

المملكة المغربية



المعهد الملكي للثقافة الأمازيغية
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INSTITUT ROYAL DE LA CULTURE AMAZIGHE



Suggestions and recommendations

Visit of Madame the Special Rapporteur of Human Rights Council,
UNO on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination,
xenophobia and related intolerance

Thursday 20th December 2018

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PREAMBLE

It is at a great honor for the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture to receive Madam Tendayi Achtieme, Special Rapporteur of the UN Human Rights Council, in order to enlighten her on the state of Amazigh cultural and linguistic rights in Morocco.

Today, the Amazigh language and culture are recognized as official in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Morocco. We may well contend that the promotional efforts are laudable with regard to certain indicators in the fields of education, media, culture, research and publishing. However, this promotion is stagnating due to the non-promulgation of organic laws relating to the implementation of the official character of the Amazigh language, on one hand, and due to the status of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture and its uncertain future, on the other hand. That is why we would like to submit to her attention a number of recommendations aimed at improving the overall situation of Amazigh.

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1. Presentation of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM)

1.1. Context of creation

- Request of civil society since 1960 :
 - ▲ Recognition of the Amazigh language and culture by the State.
 - ▲ Institutionalization in education, the media, culture, public administration, the development of Amazigh regions.
- Offer of the State:
 - ▲ Creation of a public institution under the name of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (October 17, 2001). The institution is under royal tutelage and is dedicated to the promotion of the Amazigh language and culture.

This offer is considered necessary but not sufficient.

1.2. Missions

According to the law along which IRCAM was created (Dahir of October 17, 2001), the Institute has the following missions:

- ▲ Advisory mission to the Royal Cabinet on measures meant to promote Amazigh.
- ▲ Partnership mission with the concerned institutions, in particular the Ministry of National Education, Ministry of Information and Communication, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of the Interior and Ministry of Public Service.
- ▲ Academic missions: collection and transcription of various Amazigh culture expressions with an eye to safeguarding, protecting and disseminating these expressions; studies and research on Amazigh culture; promotion of artistic creation; codifying the Amazigh graphic system for teaching ends, production of didactic tools, elaboration of general and specialized lexicons, elaboration of pedagogical plans of action; cooperation with universities in organizing research and Amazigh language and culture development centres, training trainers; development of methods meant to strengthen and encourage the place of Amazigh in communication and information spaces; cooperation with cultural and scientific institutions at the national and international levels.

1.3. Assessment

With the achievement of the constitutionalization and officialization of the Amazigh language (Constitution of 2011), the results reached by IRCAM, thus far, are globally positive, especially at the strategic level. The results may also be viewed to be positive in the areas of research on language, education, cultural expressions, new technologies and edition. In the areas of education and training, media and cooperation, the results are more modest because of insufficient involvement of the related institutions.

2. Action research

2.1. Language

- Amazigh is a Hamito-Semitic language used in a whole range of North and West African countries, namely in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Mauritania, Mali and Niger, among others. However, owing to its contact with a whole range of influential languages such as Roman, Phoenician, Arabic, French and Spanish, Amazigh has been subject to a complex assortment of changes, of most concern here its propensity to undergo progressive decline in nearly all of the countries mentioned above.
- The situation of Amazigh in the Moroccan context shows that the language has been heavily influenced by the Arabization process, a process which has been underway since the arrival of Arabs to North Africa in the 7th century AD. Two factors may best be construed to have triggered the spread of arabization. The first is the political and military domination of Arabs; the second is the propensity of Amazigh people to convert to the doctrine of Islam. Both of these factors have influentially contributed to the proliferation of Arabic among Amazigh users.
- The contact of Amazigh with French and Spanish during the colonization period has also lead to further precariousness of the language. Despite some valiant efforts invested by the French to promote the Amazigh language by undertaking research on a whole range of Amazigh varieties and creating institutions for the teaching of Amazigh, the status of the language knew little change. The status of the Amazigh language was doomed to get worse after independence owing to the institutionalization of administrative life and the schooling of Moroccans in Arabic and French. The precariousness of the Amazigh language is also reminiscent of an important factor, which is the massive migration of Amazigh people from poor rural areas where

Amazigh is spoken to cities, which are, in the most majority, Arabic-speaking zones. The situation as such brought about a complex assortment of results, foremost of which is the linguistic and cultural assimilation of Amazigh people to Arabic-speaking city dwellers.

- Efforts to revitalize the Amazigh language have been observed since the 1960's in an inhospitable political context. It is not until the 1990's that the policy of the government towards the Amazigh language and culture has known a prominent shift, resulting in the creation of IRCAM in 2001. A number of moves have been undertaken, since then, with an eye to promoting the Amazigh language and culture. Paramount among these moves is the introduction of the Amazigh language in the educational system, and its promotion in the media as well as in other spheres of life. Further aspects of promotion were observed in 2011 and afterwards. Of prime importance among these aspects of promotion is the recognition of Amazigh as an official language alongside with Arabic, and the formulation of organic rules whose central drive is to evince the nature in which the operationalization of the official status of Amazigh is to be undertaken in real life.
- Ever since the creation of IRCAM, attempts have been made to promote and plan the status and the corpus of the Amazigh language. The project of Amazigh standardization, which is carried out by IRCAM, is one of the most prominent status planning projects that have been launched with an eye to revitalizing the Amazigh language. The central insight meant to be attained in this project is to standardize and unify the different Amazigh varieties (Tarifit, Tamazight and Tashlhit) that pervade the Moroccan space. IRCAM has, in good part, accommodated this project. However, notwithstanding the prominent endeavors made by IRCAM in preparing the necessary standardization-oriented resources, both in terms of grammar and lexicon, the results have not been as desirable as expected, presumably due to the lack of a fine-grained governmental strategy. The efforts channeled by the researchers of IRCAM towards standardizing the Amazigh language have not been endorsed by a clear-cut Amazigh linguistic policy in the preparation, formulation and implementation of the language planning. A composite of further issues seem to vitiate an efficient status planning. These issues are the unclarity of the notion of Amazigh officiality, the lack of a fine-grained and full-fledged picture on how to operationalize the official status of the Amazigh language, and the absence of harmonious collaboration between the State and IRCAM in planning the introduction of Amazigh in the educational and media systems as well as in other fields.

- Under corpus planning, a variety of standardization-oriented works have been prepared by the IRCAM researchers. Most of these works are driven by the percepts of the polynomic approach, first broached by (Marcellesi (1983)). Under the polynomic approach, it is the progressive development of the three main Amazigh varieties attested in Morocco along with some unifying intervention from the linguists of IRCAM that will derive the standard Amazigh language. Amazigh standardization is conducted along a whole range of linguistic levels, such as the graphic, phonetic, morpho-syntactic and lexical levels.
- At the graphic level, a norm of writing, dubbed Tifinagh, has been adopted in writing Amazigh. Interestingly, this writing system is not recent; the Amazigh communities have used this writing system since antiquity. This norm of writing, along with a number of spelling rules, are meant to enable the users to read and write in a uniform fashion. A number of criteria have been respected in the choice of the phonetic content and graphic form of the Tifinagh alphabet, such as historicity, univocity, coherence and economy.
- The adoption of a standard Tifinagh alphabet, its codification by IRCAM since 2003, and its use in teaching/learning Amazigh and the neo-literature have brought about important results for the Amazigh language. Paramount among which is its movement from orality to writing.
- The Tifinagh Alphabet is recognized worldwide under the name Unicode Tifinagh-IRCAM. It is also officially recognized as part of the Basic Multilingual Plane by the International Organisation for Standardisation (ISO/ IEC JTC1/ SC2/ WG2N2739). This recognition derives much of its appeal from enabling the Amazigh language to take advantage of new information and communication technologies.
- The standardization of Amazigh is also undertaken at the phonetic, morpho-syntactic and lexical levels. Valiant attempts have been invested by the IRCAM researchers with an eye to standardizing the different Amazigh varieties (Tarifiyt, Tamazight and Tashlhiyt) observed in Morocco along the aforementioned levels. Accordingly, a whole range of works have been published by IRCAM; they are meant to set the foundations of Standard Amazigh graphy, phonetics, morphology and grammar. With regard to the lexicon, a dictionary and a number of sectorial lexicons and vocabularies have been written in different domains, such as education, the media, administration, law, health, among others. The central thrust of the sectorial terminological works is to meet the needs of Amazigh users in the afore-mentioned domains.

2.2. Culture and history

- Amazigh people may well be viewed as the original inhabitant of North Africa and the Sahara since time immemorial.
- Archeological and historical studies have shown that Amazigh people have lived in North Africa since at least 5000 years BC.
- Since the fourth century BC, a number of important Amazigh kingdoms appeared in North Africa, of most concern here the Mauritanian and Numidian kingdoms.
- Historical documents show that the Amazigh people have cohabited with a whole range of other communities and ethnic groups such as the Phoenicians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs and the Sub-Saharan Africans. Their civilization is, thereby, influenced by all these incoming communities.
- After the independence of Morocco and the appearance of the Moroccan Nationalistic State, Moroccan identity was reduced to one single identity, namely the Arabic and Islamic identity. The influence of incoming identities have wreaked havoc on the original Amazigh identity.
- Amazigh people have, in many ways, tried to resist the discrimination against their identity by fighting for their linguistic and cultural rights. The creation of IRCAM in 2001 was a turning point in the history of Amazigh. It is the first time that the Amazigh people have an institute that defends the Amazigh cause and promotes the Amazigh language and culture.
- Since the creation of IRCAM, valiant efforts have been undertaken by IRCAM researchers to highlight the Amazigh dimension in Moroccan History and foreground the diversity of Moroccan culture. In fact, IRCAM has become a reference point in the domain of cultural diversity and historical knowledge in Morocco.
- Notwithstanding the efforts invested by IRCAM in promoting Amazigh culture, a composite of various obstacles stand on the way of achieving IRCAM's intended objectives. Paramount among these obstacles are the non-implementation of the requirements of the constitution of 2011 as well as the non-translation into action of linguistic and cultural diversity in domains such as education and the media.

3. Education

In response to His Majesty king Mohammed 6th's request for the introduction of Amazigh in education, IRCAM and the Ministry of Education, signed an agreement that officially integrated Amazigh language teaching into the Moroccan educational system in June 2003.

The 2003 agreement assigns clear responsibilities to each of the signatories. IRCAM, whose strategic mission is the promotion of Amazigh in education, the media and public life, is charged with producing the pedagogical materials for teachers training and language learning. The Ministry of Education distributes these materials, provides teachers, and organizes their training and recruitment.

3.1. Achievements

The major work done by IRCAM in this field includes:

- The linguistic planning of the language through corpus planning as well as the codification of the script.
- The development of Amazigh curricula and teaching programs for elementary and secondary schools as well as for the university.
- The development of pedagogical materials, specifically:
 - ▲ Materials that cover K to 6, such as textbooks, songs, tales, dictionaries, picture dictionaries, teachers' guides, hand-writing copybooks, and language learning compact disks;
 - ▲ materials for the teaching of Amazigh at the secondary school;
 - ▲ materials for the teaching of Amazigh for non-Amazigh speakers.

It is to be noted **that these materials are meant to** teach language and culture **as well as** educate learners to develop attitudes against exclusion, hatred, sexism and racism and to respect environment and difference.

- The development of TOT tools for teacher training institutes.
- Affording the training of teachers and university students in language, culture, history and teaching methodologies.
- Assessment of learners' reading and writing attainments in the different levels of the elementary school.
- Granting the Amazigh culture prize for candidates involved in language teaching, teacher training as well as digital educational material developers.

- Affording Amazigh courses at IRCAM and in some public institutes.
- Initiating foreign institutes and visitors of IRCAM to some aspects of Amazigh culture, language and script.

3.2. Constraints and difficulties

Despite the above-mentioned significant achievements, it cannot be denied that the promotion of the Amazigh language in the field of education is facing a host of obstacles. The most important ones that have been collected on the basis of fieldwork research done by IRCAM can be summarized as follows:

- A highly significant slowness in the spread of Amazigh teaching. After 14 years of Amazigh teaching, the number of pupils who take Amazigh language classes at the elementary school is only 13% of the total enrollment.
- Discontinuity and interruption of Amazigh courses within the same school which had a significant impact on its mastery by the learners.
- Feeling a form of discrimination among students who have no access to learning Amazigh within the same school where the teaching of that language is not widespread. The situation as such disrupts the principle of equal opportunities.
- A feeling of frustration and insecurity among some teachers who have been reassigned to take over the teaching of Arabic or French, when they were initially recruited as teachers of Amazigh.

Besides, a significant regression as to the teaching of Amazigh at school has been noted in the Higher Council for Education's strategic vision (2015-2030) where the teaching of Amazigh:

- is excluded from the kindergarten;
- and is limited to the use of the language for communication ends, where introduction to literacy skills starts at the third grade of the elementary school instead of the first as suggested in the Ministry's White Book (2002).

4. Outreach and communication

4.1. Cooperation and partnership

4.1.1. Cooperation

Along with the actions and functions that the Dahir of 2001 has assigned to IRCAM, the Institute gives paramount importance to the policy of opening up on its surroundings and environment. Several conventions and cooperation protocols have been signed between IRCAM and the government departments concerned with the use and integration of Amazigh in the public service, including the Ministry of Culture (2004), the Ministry of the Interior (2008), the Ministry of Industry, Trade and New Technologies (2009), the Ministry in charge of Moroccans Residing Abroad (2010), the Ministry in charge of Relations with the Parliament and Civil Society, the Ministry of Economy and Finance (2014), the Ministry of Public Service and Modernization of Administration. IRCAM has also signed conventions with the High Audio-Visual Authority (HACA) (2012), the Moroccan Press Agency (MAP) (2013) and the National Library of the Kingdom of Morocco (BNRM) (2009).

4.1.2. Partnership

Since 2005, IRCAM has considered associations working in the field of the Amazigh language and culture as main partners. A referential framework that organizes this partnership has been set up and an internal commission in charge of processing the received applications on the basis of a public call for the benefit of associations has been designed.

Partnerships (2005 – 2017)

Year	Number of projects	Cost in Dhs
2005	31	1 896 260,00
2006	88	4 946 500,00
2007	146	6 174 000,00
2008	188	5 988 000,00
2009	240	5 489 500,00
2010	278	9 250 000,00

2011	373	8 587 600,00
2012	407	8 165 000,00
2013	309	6 745 000,00
2014	447	9 289 000,00
2015	309	8 757 000,00
2016	349	9 428 000,00
2017	196	6 363 000,00

Furthermore, 3361 association projects were funded between 2005 and 2017, and the number of partner associations reached 2000 associations during the same period.

4.1.3. The Prize of Amazigh Culture

In order to encourage researchers, teachers, creators and journalists striving to promote Amazigh culture, the Institute organizes the National Prize of Amazigh Culture on a yearly basis. The Prize is divided into twelve categories covering the fields of thought and research, creative writing, translation, media, education, teaching, new information technologies, art and manuscripts. The central thrust of the prize is to contribute to the promotion, safeguarding and development of Amazigh, by encouraging the creators, artists, thinkers, researchers and producers of immaterial Amazigh cultural heritage.

The Prize of Amazigh Culture (2004-2017)

Year	Number of awarded prizes	Cost in Dhs
2004	13	420 000,00
2005	16	400 000,00
2006	17	485 000,00
2007	18	900 000,00
2008	21	900 000,00
2009	23	900 000,00
2010	24	900 000,00

2011	17	749 998,00
2012	11	550 000,00
2013	11	600 000,00
2014	18	800 000,00
2015	22	950 000,00
2016	22	900 000,01
2017	20	1.000.000,00

Between 2005 and 2017, the total number of awarded prizes reached 253 prizes, all categories included.

4.2. The media

As regards the media & communication domains, IRCAM signed a partnership agreement with the Ministry of Communication in 2004. With the signature of this agreement as background, a joint commission responsible for reflecting on the necessary actions that will allow Amazigh to get a better place within the national public media landscape was created. Meetings with 2M and RTM officials were, therefore, organized. The work of the Commission has, thus, yielded a whole range of positive consequences; vital of which are the improvement of the concept of the Amazigh television news on the RTM, the launching of an Amazigh TV news bulletin by 2M, the extension of the hourly volume of the Amazigh radio (now 16 hours) and the programming of some programs in / on Amazigh in the national television channels (RTM, 2M, Arrabia), such as cultural programs, films, musical evenings, theater, among others. Of prime importance at the visual media level is the launching of an Amazigh national TV channel, dubbed TV8, which is fully dedicated to the Amazigh language and culture.

IRCAM has also organized seminars to study the Amazigh press with an eye to diagnosing the situation and making suggestions within the framework of its prerogatives. It is on this basis that training sessions have been planned for the benefit of journalists from the Amazigh press, in partnership with the Higher Institute of Information and Communication (ISIC). The training was provided by specialists and aimed at upgrading the Amazigh press and strengthening the professional know-how of the journalists.

Training sessions were given to more than 60 journalists from the National Broadcasting and Television Company (SNRT), SOREAD 2M and the Moroccan Press Agency (MAP) as well as to journalists from the written and electronic media.

In order to encourage and value the media and communication professionals, prizes were awarded under the National Prize of Amazigh Culture and tributes were paid to journalists working in different sorts of media (written, audiovisual and electronic media).

Private radio stations (MFM and Radio Plus) have taken initiatives to program daily radio news or programs on and in the Amazigh language. The officialization of Amazigh essentially necessitates that the private media sector integrates Amazigh into its programs, to remain compliant with the provisions of Article 5 of the Constitution.

5. Edition

The prime vocation of IRCAM is to undertake research that results in published work. Since 2001, the different IRCAM research centres have yielded published works on a whole range of Amazigh domains. These domains include Amazigh linguistics, pedagogy, didactics, literature, art, translation, communication, computer science, anthropology, sociology, history and environment, among others. The published works may take the form of dictionaries, sectorial lexicons, books and papers. Interestingly, IRCAM has published more than 350 publications over the last 17 years.

6. Assessment and recommendations

The efforts undertaken by IRCAM at the various domains addressed before are, no wonder, fraught with many problems. Many of them are attributed to institutional practices which run counter to a healthy non-discriminating integration of Amazigh in the different spheres of life in Morocco. It is, therefore, of prime importance and utility to locate where dysfunction holds and offer solutions in the form of recommendations so that Amazigh thrives in Morocco as it should. In the remainder of this section, recommendations will be offered along the domains that have been addressed before.

The first recommendations that will be supplied are of legal and general nature.

- Application of the following principles:
 - ▲ the transverse nature of the Amazigh question
 - ▲ non-discrimination between languages and cultures;
 - ▲ equality between the two official languages (Arabic and Amazigh);

- ▲ the sharing of the Amazigh language and culture by all Moroccan citizens (regardless of origin - Amazigh, Arab or Jewish).
- Promulgation of organic laws enacted in Article Five of the Constitution, in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution:
 - ▲ the law related to the implementation of the officiality of the Amazigh language;
 - ▲ the law related the creation of the National Council of Moroccan Languages and Culture (CNLCM).
- Promulgation of decrees and implementation texts guaranteeing, thereby, the effectiveness of laws.
- IRCAM achievements capitalization: the Standard Amazigh language, the Tifinagh writing system, the requirement that Amazigh be taught in all the educational system cycles.
- Implantation and implementation of Amazigh in institutions and companies.
- Development and execution of strategic plans and sectoral plans to promote the Amazigh language and culture.
- Provide human, financial and logistical resources for the development and promotion of the Amazigh language and culture, within the framework of public policies at local, regional and national levels.

In language terms, we propose the following recommendations:

- The necessity to endorse the position of Amazigh as an official language by institutionalizing it and making it a language of work in the different Moroccan administrations and institutions.
- The necessity to translate into action the efforts invested by IRCAM in the standardization of the different Amazigh language varieties by using Standard Amazigh in all administrations and spheres of life in Morocco. The use of Standard Amazigh in different domains will bring about many desirable effects. It will be a means to unify the different Amazigh varieties, to facilitate communication between the speakers of these varieties and to preserve the language and stand against its extinction.
- Standard Amazigh should be the language of litigation in tribunals and should be used in public affairs in general.
- Now that Standard Amazigh is recognized both nationally and internationally by ISO, the language should be used not only as an oral language but also as a written language in the different administrations and institutions of Morocco.

- Valiant efforts need also to be invested by the government to facilitate the implantation and dissemination of the Amazigh language and terminology in all spheres of life in Morocco, particularly in the domains of education, the media and administration.

Culturally speaking, a host of other recommendations that need to be obeyed are laid out below:

- Encouraging scientific research in the domain of Amazigh cultural heritage, by undertaking research on leading Amazigh figures and personalities that have left their imprint on the history of Morocco, and including them in educational curricula.
- Paying special interest to the oral cultural heritage as a means of conserving Amazigh civilization, especially as the Amazigh language suffers from the dearth of written resources.
- Considering the artisanal buildings that embody Amazigh civilization as human cultural heritage that should be preserved.
- The inclusion of some prominent Amazigh buildings in cultural touristic maps to foster local economic promotion.
- Sensitizing the institutions of civil society to the importance of cultural tourism and to the protection of monuments and the preservation of cultural heritage.
- Protection of Amazigh heritage from piracy and smuggling.
- Celebrating the Amazigh new year each year on the 14th of January and considering it as a paid holiday.

From the standpoint of Amazigh in education, a whole range of recommendations are provided below:

- Generalizing the teaching of Amazigh to all educational levels based on a clear action plan and precise agenda.
- Affording sufficient trained teachers and teacher trainers.
- Teaching the Amazigh language by making use of the Tifinagh writing system.
- Persuing efforts as to the standardization of the language through a model that respects dialectal variation and ensures mutual intelligibility.
- Providing Amazigh literacy programs for adults.
- Promulgating laws protecting and promoting Amazigh in education.

As to the outreach and communication level, we offer the following recommendations:

- Developing a strategy of cooperation between IRCAM and Amazigh-concerned departments with an eye to introducing Amazigh in the different public services.
- Sponsoring the cultural associations that invest efforts in the promotion of Amazigh culture and arts.
- Including the Prize of Amazigh Culture in the programs of concerned departments, the programs of the Ministry of Culture for instance.
- Incorporating the promotion of Amazigh culture in the cultural programs of collectivities and regions within the framework of extended regionalization.
- Respecting the legal 30% hourly volume of broadcasting in Amazigh by all TV and radio channels.
- Reserving part of the programs of national media to the Amazigh language and culture.
- Inclusion of Amazigh language and culture modules in the training programs of institutions concerned by the media (ISIC and other institutes of journalism and communication).
- Recruiting staff that are knowledgeable about the Amazigh language and culture in the communication structures of different government departments.