

---

| RESEARCH ARTICLE

## Language Planning and Policy in Education: Exploring the Impact of Organic Laws on Enforcing the Amazigh Language Teaching in Morocco

Belal AMEDYAZ<sup>1</sup> and Said FATHI<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> PhD student, LALITRA Laboratory, Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, Mohammedia, Morocco

<sup>2</sup> Full Professor, English Department, Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, Mohammedia, Morocco

<sup>1</sup>ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0008-7093-2766>

<sup>2</sup>ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0763-2468>

Corresponding Author: Belal AMEDYAZ, E-mail: [amedyaz.belal-etu@etu.univh2c.ma](mailto:amedyaz.belal-etu@etu.univh2c.ma)

---

| ABSTRACT

Language planning is a problem-solving process usually undertaken by national governments and is intended to affect literacy practices within a given society. On the other hand, language policy plays a pivotal role in developing theoretical linguistic policies that target shaping or reshaping the social, cultural, and political identity of nations. Given the interrelation between these two notions, it is significant to state that Morocco has implemented several language policies since its independence. The various reforms to Morocco's education system have consistently highlighted the status of languages in education. Actually, the integration of Tamazight into the Moroccan education system began in 2003. To some extent, Amazigh activism, language research, and the royal will have played pivotal roles in the evolution of both the Amazigh language's status and its teaching. In fact, several studies have tackled Tamazight language teaching and learning from different perspectives. The current study intends to analyze the adapted top-down model of language policy and explore the distinct factors that estimate or underestimate Tamazight across social, political, cultural, and economic domains. Similarly, it seeks to examine the impact of the macro-level decisions on the status of Tamazight in the Moroccan education system. Furthermore, this study aims to determine whether successive governments since Ajdir's king's speech in 2001 have served or hindered the standardization of this 'national heritage'. More specifically, the overall rationale for this study is to examine the variance between the macro and micro levels of language planning and how this gap affects Tamazight teaching.

| KEYWORDS

Tamazight, Language planning, Language policy, Organic laws, Standardization

| ARTICLE INFORMATION

ACCEPTED: 15 March 2026

PUBLISHED: 04 April 2026

DOI: 10.32996/ijllt.2026.9.4.4

---

### 1. Introduction

For many years, the question of languages in Morocco has received considerable attention and has become an integral component of both political and social debates. Historically, Morocco was under French colonization from 1912 to 1956. The French protectorate led to the adoption of French as the language of instruction in Moroccan public schools and universities. It is important to note that French remained the language of education until 1965. Being regarded as standing for 'modernity and open-mindedness' (Chakrani 2013, 431), the French language gained the support of the Moroccan elite even during the post-independence era. The upper class's positive attitudes towards French played a critical role in promoting its use and status in the Moroccan linguistic market. The adoption of French in the most important functional domains (e.g., government, business, and education) granted it a strong de facto status even after independence. It is considered the language that facilitates access to high-paying jobs. Besides, it is viewed as a language that is associated with high prestige, representing modernity and social

mobility (Bourdereau, 2006). The post-independence linguistic model has identified language with national identity and the nation-state. Social movements favoured the transformation of the adopted language policy, which in turn helped in maintaining cultural and linguistic diversity.

The first post-independence Moroccan government implemented the Arabization policy. Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) was introduced to reduce the influence of French and has quickly been adopted in education, administration, and the media. The Arabization policy, introduced by the Moroccan nationalist movement, focused on promoting the Arabic language, marginalizing all forms of linguistic diversity. The achievement of the “one country, one language, one identity” model, according to the nationalists, could not be achieved without getting rid of the remnants of French colonialism, especially the French language. Hence, the ideology of Arabization was adopted both to serve the nationalists’ political agendas and to legitimize their views towards Arab identity and national unity. As an initial step, the Moroccan government decided to adopt Arabic as the medium of instruction for subjects such as biology, physics, and mathematics in public schools (Benyaklef, 1979).

After more than 30 years of its adoption, the Minister of National Education and Vocational Training, Rachid Belmolkhtar, declared the failure of the Arabization Policy and announced the reintroduction of French in February 2026. The policy of Arabization marginalized the Amazigh language, treating it as “a dialect rather than a legitimate language” (Fathi, 2025). The teaching of the Amazigh language was introduced into Moroccan public primary schools in 2003 as part of the country’s evolving linguistic policy. As a first experimental step, it was introduced into 317 pilot primary schools following a partnership between the Ministry of Education and the Royal Institute of the Amazigh Culture (IRCAM). Years later, the department of the Amazigh language was launched at four Moroccan universities: Ibn Zohr University in Agadir, Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University in Fes, Mohamed I University in Oujda, and Mohammed V University in Rabat.

Ibn Zohr University was the first Moroccan University to adopt the teaching of Tamazight, launching its Bachelor’s degree programs in the Amazigh language, literature, and culture in 2006. Following the policy of the regional linguistic representation, new departments of the Amazigh language offering Bachelor’s and Master’s degrees are launched in Hassan 2 University in Casablanca, in addition to Higher Schools of Education and Training in Kenitra, Marrakech, El Jadida, and Agadir.

King Mohammed VI’s speech at Ajdir in October 2001 marked a turning point in the official recognition of the Amazigh language. It announced the creation of IRCAM. This institution has been entrusted with the standardization of the Amazigh language and the development of educational materials (educational curricula, books, etc.). The Strategic Vision 2015-2030, titled “For a School of Equity, Quality, and Promotion”, reinforces the 2011 Constitution by emphasizing the Amazigh language as a common, unifying component of national identity and pushing for its integration into the educational system. The Strategic Vision aspires to transform the status of the Amazigh language from a “heritage” language to a language of instruction, aiming at its generalization and integration across all primary school levels by the school year 2029-2030.

## 2.1 The current Moroccan sociolinguistic situation

According to a comprehensive survey conducted in December 2024 on the languages used in Morocco, the High Commission Planning (HCP) highlights a fundamental shift in the country’s linguistic landscape providing the following results: Moroccan Arabic (91,9%), Tachelhit (14,2%), Tamazight (7,4%), Tarifit (3,2%) Hassaniya (0,8%), along with French (32%) and Spanish (4,5%).

The census highlights a continued dominance of Moroccan Arabic (MA) in daily communication, acting as the de facto national language (NL). It is the most widely spoken language serving as a lingua franca across the country for both Arab and Amazigh speakers. As the mother tongue of the majority of Moroccans, MA serves as the primary vernacular for communication, particularly in urban areas.

One of the prominent differences between Standard Arabic (SA) and Moroccan Arabic lies in their use. Whereas the former is exclusively used in formal writing, literature, and religion, the latter is used to facilitate interaction in family and kinship settings, being the most appropriate variety for both the transmission of emotions and the bolstering of identity. In fact, although Standard Arabic is considered the official language of the country, alongside Tamazight, it is not used in everyday communication, as speakers widely resort to Darija.

The census revealed that the total number of speakers of the Amazigh varieties combined does not exceed 24,8% of the population, with a significant split: 19,9% in urban areas and 33,3% in rural areas. The reason behind this, according to the HCP census, goes back to a higher focus on Moroccan Arabic (Darija) in urban centers like Casablanca and Rabat, which has affected not only the Amazigh language but also different regional accents of Arabic, creating a “melting pot” of a more standardized urban Darija.

Concerning the regional concentration of native Amazigh speakers, the 2024 census indicates that most speakers are concentrated in the southern regions, with 64% in Draa-Tafilalet, 56,4% in Souss-Massa, 40,2% in Guelmim-Oued Noun, followed by 34,3% in Béni Mellal-Khénifra and roughly 32,3% in Oriental.

The statistics of the 2024 General Census of Population and Planning indicate a decrease in the share of Amazigh language speakers from 27,5% in 2004 to 24,8% in 2024. This is attributed to rural-to-urban migration, as well as the increased use of Moroccan standardized Darija.

Regarding foreign languages, reports based on the 2024 census indicate a continued growth in the presence of French, especially in education, business, finance, and government institutions. It is taught as a mandatory language from primary school to high school. Besides, it serves as a second language for about 33% of the population. The granted status of French in the Moroccan linguistic market goes back to the French protectorate (1912-1956), which imposed French as the language of education and administration. This policy granted it greater prestige than Arabic and Tamazight.

Besides French, Spanish is the language of about 5% of Speakers in Morocco. Historically, this language “was introduced to Moroccans after the Spanish invasion of Moroccan coastal borders, as well as the Moroccan rule of Andalusia for several centuries” (Belhiah & Lamallam, 2020, 96).

The presence of Spanish dates back to the 1912 Spanish protectorate. The influence of the Spanish language and culture is clearly obvious in the Northern and Southern regions of the country, where it was used as the official language until 1956. Today, Spanish is taught in some high schools as a second foreign language, and it is also studied as a major in some universities.

The global spread of English helped it to gain ground on other foreign languages in Morocco (Bouziane, 2020). It enjoys a high status nationwide as a language of technology and business (Buckner, 2011). Intriguingly, English is considered the only foreign language in Morocco that has no colonial legacy. It is taught as a foreign language in most secondary and high schools in the country. Besides, it is strongly present in higher education and in private institutions such as the International Institute of Higher Education (IIHEM), Haute Écoles en Management (HEM), Ecole Supérieure Internationale de Gestion (ESIG), and many others, where instruction is largely in English.

## **2.1 Related studies on the Amazigh language teaching in Morocco**

Most sociolinguistic studies relating to the Amazigh language in Morocco have focused on issues related to language use, attitudes, and perceptions, the Amazigh language teaching, endangerment, and revitalization (see, among others, Ait Laaguid, 2025; Ait Mous, 2011; Afkir, 2012; Boukous, 2020; El Guabli, 2020; Errihani, 2008; El Kirat & Boussagui, 2018; El Kirat, 2003; Idhssaine, 2023; Idhssaine & El Kirat, 2019, Fathi, 2025; Ichou & Fathi, 2025; Oussikoum, 2018; Sadiqi, 2007). The study conducted by Moustouai (2018) reveals that the language policy model applied in Morocco since independence has subordinated the Amazigh language, excluding it from domains of significant impact, such as technology and economics. Another study conducted by Idhssaine (2020) shows that although 68,8% of the informants agree that Amazigh constitutes an essential component of the Moroccan identity, 66,9% believe that maintaining it is a waste of time and money. Despite the fifteen years that have passed since its constitutional recognition in 2011, the Amazigh language continues to face significant implementation challenges. Its teaching is not implemented nationwide so far, and its full integration as a national language still faces several political, structural, and pedagogical challenges.

Similarly, a study conducted by Farissi (2025) identifies several factors behind the unsatisfactory situation of the Amazigh language in the field of education. These include the optional nature of learning Amazigh, the limited instructional time allocated to the subject, approximately a 30-minute lesson per day in primary education, reluctance among some educational officials regarding the feasibility of Tamazight instruction, insufficient investment in teacher training, and the limited integration of Tamazight graduates into the job market. In this regard, the absence or incomplete implementation of a comprehensive legal framework specific to Tamazight continues to hinder progress toward linguistic justice and limits the effective recognition of its official status, particularly within the educational system.

### **3.1 The History of Amazigh Language-in-Education Policies in Morocco: From Independence to the Present**

In 2011, Tamazight was declared the official language of Morocco alongside Arabic. This significant legal achievement comes as a result of decades of Amazigh activism and marks the beginning of a new phase in Morocco’s language planning and a shift in the management of the Amazigh issue. For several decades, the Amazigh issue was considered a taboo. After independence from French rule in 1956, the nationalist Arabist ideology declared the assimilation of Moroccan culture into an Arabic-Islamic one and implemented an Arabization policy in the post-independence school system. This ideology considered the Amazigh identity a potential threat that must be eliminated to guarantee the promotion of Arabization. During the wake of the Arabization policy, which lasted for nearly three decades, the Amazigh linguistic and cultural rights were totally neglected, and Tamazight remained absent from public life. The marginalization of Tamazight continued until 1994, when King Hassan II acknowledged the Amazigh language and culture as an important component of national identity. Seven years later, the release of the Royal Dahir (decree) issued by King Mohammed VI declared the creation of the Royal Institute of the Amazigh Culture (IRCAM) in October 2001. Remarkably, IRCAM has considerably contributed to the preservation and revitalization of the Amazigh

language and culture. The institute played a critical role in standardizing Tamazight, developing educational materials, and promoting the language's presence in the media and lately in the justice sector.

2003 marked a turning point in the integration of the Amazigh language in the field of education. It was first introduced into 317 elementary schools to generalize to all public schools in the following years.

The emergence of social movements in 2011 sought to defend linguistic rights and expand their areas of use. The local languages' control over the February 20 Movement highlights the importance of local linguistic diversity. Amazigh activists raised slogans against the state's deliberate marginalization of Tamazight. In his first speech following the protests, Mohammed VI promised to democratize and guarantee the distinct rights of the people, including cultural, institutional, and socioeconomic rights. Subsequently, Tamazight was constitutionalized and recognized as an official language alongside Moroccan Standard Arabic (MSA), marking a historic shift in its legal and political status.

In a recent study, Idhssaine (2023) argues that the recognition of Amazighity as a fundamental component of national identity has served as a framework for legitimizing the Amazigh language and culture. This official recognition paved the way for the Amazigh language to be "perceived as separate from the Amazigh culture" (Ait Laaguid, 2025, p. 9). Thus, Neo-Tifinagh has been officially adopted as the language's writing system, transforming Tamazight into a full-fledged language.

Contrary to the expectations following the constitutional recognition of Tamazight, the integration of the language into the education system has remained disappointing. According to the Ministry of Education, in 2010, the number of students who studied Tamazight in primary education in 2008-2009 was 521,180. Twelve years later, a study by Marouane (2022) reports that this number had declined to approximately 350,000. Among the reasons behind this decline, we can mention the gap between macro and micro levels of language policy, which hinders the implementation of policies designed at the macro level. Attitudes and beliefs of both parents and officials towards the Amazigh language instruction impede its proper integration in the school system. The absence of political will from successive governments since 2011 has drastically affected the teaching of Tamazight. The deliberate delay in releasing the legal arsenal necessary to ensure the optimal implementation of the constitution's articles during the rule of the two governments led by the Justice and Development Party (PJD) has adversely affected the aspiration of the generalization of Tamazight to cover schools nationwide.

### 3.2 Tamazight in the Moroccan Educational Language Policy

Fishman et al. (1971) and Carroll (2001) introduced language policy, stating that it is an important component of the language planning process. In the same line, Moustouai (2018) reveals that language policy in Morocco has seen progress since 2000, which brought dynamism to the linguistic market. Besides, the sociopolitical context that emerged since the Arab Spring has constructed the power relationships between languages in the country. The literature on language policy in Morocco has examined various perspectives, including the development and implementation of educational language plans (Chadili, 1994) as well as the ideological underpinnings of the Arabization policy adopted since independence (Boukous, 1995; El Qadery, 1995). Concerning the Amazigh language policy, some studies have analyzed the different discourses of the Amazigh Cultural Movement (ACM) related to the Amazigh language and identity (Aourid, 1999), while others have focused on the standardization of the Amazigh language and its planning (Ameur & Boumalk, 2003). Blommaert (1999) has considered language policy a manifestation of possibly interrelated relations between institutional decisions, political treatment of sociolinguistic conflicts, and discursive practices that emanate from the power relations between social groups. In the same vein, Spolsky (2004, p. 41) suggested that dealing with language policy and planning (LPP) requires calling for extraneous variables, stating that it involves "a wide range of linguistic and non-linguistic elements".

Caplan & Baldauf (1997) portrayed language policy as a collection of official activities undertaken by the state. They stated:

The exercise of language planning leads to, or is directed by, the promulgation of a language policy by government (or other authoritative body or person). A language policy is a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules, and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in a society, group, or system. (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. xi)

For many years, Tamazight was largely neglected in Morocco's language planning processes, which contributed to the development of negative and unfavourable attitudes toward the language. The National Charter of Education and Training, adopted in 1999 and launched by King Mohammed VI, aimed to reconstruct Moroccan education through defining the status of local languages, namely Tamazight, in addition to designing the role of foreign languages in the future educational policy. In this regard, the collaboration of the Ministry of Education and IRCAM provided a framework for the implementation of the Amazigh-in-education policy in Morocco.

Between 2003 and 2008, the Ministry of Education issued eight circulars addressing three key issues: integrating Tamazight in the education sector, training teachers charged with teaching Tamazight, and establishing the framework to generalize Tamazight teaching nationwide. However, the mechanisms for implementing these circulars remained unclear until September

26, 2008, when the general guidelines and procedures for the nationwide introduction of Tamazight in Moroccan primary schools were formally established. Actually, the constitutional recognition of Tamazight in 2011, establishing it as an official language alongside Moroccan Standard Arabic, marked a major milestone in elevating its status within Morocco's educational language policy.

Idhssaine (2023) referred to Article Five as translated by Williams S. Hein, stating:

Arabic remains the official language of the state. The State works for the protection and development of the Arabic language, as well as the protection of its use. Likewise, Amazigh constitutes an official language of the State, being the common patrimony of all Moroccans without exception. An organic law defines the process of implementation of the official character of this language, and the modalities of its integration into the school system and the priority domains of public life, so that it may be permitted in time to fulfill its function as an official language. (Moroccan Const. Art. 5, 2011)

This article established Tamazight as an official language alongside Arabic, highlighting that Tamazight is a common national heritage for all Moroccans. Similarly, it ensures that teaching Tamazight can guarantee its protection, maintenance, and spread. Besides, it calls for the enactment of an organic law, which can define the procedure of implementing the official character of Tamazight as well as its integration into the education sector and priority domains of public life (Idhssaine, 2023).

Unfortunately, the publication of this organic law took eight years due to the reluctance of the Moroccan government led by the PJD Party. The lack of political will hindered the implementation of Article 5 provisions due to the lack of interest in the Amazigh issue, as affirmed in previous studies (El Kirat & Boussagui, 2018; Idhssaine & El Kirat, 2019; Idhssaine, 2020). In 2019, the government adopted the Organic Law 26.16. This organic law precisely defines the stages of the Amazigh language activation as well as the processes of its integration in the priority domains of public life. This Law aims for the gradual integration of Tamazight within a maximum timeframe of 15 years to meet the goals of the adopted Strategic Vision (2015-2030).

In the same year, the Moroccan parliamentary commission for teaching, culture, and communication approved the new Framework Law 51-17. This law acts as a follow-up to the 2011 Constitution. It targets ensuring the integration of the Amazigh language within the education system, treating it as an official language that should be progressively integrated into school curricula. Similarly, this legislation reinforces the obligation to gradually extend the teaching of Tamazight at the primary level (Art. 31).

In a plenary session held on Tuesday, February 11th, 2020, the House of Representatives adopted an organic bill under 04.16 relative to the National Council for Languages and Moroccan Culture. This organic bill translates the provisions of the Constitution, namely Article 5. Similarly, it comes to protect and enhance the shared cultural heritage and cultural diversity of Morocco.

The creation of the National Council for Languages and Moroccan Culture (NCLMC) in 2020 provides an institutional framework for the implementation of the 2011 constitutionalized status of the Amazigh language. This constitutional body is charged with the protection and development of Tamazight alongside Arabic by supporting their pedagogical integration and fostering cultural cohesion. Similarly, the council supports the expansion of the teaching of Tamazight to cover higher education, acting as a central authority charged with the implementation of the Organic Law 26-16.

On January 13, 2025, during a session in the House of Representatives, Morocco's Minister of National Education, Preschool, and Sports, Mohamed Berrada, announced that 650.936 students are currently taking Amazigh courses across 3400 primary schools, which represents 40% of primary schools nationwide. He added that the number of specialized teachers of Tamazight increased from 200 in 2021 to 1200 in 2023. He also noted that the figure is expected to reach 1850 by the 2025/2026 school year. The minister emphasized that these measures reflect the government's strategy to promote the official status of Tamazight, ensuring its visibility and use in public domains, particularly within the education sector.

Considering these figures, released 14 years after the constitutional recognition of Tamazight and six years after the activation of its official status, it appears that achieving full coverage of all primary education levels nationwide by 2030, as outlined in ministerial memos, will be a challenging task. Although the data indicate some progress in advancing Tamazight's status within the education sector, they also reveal a substantial gap between the official discourse at the macro level and its practical implementation at the micro level.

Limiting the role of Tamazight to facilitating the learning of Arabic in elementary schools, as explicitly stated in the National Charter of Education and Training (2000), reinforced its status as an optional language (El Aissati et al., 2011) and consequently hindered the effective implementation of subsequent laws and official decisions.

In higher education, Tamazight is offered in no more than 32% of universities. This limited presence reflects students' perceptions that Tamazight is not essential for the job market, as graduates in Amazigh studies are primarily restricted to careers in the education sector—particularly primary education—with very few opportunities for PhD positions or academic careers in higher education.

Besides the legal aspect, positive attitudes play a pivotal role in enhancing the status as well as the functions of any given language. Concerning the impact that a long history of marginalization can have on framing the masses' attitudes, Errihani (2008) confirms that:

These negative attitudes towards Berber could be a direct result of the long policy of neglect and marginalization that Berber has been subjected to, so much so that even Berbers themselves have become convinced that their language is worthless when compared with the other languages in Morocco. (p. 425)

In his influential study on the relationship between people's attitudes and language learning, Errihani (2006) reveals that parents who do not demonstrate positive attitudes towards Tamazight are less motivated about their children's learning of this language. Without their parents' approval and support, children are unlikely to be motivated to learn the Amazigh language. In addition to students' and parents' attitudes, teachers' attitudes towards the inclusion of Tamazight into the Moroccan education system are generally positive, despite the great number of challenges that hinder the full and optimal adoption of the Amazigh language in the education sector, like ineffective supervision, lack of specialized training, and significant shortage of pedagogical tools.

Amazigh activists express strong criticism towards the way the state is addressing the Amazigh issue. They describe the current approach as being slow and symbolic, which contradicts the spirit of the state's constitution. They also report that the marginalization of Tamazight in education continues and is mainly evident in the ministry's prolonged delays in implementing related organic laws and provisions.

The exclusion of Tamazight from "pioneer schools", according to Amazigh activists, came to enrich the argument of the continued marginalization of Tamazight. Concerning the use of Darija, even as a facilitator of instruction in Amazigh classes, the overwhelming majority of Amazigh activists express their complete rejection. This statement is consistent with Bensoukas's perspective that Darija is the "killer" language of Tamazight and one of the main reasons that hinders it from achieving the status it deserves in the Moroccan education setting. Similarly, Amazigh activists express their dissatisfaction vis-à-vis the state's adopted language policies regarding Tamazight, stating that policies without a genuine political agenda are behind the current situation of slackness, which feeds the continued marginalization of Tamazight.

## Conclusion

Overall, the recognition of Tamazight as an official language in the 2011 Moroccan constitution marked a substantial shift in Moroccan language policy. Despite the limited and insufficient integration of Tamazight teaching in the Moroccan education sector so far, recent studies highlight a notable change in public attitudes toward the language. Ait Laaguid (2025) affirms that 84% of the informants support the generalization process of Tamazight. These rising bottom-up positive attitudes concerning Tamazight teaching are likely to impact the implementation of political decisions shortly and to contribute effectively to the social revalorization of Tamazight.

The officialization of Tamazight and its incorporation into the school system are expected to reinforce its revitalization, guarantee its maintenance, and advocate for the democratization of linguistic rights in Morocco.

As far as the legal aspect is concerned, the number of laws and related ministerial memos is not an important factor. Actually, what matters most is the appropriate mechanisms for an optimal and responsible implementation. This can be attained through providing a supportive environment, providing a sufficient number of specialized, qualified teachers and supervisors, in addition to reviewing the curricula to keep pace with the times.

By and large, further political measures are urgently needed to address discrepancies between what is officially stated and the manner in which it is implemented. In fact, opening new horizons for cooperation between IRCAM and the Ministry of National Education, Preschool, and Sports is a prerequisite for optimal implementation of top-down Amazigh –in-education policies. Besides, the validation and implementation of laws related to the Amazigh language should adhere to a strict schedule, free from political interference and ideological discourse.

One may conclude that the incorporation of Tamazight into the educational system and its constitutionalization as an official language have widely contributed to increasing its status in society. However, without positive attitudes, political will, and a strong and impactful legal arsenal, Tamazight will never enjoy its high status as a full-fledged, standardized, codified, and modernized language.

**Funding:** This research received no external funding.

**Conflicts of Interest:** The authors declare no conflict of interest.

**Publisher's Note:** All claims expressed in this article are solely those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of their affiliated organizations, or those of the publisher, the editors and the reviewers.

## References

- Afkir, M. (2012, October 1-3). Adominant community's attitudes towards the teaching of Amazigh (Berber) in Morocco [Paper presentation] Mediterranean Society of Comparative Education (MES-CE). <http://www.metisjournal.it/metis/mesce-2012/93-saggi/298>
- Ait Laaguid, B. (2025). From Constitution to Conversation: Amazigh and the Delayed Dream of Full Recognition. *Vivid: Journal of Language and Literature*, 14(1), 7-19. <http://jurnalvivid.fib.unand.ac.id>
- [Ait Mous, F. \(2011\). Les enjeux de l'amazighité au Maroc. \*Confluences Méditerranée\*, 78, 121-131. https://doi.org/10.3917/come.078.0121](https://doi.org/10.3917/come.078.0121)
- Ameur, M. and Boumalk, A. (2003). Standardisation de l'amazighe. Rabat : Publications de l'Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe.
- Aourid, H. (1999). Le substrat culturel des mouvements de contestation au Maroc. Analyse des discours islamistes et amazighs. PhD thesis. University of Mohamed V, Rabat.
- Belhiah, H.& Lamallam, M. (2020). Mother Tongue Medium of Instruction in Morocco: Students' and Teachers' Perceptions. *Journal of Applied Language and Culture Studies*, 3, 91-111.
- Bensoukas, A. (2010). Language Policy and Mother Tongues in Morocco: A Linguistic Human Rights Perspective. In Y. El Kirat (Ed.), *Globalization and mother tongues in Africa*, (pp. 135-152). Rabat: Publications of FLSH.
- Benyaklef, M. (1979). Pour une arabisation de niveau. Unknown.
- Blommaert, J., ed. (1999). Language ideological debates. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter
- Boukous, A. (1995). Société, langue et cultures au Maroc. Enjeux symboliques. Rabat: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines.
- Boukous, A. (2020). Essays on Issues in Moroccan Culture: Towards a Glocalized Culture. The Royal Institute of the Amazigh Culture.
- Bourdereau, F. (2006). Politique linguistique, politique scolaire : La situation du Maroc. *Le français aujourd'hui*, 3(154), 25-35
- Bouziane, A. (2020). "Linguistic diversity in the Moroccan education system : (un)equal opportunities". In *Plural Morocco: Multilingualism and Identity. Ben M'sik Community Museum Journal*, (3), 39-55. Casablanca: Faculty of Letters.
- Buckner, E. (2011). "The growth of English language learning in Morocco: Culture, class, and status competition". In A. Al-Issa, & L. Dahan (eds), *Global English and Arabic: Issues of language, Culture, and Identity*, 213-252. Switzerland, Bern: Peter Lang AG, International Academic Publishers. Effects of attitudes on 'Berber language policy'. *The Journal of North African Studies*, 13(4), 411-428. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629380701800492>
- Chadili, M. (1994). La politique linguistique du Maroc à travers les plans de l'éducation : 1956–1990. Thesis (PhD). University of Laval.
- [Carroll, T. \(2001\). Language planning and language change in Japan: \*East Asian perspectives\*. Richmond/Surrey: Curzon Press.](http://www.curzonpress.com/)
- [Chakrani, B. \(2013\). The impact of the ideology of modernity on attitudes toward language in Morocco. \*The Journal of North African Studies\*, 18\(3\), 431-442.](https://doi.org/10.1080/13629380701800492)
- [El Aissati, A., Karsmakers, S., & Kurvers, J. \(2011\). 'We are beginners': Amazigh in language policy and educational practice in Morocco. \*Compare: A Journal of Comparative and Educational Education\*, 41\(2\), 211-227. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2011.547289](https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2011.547289)
- El Guabli, Brahim. (2020). (Re)Invention of Tradition, Subversive Memory, and Morocco's Re-Amazighization: From Erasure of Imazighen to the Performance of Tifinagh in Pubic Life. *Expressions maghrébines*, 19(1), 143-168.
- [El Kirat, Y. \(2003\). 'Language Endangerment in Morocco: The Case of the Beni Iznassen Amazigh Language'. Paper presented at the International Expert Meeting on UNESCO Program for Safeguarding of Endangered Languages. UNESCO Headquarters, Paris, 10-12. To be published in the UNESCO Proceedings.](https://doi.org/10.1080/13629380701800492)
- El Kirat, Y., & Boussagui, Y. (2018). "Amazigh in Morocco". In *Heritage language policies around the world* (pp. 111-127). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315639444-8>
- El Qadery, M., 1995. L'État national et les Berbères. Le cas du Maroc. Mythe et négation nationale. PhD thesis. Paul Valéry University.
- Errihani, M. (2006). Language policy in Morocco: Problems and prospects of teaching Tamazight. *Journal of North African Studies*, 11(2), 143-154. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629380600704803>
- Errihani, M. (2008). Language attitudes and language use in Morocco: Effects of attitudes on 'Berber language policy'. *The Journal of North African Studies*, 13(4), 411-428. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629380701800492>
- Farissi, J. (2025). Language Issues in Morocco. *International Journal of Linguistics*, 6(1), 12-22. <https://doi.org/10.47604/ijl.3266>

- Fathi, S. (2025). The status of teaching standard Tamazight in Moroccan universities. *UAR Journal of Arts, Humanities & Social Sciences (UARJAHSS)*, 1(6), 25-28.
- Fishman, J. A., Das Gupta, J., Jernudd, B.H., & Rubin, J. (1971). Research outline for comparative studies of language planning. In J. Rubin and B.H. Jernudd (Eds.), *Can language be planned?* (pp. 293-305). Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.
- Ichou, A., & Fathi, S. (2025). Standardization of the Tifinagh Writing System and its Adequacy. *Tamazgha Studies Journal*, 4, 52-67.
- Idhssaine, A., & El Kirat, Y. (2019). Amazigh language use, perceptions, and revitalization in Morocco: The case of Rabat-Sale region. *The Journal of North African Studies*, 26(3), 465-479. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2019.1690996>
- Idhssaine, A. (2020). Moroccans' Attitudes towards Amazigh Language Teaching: Patterns and Perspectives, *Applied Linguistics Research Journal*, 4(3), 52-64. <https://doi:10.14744/alrj.2020.62634>
- Idhssaine, A. (2023). A critical review of the sociolinguistics of the Amazigh language in Morocco: Documentation, teaching, and officialization. *Langues et Littératures*, 28, 179-201. <https://revues.lmist.ma/index.php/langues-litteratures>
- Kaplan, R. B., & Baldauf, R. B. (1997). *Language planning: From practice to theory*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Marouane, M. (2022). Monitoring Tamazight student enrollment between 2010 and 2022. Rabat: National Language Observatory.
- Moustaoui, A. (2018). Language policy and planning in Morocco: A critical approach. In E. Benmamoun & R. Bassiouney (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Arabic Linguistics* (pp.532-545). Routledge.
- Oussikoum, Said. (2018). L'enseignement de l'amazighe au Maroc : entre aspirations et contraintes. *Revue des Études Amazighes?* 2(1), 13-24.
- Sadiqi, F. (2007). The Role of Moroccan Women in Preserving Amazigh Language and Culture. *Museum International*, 59(4), 26-33. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0033.2007.00620.x>
- Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

#### Official Documents and Reports

- Dahir n° 1-01-299 du Rajab al Khair 1422, portant création et organisation de **l'Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe (IRCAM)**, 17 octobre 2001
- La vision stratégique de la réforme 2015-2030 : Pour une école de l'équité, de la qualité et de la promotion. [https://www.csefrs.ma/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Vision\\_VF\\_Fr.pdf](https://www.csefrs.ma/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Vision_VF_Fr.pdf)
- Proposed law 04.16 for the creation of the National Council of Languages and Moroccan Culture.
- Proposed law 26.16 for the implementation of the official character of Amazigh
- The Royal Speech of Ajdir, October 2001