the poverty, lack of resources and difficult teaching conditions such as multi-level classes. This random placement compounds the language dilemma as a teacher from outside the area is unlikely to speak the particular dialect of the area they have been placed. Reliance, even in informal environs, will therefore be placed on the generic and official forms of Arabic to communicate to students and parents in their second language. See Table 5.1, points 5, 7, 8, 9, 11 and Table 5.2, point 8 above.

**Relevant curriculum**

Decentralisation purports to encourage and support a relevant and appropriate curriculum in a pertinent language to encourage diversity, attract and retain a high enrolment base and provide the children with a contextualised education. An irrelevant curriculum featured frequently in teachers' responses to identifying problems in the education system\textsuperscript{23}.

\textit{The Government does not consult teachers of what students need or are capable of which is especially important for rural areas} (Amharef, rural teacher).

\textit{New programmes come from Rabat only} (Mustafa, urban teacher).

The issue of a germane curriculum was reinforced in Table 5.1, points 2 and 12 and Table 5.2, points 3 and 12 above.
A lesson which uses ‘MacDonald’s’ as an example of ‘a popular place to eat’ when there is only one in the whole country, is not relevant lexis or a notion students can readily conceptualize, especially when they are learning in L2 or L3. Science was cited by several respondents as the most difficult subject as the children had relatively no context on which to base concepts such as electricity. A teacher in a rural school expounded further,

_The exercise required the children to have knowledge of ‘tarmac.’ They haven’t even seen a road or been in a car so how would they understand the concept of tarmac? I walked them to the nearest tarsealed road, about 5km away and we all touched it and ran on it while on the look out for a taxi, a word needed for the next lesson_ (Lesan, rural teacher).

Morocco is also striving for a larger role in the international economic community and to be successful, their curriculum must reflect this so that today’s graduates become tomorrow’s entrepreneurs (World Bank 2004).

**Resource allocation**

Lack of resources was a recurring theme (see Table 5.1 points 1, 3 and 10, and Table 5.2 points 6, 9 and 10 above). The allocation of resources remains under the authority of the Ministry of Interior allowing limited autonomy in distribution (CIESIN 2004) and disparities between urban and rural regions. Schools in both areas possessed adequate seating and lighting with walls decorated with government posters on health, nutrition and animals of the region. However, in rural schools the infrastructure was very basic – only one school had a bathroom and none had canteen services, a sick room or office space for staff. In contrast the urban schools were well-maintained with one even displaying children’s work on the walls. None of the schools displayed any indigenous information, the Arabic or Tamazight alphabets, or any basic numeracy aids. Urban areas were clearly the recipients of better resources.

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23 Education officials saw this question as having political overtones and subsequently refused to answer. My data comes from teachers interviewed in their spare time outside of school. Anonymity was assured.
Unequal resource distribution has been recognised by international institutions which award incentives such as food and basic school materials. One programme offers pens, notebooks and bags to Grade 1 students. However this only occurs once and after three months, equipment needs replacing. One rural school also reported a government incentive to provide a hot meal to all primary students, but the service was irregular only lasting approximately 80 days per year.

Within the gender sphere, girls traditionally have poorer school attendance due to the Islamic patriarchal system which is exacerbated in rural areas where poverty plays an attending constraining role. Morocco has been the target of several ‘food for school’ programmes such as providing five litres of cooking oil, 50 kgs of flour, and all school materials three times a year for each daughter a family sends to school (see Moroccan Education for Girls (MEG) funded by USAID, Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), CIDA, UNICEF and World Food Programme (WFP)).

Although there are no official figures on the success of these programmes in increasing enrollment, personal communication with householders and teachers confirmed enrollment had risen. Supporting this, PTAs are raising money to replace de-funct programmes24,

*International programmes did make a difference. Three years of flour and oil did increase girls coming to school. Now there are no programmes so PTA raises money for school resources such as pens and notebooks* (Amharef, rural teacher).

Additionally, poor resources and poor quality or irrelevant education were issues highlighted by parents. Urban householders, educated to a higher level than their rural counterparts, listed more problems within schools (see Table 5.3) suggesting that the educated respondents have higher expectations of school provision.

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24 Aid / capita ($) has decreased from 24.0 in 1999 to 21.5 in 2002 (World Bank devdata 2004)
Table 5.3: Problems perceived by parents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Problem</th>
<th>Times mentioned Rural</th>
<th>Times mentioned Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crowded</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporal Punishment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeks too easy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School day too long</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor teacher training</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not enough sports</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not enough languages</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nonetheless, it is generally agreed that decentralization has had a positive impact on education encouraging citizen participation, language diversity, multilingualism and mother tongue education. This view is supported not so much by how much decentralization has taken root but rather by the contrast between the current situation and the preceding situation (CIESIN 2004). To deepen the process of Moroccan decentralization, increased training in executing new responsibilities and making available more financial resources to local levels, primarily to rural areas, is paramount to success. The efficient management of resources via local control will increase efficiency and as a consequence quality. Devolving control to a knowledgeable management base will cater to the diverse elements of Moroccan society via a relevant curriculum which reflects the multilingual population and diverse environment.

Thus decentralization plays a significant role in language choice by allowing or disallowing local communities access and knowledge to effectively choose the most relevant language (and curriculum) for them. Politics and language choice are inextricable.
6. Conclusions

The answers to the research questions are intrinsically related. Ordinary Moroccans see minimal value in implementing a mother tongue education programme. They perceive little use in learning their Tamazight mother tongue, especially those whose mother tongue is Derija, particularly in a country which functions efficiently in its multilingual state and whose institutions and habitants perceive multilingualism as the preferred condition. Functionality of language is their key concern. The maintenance of their indigenous culture and the Moroccan heritage was of low priority to these people.

We can conclude that Tamazight was legitimized to follow the current international narrative, not the reality of local users and practitioners who place little worth on its introduction. Morocco functions well as a multilingual nation. Students learn effectively without needing to introduce the mother tongue to speed up and condense their learning. Currently there is little evidence demonstrating that mother tongue education would benefit students or the nation as a whole, especially when the populace is geared to a multilingual L2 linguistic environment. Code-switching is generic and considered a norm. While there are strong educational arguments in favour of mother tongue instruction, a balance should be made between enabling people to use local languages in learning, and providing access to global communication through education. The challenge is for education systems to adapt to these complex realities and provide a quality education which takes into consideration learners’ needs, while balancing these with social, cultural and political demands within the globalized world. Uniform solutions may be administratively simpler but they disregard the risks involved in terms of learning attainment and loss of linguistic and cultural diversity.

Tamazight also appears to have been introduced to appease activists and international organisations following international rhetoric to retain funding and good grace. Morocco is not
economically strong or stable enough to compete in the global marketplace without international assistance, nor is it in a viable position to counter global feelings on cultural diversity maintenance. The achievement of EFA and the MDGs would be impossible in isolation.

Despite the numerical expansion of formal education, primary school children remain deprived of basic learning, guaranteeing the persistence of a high level of adult illiteracy. This can be related to poor distribution of resources, inadequate teacher training and poor infrastructure, especially in rural areas where higher pockets of illiteracy exist. An inefficient decentralisation process can be blamed. This inequality is therefore not necessarily a product of poor language acquisition.

In order to progress this research in the future, additional work needs to be carried out on the learning curves of Amazigh children learning in Tamazight. Do these children achieve more socially, psychologically and culturally when educated in their mother tongue? Will there be an associated increase in pride of the indigenous culture by the Amazigh people and therefore a proactive stance on language and culture maintenance? Consequentially, will Tamazight achieve equal status with French and Fusha and become an official tongue?
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Appendix 1

Children’s Interview

Name: ____________________________  Age: ____________________________  Date: ____________________________

School: ____________________________  Year: ____________________________

Language(s) spoken at home: ____________________________________________

1. I say hello at home in ____________________________________________.
2. I speak to my friends at school in ____________________________________.
3. I speak to my teachers at school in ___________________________________.
4. I know the names of these languages __________________________________.
5. I have heard people speaking these languages ____________________________.
6. I speak to my mum in ________________________________________________.
7. I speak to my dad in __________________________________________________.
8. I speak to my brother/sister in ________________________________________.
9. I speak to my grandmother in ________________________________________.
10. I speak to my grandfather in ________________________________________.
11. When I play games at home I speak ____________________________________.
12. My favourite TV show is in ____________________________________________.
13. I can read in _________________________________________________________.
14. I can write in ________________________________________________________.
15. I can count in ________________________________________________________.
16. When I read it is better to understand / memorize ________________________.
17. The most important language to learn is ________________________________ because ________________________________________________________________.
18. I say goodbye to my friends at school in ________________________________.
19. I say goodbye to my teacher in ________________________________________.
20. I say goodbye at home in ____________________________________________.
21. I like / don’t like school ______________________________________________.
22. I like _____________________________________________________________ most.
23. I dislike ___________________________________________________________ most.
24. My favourite subject is ________________________________________________.
25. I think __________________________ is the most difficult because ____________.
26. I used / didn’t use to go to Quranic / Modern school ________________________.
27. After school I ________________________________________________________.
28. I have / don’t have to help my parents at home __________________________.
    - I have to ________________________________________________________.
    - It takes ____________________________.
29. If I read something out of school it is a _________________________________ language:
    - ______________________________________________________________.
30. If I help someone to read it’s usually ________________________________.
31. If I help someone to write it’s usually ________________________________ in school.
32. I want to achieve _________________________________________________ when I finish school.
33. I want to ________________________________________________________ when I finish school.
## Appendix 2

### Householder’s Interview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name:</th>
<th>Position in House:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural / Urban</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Where:</th>
<th>How many children:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural / Urban</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Home language:</th>
<th>Educational level of respondant:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV:</th>
<th>Running Water:</th>
<th>Books:</th>
<th>Newspaper:</th>
<th>Other:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1. What’s the main reason why you send your children to school?

2. What’s the most important thing they learn?

3. Are your children given homework?  i. Yes  ii. No  iii. Sometimes

4. Which subject do they find difficult? Why?

5. What languages do you think should be taught at school? Why?

6. Do you think it’s important to teach children Berber at school? Why / Why not?

7. Do you think it’s good that your children can speak many languages? Why / Why not?

8. Who is it most important to send to school, boys or girls?

9. Who is responsible for teaching: morals - /reading - /religion - /discipline -

10. What do you do if your child gets a good report?

11. What do you do if your child gets a bad report?

12. Why might your child not attend school?  
   i. Sick  ii. Costs  iii. Need help at home  iv. Other -

13. What academic level do you hope your children reach?

14. What would you like your children to do in the future?

15. Do / did your children attend pre-school?  
   i. Modern  ii. Quranic  iii. None

16. Is the Quran read in the house?  i. Yes  ii. No

17. How many people in the house pray regularly?

18. How many people in the house go to the Mosque regularly?

19. If you need something to be read, who do you go to?  
   i. Child  ii. Spouse  iii. Friend  iv. Neighbour  v. Other

20. If you need something to be written, who do you go to?
21. Do your children take any other form of schooling eg: home tutor?

22. How often do your children watch TV?
   - Language:
   - Programmes:

23. How often do your children listen to the radio? Language:

24. How often do your children read?
   - What:
   - Language:

25. Are there differences in TV / Radio / Reading choice between girls and boys?
   - Girls:
   - Boys:

26. Is there anything you would like to see taught in schools that isn’t now?

27. Are there any other changes you would like to see in school?

**IF Amazigh;**
28. Do you think your children would learn more easily if they could learn in their home language of Tamazight?

29. Do you fear your children will lose some of their Amazigh identity if it is not taught in schools?
Appendix 3

Teachers Interview

I’m a Masters student at the University of East Anglia in England. I’m studying Education and Development and am currently undertaking research for my dissertation on multilingualism in primary schools in Morocco. Thank you for agreeing to take part in my study. Do you mind if we tape record this session? Everything you say will be strictly confidential. I’m going to ask you a few questions regarding your training to become a teacher and your views on Moroccan education policy, in particular languages and multilingualism.

Date: Name: Sex:
School: Home Town: 
Maternal Language: Years Teaching: 
Grade teach: Years of education: 

1. Tell me about a typical school day.
   Student / teacher ratio: 
   Start/finish time: 
   Subjects/day: 
   Length of class: Break times: 
   Preparation time for classes: 
   Pedagogy used (memorization, repetition, texts, pairs, groups, T/St centred): 
   Student assessment: 
   After school activities eg: soccer club: 
   Additional responsibilities: 
   Other: 

2. Tell me about your training.
   How many years: 
   Pedagogy taught: 
   Pedagogy used to train you: 
   Resources available eg: computers, training manuals: 
   Placement period - where, how long, mentor, useful: 
   Any bilingual training: 
   Any INSET (further training): 
   Other: 
   Opinion of training eg: adequate: 

3. What subjects do the children find easy/difficult? Why? 

4. Do Berber speaking children learn differently from Arabic speaking children? How? 

5. How often do you use Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic or Berber in the classroom?
6. What’s the best age to teach children how to read?

7. What’s the main reason for children to become literate?

8. What’s the best way to learn how to read, comprehension or memorisation?

9. Whose responsibility is it to teach a child how to read, parents or teacher?

10. Which is more important in school, the child’s experience or following the teacher’s instructions?

11. What makes a good teacher?

12. What makes a good student?

13. Who needs more schooling, girls or boys?

14. What difficulties do you face as a teacher?
   (eg: a multilingual classroom, lack of training or resources (books), far from family, travel time, support)

15. What difficulties do the children face?
   (eg: language, gender, money- hidden costs, home resistance to school)

16. Why do you think the government has officially decided to introduce Berber into the classroom?

17. Do you think it’s necessary that all children in Morocco learn Berber?

18. Will you receive any training on how to teach Berber?
   If so, what kind of training?

19. Do you think learning to read in the child's home language would enhance their performance at school relative to those that learn to read in a second language?
20. Do you think Berber children achieve as well as Arabic speakers? 
   If not, Why?  
   linguistic / psychological / socioeconomic / educational / political / motivation / other

21. Does any difference between Berber and Arabic children's learning curves diminish over time?

22. What do you think of multilingualism?

23. Which languages do you think children in Morocco should learn?

24. Do children ever drop-out or repeat a year at school? If so, why?

25. What problems do you think the Moroccan education system faces today?