

## The Status of Teaching Standard Tamazight in Moroccan Universities

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### Article Info

#### Article history:

Received: 10/08/2025

Accepted: 14/08/2025

Published: 17/08/2025

#### Keywords:

Tamazight – Moroccan universities – linguistic policy – higher education – teacher training – Amazigh identity – curriculum development – language revitalization.

### ABSTRACT

This article presents a comprehensive analysis of the status of teaching Standard Tamazight in Moroccan universities, situating it within the broader sociopolitical and educational context of Morocco's multilingual identity. It traces the historical evolution of Tamazight from its marginalization to its constitutional recognition in 2011, and highlights key institutional milestones such as the creation of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM) and the integration of Tamazight in select university programs. The study examines the nature of academic offerings, including curriculum structures, pedagogical approaches, and teacher-training programs, with attention to their alignment with standardized linguistic frameworks. In so doing, it identifies critical challenges –ranging from policy implementation gaps and insufficient resources to sociolinguistic attitudes and employment limitations faced by graduates. Drawing on recent educational reforms, governmental initiatives, and community engagement efforts, the article explores future possibilities for strengthening the presence of Tamazight in higher education. Ultimately, it argues that a more strategic, inclusive, and sustainable approach is needed to fulfill the promise of linguistic equity and cultural revitalization in Moroccan Academia.

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## INTRODUCTION

Morocco's linguistic landscape is a rich tapestry woven from centuries of cultural exchange, indigenous heritage, and colonial legacies. "According to the latest official figures released by the High Commission of Planning (HCP), there are 7 languages used in Morocco, which are, according to their number of users: Moroccan Arabic (91%), Tashelhit (14%), Tamazight (8%), Tarifit (4%), and Hassani (1%), together with French (32%) and Spanish (5%)", (Fathi, 2017). The country is officially multilingual, recognizing Standard Arabic and Standard Tamazight as its two official languages, while French, Spanish, and increasingly English play significant roles in education, administration, and commerce. This complex configuration reflects Morocco's historical position at the crossroads of Africa, Europe and the Arab World, and underscores the sociopolitical dynamics that shape language use and policy.

"The constitutional recognition of Tamazight in 2011 marked a pivotal moment in Morocco's language planning", says (Quattrini, 2023). Article 5 of the revised constitution declared Tamazight as an official language of the state, alongside Arabic, affirming its status as a shared cultural heritage of all Moroccans. This legal milestone was the result of decades of activism by Amazigh cultural movements and intellectuals, and it signaled a shift toward greater inclusivity and linguistic equity. However, the practical implementation of this recognition –particularly in education– has faced numerous challenges, including limited resources, inconsistent policy enforcement, and sociolinguistic hierarchies that continue to privilege Arabic and French. "Despite legal recognition, effective policy execution remains hindered by the absence of coordinating bodies such as the National Council of Moroccan Languages and Culture", says (Redouane, 2024).

In this context, higher education emerges as a critical domain for the preservation and promotion of Tamazight. Universities serve not only as centers of knowledge production but also as platforms

for cultural affirmation and linguistic revitalization. The integration of Tamazight into academic curricula, research programs, and teacher training initiatives is essential for sustaining its vitality and ensuring its transmission to future generations. Moreover, the presence of Tamazight in higher education contributes to broader goals of democratization, identity recognition, and social cohesion in a multilingual society.

This article examines the status of teaching Standard Tamazight in Moroccan universities, exploring its historical trajectory, institutional frameworks, pedagogical practices, and future prospects. It aims to provide a nuanced understanding of the opportunities and obstacles that shape Tamazight's role in academia, and to highlight the strategic importance of higher education in advancing linguistic justice and cultural equity and sustainability.

## Materials and Methods

This study employs a qualitative research design grounded in interpretive inquiry and document analysis to explore the institutionalization and pedagogical practices surrounding the teaching of Standard Tamazight in Moroccan universities. The selected methodology enables a rich, contextualized understanding of language policy implementation and educational adaptation across diverse academic settings.

### Source Materials

The analysis draws from a diverse array of primary and secondary sources, categorized as follows:

**Primary Documents:** Central to this inquiry are official ministerial decrees, curriculum guidelines issued by the Ministry of National Education and Higher Education, and pedagogical frameworks co-developed with the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM).

These texts provide insight into governmental intentions, academic standards, and curricular integration strategies.

**Institutional Reports:** Strategic plans and internal documentation from leading institutions—namely Ibn Zohr University in Agadir, École Normale Supérieure (ENS) Oujda, and ENS Rabat—are examined to assess programmatic structure, teacher training models, and localized implementation challenges. These sources help identify institutional variance and innovation.

**Scholarly Literature:** To contextualize findings within broader academic debates, peer-reviewed articles and books on Moroccan language policy, bilingual education, and Amazigh identity were synthesized. Works such as Errihani (2006) and Quattrini (2023) offer theoretical scaffolding and comparative insights into sociolinguistic dynamics.

**Field Observations and Practitioner Insights:** The author's direct involvement in language policy forums and Tamazight pedagogy provides a practitioner-based perspective. These insights contribute depth and nuance, bridging textual analysis with lived realities of implementation.

**Enrollment and Policy Impact Data:** Quantitative figures published by the High Commission for Planning (HCP) and evaluation reports by the Ministry of National Education (e.g., HCP, 2017; Marouane, 2022) were used to assess reach, growth, and demographic engagement with Tamazight language programs.

## Analytical Framework

Using thematic coding, the collected data were systematically analyzed to identify patterns, tensions, and innovations across three main dimensions: **Curriculum Design:** This includes analysis of course structures, instructional materials, and alignment with national language planning goals; **Teacher Formation:** Particular attention was paid to recruitment policies, pedagogical training, and the role of IRCAM in capacity-building for Tamazight educators; and **Sociolinguistic Impact:** The study explored how academic promotion of Tamazight intersects with regional identity affirmation, student engagement, and urban-rural linguistic equity.

By integrating official documentation, scholarly discourse, institutional records, and field-based perspectives, this methodological approach offers a multi-sited and interdisciplinary lens on the evolving landscape of Tamazight instruction in higher education. Data were thematically coded to identify recurrent patterns, tensions, and innovations related to the institutionalization of Tamazight. The focus was on curriculum design, teacher formation, and sociolinguistic impact across multiple sites.

## Historical Background

The trajectory of Standard Tamazight in Moroccan education is deeply intertwined with the country's post-independence identity politics and language planning. Prior to the 2000s, Tamazight faced systemic marginalization, both socially and institutionally, despite being spoken by a significant portion of the population.

After independence in 1956, Morocco adopted Arabicization as a nation-building strategy, sidelining Tamazight as a “dialect” rather than a legitimate language. Tamazight was excluded from school curricula, media, and administration, and Amazigh names were often rejected in civil registries. The Amazigh cultural movement emerged in response, advocating for linguistic rights and recognition, culminating in key protests such as the 1994 Errachidia arrests, which drew national attention. This marginalization was not only political but also symbolic, as Tamazight was portrayed as incompatible with modernity and national unity.

In a landmark speech at Ajdir in October 2001, King Mohammed VI announced the creation of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM). This institute has played a central role in standardizing Tamazight and developing educational materials. IRCAM was tasked with standardizing Tamazight across its main three dialects (Tashelhit, Tamazight, and Tarifit); with developing educational materials and teacher training programs; and with promoting Amazigh culture in media, education, and public life. The institute played a pivotal role in designing a unified linguistic corpus, adopting Neo-Tifinagh as the official script.

Following a partnership between IRCAM and the Ministry of Education, Tamazight was introduced into 317 pilot primary schools in 2003. However, inconsistent training and a lack of long-term strategy have hindered its sustainability. Education materials such as Tifawin a Tamazighte were developed, emphasizing a standardized curriculum across dialects, three hours per week of instruction, and inclusion of cultural content like proverbs, songs, and folktales.

Despite initial enthusiasm, implementation faced many challenges such as limited teacher training and resources, uneven regional coverage, and a lack of institutional coordination. By 2022, only 350,000 students were enrolled in Tamazight classes, down from 550,000 in 2010.

“Agadir’s pioneering program in Tamazight, launched in 2006, became a model for academic institutionalization”, says (Achamrah, 2022). Ibn Zohr University in Agadir became the first to offer Tamazight degree programs and other universities followed suit, including Oujda, Rabat, Casablanca, Fès, and Nador offering Bachelor’s and Master’s degrees in Tamazight language and culture and teacher training programs combining Tamazight and didactics. These programs marked a shift from symbolic recognition to academic institutionalization, though challenges remain in harmonizing curricula and ensuring job prospects for graduates.

## Institutional and Pedagogical Integration of Tamazight

This section addresses the institutional adoption, curriculum structures, and teacher-training practices associated with the teaching of Standard Tamazight in Moroccan universities. It highlights how academic institutions have progressively embraced the language and outlines both achievements and challenges across the educational pipeline –from degree programs to pedagogical frameworks and educator formation.

Tamazight programs now exist in several Moroccan universities (Agadir, Oujda, Rabat, Casablanca, Fès, and Nador), reflecting both geographical spread and efforts to regionalize linguistic representation. These institutions offer Bachelor’s and Master’s degrees in Tamazight language and culture; interdisciplinary modules in identity and heritage; and specialized teacher training curricula tied to national standards. Recent government reforms have also expanded Tamazight-related coursework into transversal units and teacher education programs.

The development of curricula has been steered by IRCAM guidelines, yet implementation varies. Some institutions emphasize grammar and philology, while others prioritize sociolinguistic application, says (Quattrini, 2023). The academic content includes Linguistics and Grammar (phonology, syntax, and semantics); Amazigh Literature and Oral Heritage; Socio-cultural Studies (music, rituals, and identity); and Didactics and Pedagogy for multilingual classrooms. Neo-Tifinagh script is officially used,

though Latin transliterations remain dominant for practical purposes.

The Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture plays a key role in curriculum development, teacher training, and resource creation. To become a university teacher of Standard Tamazight in Morocco, you will need to follow a path that blends academic specialization, pedagogical training, and institutional recognition. You need to have academic qualifications like a Bachelor's Degree in Tamazight Studies. Such degree is offered since 2006 at universities like Agadir, Oujda, Nador, Rabat, Casablanca, Aïn Chock, and Fès. You also need a Master's Degree in Tamazight linguistics, literature, or cultural studies to strengthen your candidacy for university-level teaching. For permanent faculty positions, you are required to have a Doctorate (PhD) and topics often focus on Tamazight grammar, sociolinguistics, or cultural integration.

Positions are typically advertised by public universities and require a dossier including degrees, research publications, and teaching experience. There are many challenges to consider because job openings are limited. Despite growing interest, university posts in Tamazight remain scarce, especially in urban areas. Some educators must travel between institutions due to limited teaching hours. Full integration of Tamazight into higher education is still in progress, with delays in implementing national language strategies.

## Sociolinguistic and Cultural Impact

The teaching of Standard Tamazight in Moroccan universities is not merely an academic endeavor—it is a sociocultural project deeply tied to questions of identity, equity, and linguistic justice. Its integration into higher education has sparked renewed interest in Amazigh heritage, while also revealing persistent tensions in Morocco's multilingual landscape.

### Role of Tamazight in Affirming Amazigh Identity

Tamazight serves as a symbol of indigenous pride and resistance, especially among communities historically marginalized by Arabicization policies. Its official recognition in the 2011 constitution and inclusion in university curricula has reinvigorated Amazigh activism, linking language to broader struggles for cultural sovereignty and land rights. The use of Neo-Tifinagh script in public signage and academic materials reinforces visibility and legitimacy, transforming Tamazight from a “vernacular” into a language of citizenship and modernity. Cultural events, such as Amazigh New Year (Yennayer) celebrations on campuses, have become platforms for identity expression and intergenerational dialogue.

### Urban vs. Rural Dynamics in Language Use

Tamazight remains more robust in rural areas, where it is used in daily communication, storytelling, and rituals. In urban centers like Rabat and Casablanca, Tamazight is often symbolically present (e.g., signage, cultural festivals) but functionally limited in everyday discourse. Urbanization poses a threat to intergenerational transmission, as younger Amazigh speakers often shift to Arabic or French for socioeconomic mobility. Despite this, urban Amazigh youth are increasingly reclaiming their heritage through digital platforms, music, and academic engagement.

### Student Attitudes and Community Engagement

Surveys at universities such as Ibn Zohr (Agadir) show strong support for Tamazight integration, especially among students from Amazigh-speaking backgrounds. Even non-Amazigh students express positive attitudes, viewing Tamazight as a vehicle for democratic values and cultural pluralism. Community engagement

initiatives—such as language clubs, volunteer teaching, and research projects—have fostered grassroots involvement and cross-cultural dialogue. However, job market concerns and perceived lack of utility in professional settings can dampen enthusiasm, especially among urban students.

## Symbolic vs. Functional Integration in Academia

Tamazight's presence in universities often leans toward symbolic inclusion—celebrated in cultural events and elective courses but rarely used as a medium of instruction or research. Functional integration remains limited due to lack of institutional mandates for cross-disciplinary use; hierarchical language policies that prioritize Arabic and French; and insufficient academic resources and trained faculty. Some universities, like Rabat and Oujda, are experimenting with transversal units (e.g., identity, history) that embed Tamazight into broader academic discourse. Activists and scholars argue for a shift from tokenism to systemic inclusion, where Tamazight is not just taught but used in research, administration, and scholarly publication.

## Case Studies

In order to better understand the practical realities of teaching Standard Tamazight in Moroccan universities, it is helpful to examine specific institutional examples. The cases of Oujda, Rabat, and Agadir illustrate both the promise and the limitations of current efforts, while student feedback and enrollment trends offer insight into the evolving perceptions of Tamazight in higher education.

### Oujda and Rabat: Model Programs in Teacher Education

ENS Oujda and ENS Rabat have emerged as national reference points for Tamazight teacher training. In 2023, the Ministry of Higher Education launched a standardized curriculum for primary education training in Tamazight, piloted at these two institutions. These programs combine linguistic instruction and field practice, aiming to produce qualified educators capable of teaching Tamazight in diverse regions. The curriculum includes modules on Tamazight phonology and grammar, pedagogical strategies for multilingual classrooms, and cultural integration and identity-building. These institutions also collaborate with IRCAM to ensure alignment with national language planning and resource development.

### Agadir: Pioneering Role in Tamazight Degree Program

“Universities such as Agadir, Oujda, and Rabat now offer degrees in Tamazight linguistics and literature”, says (Redouane, 2024). Programs range from undergraduate majors to language-teacher certification modules. Ibn Zohr University in Agadir was the first Moroccan university to offer degrees in Tamazight, launching its program in 2006. The university offers Bachelor's and Master's degrees in Tamazight language, literature, and culture. Agadir's program has served as a template for other universities, influencing curriculum design and pedagogical frameworks nationwide. It also hosts research seminars, cultural festivals, and community outreach projects, reinforcing the role of Tamazight as both an academic and civic language.

### Student Feedback and Enrollment Trends

Initial enthusiasm for Tamazight programs was high, especially among students from Amazigh-speaking regions. However, enrollment has fluctuated due to concerns about limited career prospects and institutional support. A study by (Marouane, 2022) noted that while 550,000 students were taught Tamazight in 2010, the number dropped to around 350,000 by 2022, with little growth

since. Students have expressed appreciation for the cultural relevance of Tamazight courses, opportunities to engage with their heritage, and the inclusive atmosphere of language clubs and events. Yet, many students also cite uncertainty about employment, lack of interdisciplinary integration, and perceived marginalization compared to Arabic and French programs.

## Structural Challenges and Future Strategies

The advancement of Tamazight within higher education is constrained by lingering institutional and policy challenges. However, emerging national strategies and digital innovations offer potential avenues for deeper inclusion.

### Structural and Institutional Barriers

There is actually a lack of political will since the constitutional recognition in 2011 has not been matched by coordinated governmental action. Implementation notes from ministries are still absent. Without the creation of a coordinating body like the National Council of Moroccan Languages and Culture, efforts remain fragmented. Besides, there are still academic inequities as Arabic and French continue to dominate research, instruction, and funding allocation, reinforcing a hierarchy that sidelines Tamazight. Finally, there are employment concerns about limited career opportunities that deter student enrollment and contribute to the symbolic rather than functional integration of the language.

### Opportunities and Prospects

As a government strategy, a national plan was announced in 2023, which includes courses across Bachelor's, Master's, and teacher training programs. Digital platforms like MOOC-IRCAM and educational apps are breaking access barriers and engaging youth in language learning. Tamazight can serve as an entry point into sociolinguistics, anthropology, environmental studies, and digital humanities. The 200 million MAD investment in 2025 offers a foundation—but success hinges on sustained commitment, teacher training expansion, and full implementation of legal mandates.

## Conclusion

The integration of Standard Tamazight into Moroccan universities represents a landmark in the country's evolving linguistic and cultural policy. Since its constitutional recognition in 2011, Tamazight has transitioned from a marginalized vernacular to an officially endorsed language of instruction and scholarship. This shift has catalyzed the development of degree programs, teacher training initiatives, and interdisciplinary research across several institutions. Universities such as Agadir, Oujda, Rabat, and Casablanca have played pioneering roles in institutionalizing Tamazight, offering structured curricula and fostering academic inquiry into Amazigh language and culture.

Yet, despite these achievements, the path toward full integration remains fraught with structural, political, and pedagogical challenges. The absence of implementation notes from key ministries, the slow pace of teacher recruitment, and the limited career prospects for Tamazight graduates all point to a disconnect between policy declarations and practical execution. Moreover, the persistence of linguistic hierarchies—where Arabic and French dominate academic and administrative domains—continues to marginalize Tamazight, reducing its role to symbolic representation rather than functional inclusion.

To overcome these barriers, Morocco must adopt a coordinated national strategy that aligns educational policy with sociolinguistic realities. This strategy should include clear ministerial directives for Tamazight integration across disciplines; substantial investment in teacher training, curriculum development, and research

infrastructure; expansion of Tamazight into transversal units and digital platforms to enhance accessibility; and community engagement initiatives that empower local voices and promote linguistic pride.

The revitalization of Tamazight is not merely a linguistic endeavor—it is a project of cultural justice, identity affirmation, and democratic inclusion. By embedding Tamazight meaningfully into the fabric of higher education, Morocco can honor its pluralistic heritage and ensure that Amazigh voices are not only heard but actively shape the nation's intellectual and civic future.

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