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Amazigh Legitimacy Through Language in Morocco

Abstract

Contemporary Morocco rests at a geographic and developmental crossroads. Uniquely positioned on the Northwestern tip of Africa, Morocco is a short distance away from continental Europe, cradled between North African tradition and identity, and Western embrace. The landscape is varied: craggy mountains trail into desert oases; cobbled streets of the medina anchor the urban centers; mud homes dot the rural countryside. Obscured from the outside observer, behind the walls of the Imperial cities and between the footpaths of village olive groves, Morocco's rich and diverse Arab and Amazigh cultures and languages circle one another in a contested dance. Morocco's identity is complex, an amalgam of geographic, cultural, and linguistic variation. A stratified nation, Morocco is defined by contrasting binaries: urban vs. rural, dominant group vs. ethnic minority, Arab vs. Amazigh. These social divisions breed and perpetuate inequality and marginalization; they limit and hinder individual and group success. Together these elements play a significant role in the creation of Moroccan identity and the sublimation of indigenous rights.

Keywords

Human rights, Morocco, Arab, Amazigh, Imazighen, Indigenous rights, Language, Tamazight

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Amazigh Legitimacy through Language in Morocco

By Sarah R. Fischer

Contemporary Morocco rests at a geographic and developmental crossroads. Uniquely positioned on the Northwestern tip of Africa, Morocco is a short distance away from continental Europe, cradled between North African tradition and identity, and Western embrace. The landscape is varied: craggy mountains trail into desert oases; cobbled streets of the medina anchor the urban centers; mud homes dot the rural countryside. Obscured from the outside observer, behind the walls of the Imperial cities and between the footpaths of village olive groves, Morocco's rich and diverse Arab and Amazigh cultures and languages circle one another in a contested dance. Morocco's identity is complex, an amalgam of geographic, cultural, and linguistic variation. A stratified nation, Morocco is defined by contrasting binaries: urban vs. rural, dominant group vs. ethnic minority, Arab vs. Amazigh. These social divisions breed and perpetuate inequality and marginalization; they limit and hinder individual and group success. Together these elements play a significant role in the creation of Moroccan identity and the sublimation of indigenous rights.

The dominant narrative identifies Morocco as an Arab-Islamic state. However, this cultural, ethnic and linguistic label fails to recognize the significant indigenous Amazigh population. The Imazighen (plural of Amazigh), also referred to as Berbers in Western discourse, historically inhabited the expanse of North Africa west of the Egyptian Nile. Today, Amazigh communities are clustered in dense, mostly rural pockets, primarily in Morocco and Algeria. However, there are smaller communities in other North African countries, as well as a considerable diaspora abroad. The ruling, urban elite of Morocco is composed of the Arab-identified populace, whereas the Imazighen are classified as the rural 'others.'

Today, the Imazighen remain marginalized and relegated to the social periphery. Amazigh contributions to Moroccan national identity, heritage, and history have been censored from the national narrative. Additionally, the Amazigh community has been neither formally nor legally recognized as an existing indigenous or ethnic minority community, thus rendering them invisible and limiting their rights. Finally, the Amazigh language lacks official status. It is therefore threatened and Amazigh cultural identity is endangered as well.

The Amazigh identity label acts as a unifying term for this ethnic minority population. It is important to note that the Moroccan Imazighen are geographically scattered in three distinct areas, each region has its own linguistic dialect. However, all three dialects fall under the collective language of Tamazight. Tamazight is an oral language; the Amazigh activist community has designated Tamazight as the dialect strain for language standardization. Exact official statistics of Amazigh speakers are difficult to acquire, as the Moroccan census does not quantify based on linguistic distinction. However, linguistic scholars have noted nearly half of the population speaks Tamazight.

Language is a foundational and defining sociocultural characteristic of collective identity. The Tamazight language is a vital and valid ingredient of cultural identity and expression, as well as the locus of Amazigh existence. Despite the prevalence of Amazigh speakers, Tamazight has been denied official national language status and relegated to the private sphere of Amazigh community

life. Arabic, the language of Islam and the Qur'an, is the official national language of Morocco; due to its religious significance, it is highly valued in Moroccan society. Ironically, the spoken mother tongue, known as Darija, is itself a dialect of Arabic. The Tamazight language has been banned from the institutional framework of Morocco including the legal, political, and educational systems – although some positive developments have occurred recently.

A large proportion of the Imazighen live outside the urban centers, inhabiting the rural landscape. They rely heavily on subsistence farming. Often, male community members migrate to larger towns for employment opportunities, leaving women and families behind. These provincial factors fuel the prevailing negative stereotypes of the Imazighen held by the Arab community. This urban-rural schism is further reinforced by the unequal distribution of government provided social services. The Amazigh rural communities lack similar access to adequate health services and educational opportunities as their urban counterparts. These communities are rife with abject poverty and high illiteracy rates; they stagnate and their development is stunted.

A long history of Arabization has enveloped the institutional, political, and social spheres of Moroccan society, silencing the Imazighen constituency. This prescriptive Arab-Islamic identity has been historically enforced by the ruling powers and perpetuates exclusion and oppression. Initially, the Arab conquest instituted Arabization by introducing Islam and the Arabic language to the Imazighen. Although the Amazigh people embraced the religion of Islam, they remained culturally and linguistically distinct from the Arab identity, relegating the use of Arabic to faith practice only. This persists in some areas today. Further, following independence from France, the royal monarchy intentionally promulgated Arabization. This cultural doctrine was used to eliminate the lingering effects of colonial rule, especially within the education system, and promote a strict Arab-Islamic national identity. Repeated and historical bouts of Arabization have denied the presence of the Amazigh ethnic minority identity and its contributions to Moroccan heritage. Arabization continues today, promoted by the Islamist political party. However, the monarchy has taken measures to be more inclusive in their definition of Moroccan national identity.

The Amazigh Cultural Movement (MCA), a transnational cultural identity campaign, is pursuing political, social, and cultural agendas on behalf of the Amazigh community. This lobbying force is a vocal advocate demanding official recognition and institutional access of the Tamazight language within Moroccan society. Despite past political repression and obstacles, the MCA's foundation, presence, and objectives are well established and guided by constitution-like documents such as *La Charte d'Agadir* and the Berber Manifesto. This ethno-linguistic and political movement is an interconnected composition of militant activists and intellectuals, local cultural associations and international federations, higher education institutions committed to Amazigh linguistic and cultural study and research, and a thick network of diasporic communities. Associated with the international indigenous and cultural rights movements, the MCA reclaimed its voice concurrently with the government's ease of political and civil society participation restrictions. This diverse community manages contemporary Amazigh discourse and cultural representation. The MCA has developed a unified and thunderous voice in opposition to Amazigh oppression and calls for Amazigh identity recognition and linguistic rights in order to develop culturally, socially, and politically.

Increased domestic pressures and international influences have driven the powerful monarchy to make transformative political and social changes. Morocco has adopted a more democratic and

viable global position. In 1994, the late King Hassan II verbally recognized the legitimacy of the Amazigh cultural and linguistic identity within Morocco. It was a monumental proclamation. He then promised reform. However, further development languished for years, incensing the MCA. When King Mohammed VI inherited the throne, he addressed the MCA demands and created the state sanctioned research institute - *Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe* (IRCAM). IRCAM's role is undeniable; it represents legitimacy, recognition, and inclusion. Additionally, the government has made language policy reforms within the education system, allowing for Tamazight language instruction at the primary school level. IRCAM has had a fundamental role in the implementation of this adapted language policy and associated education reform. Despite these development measures, Tamazight still lacks formalized official national status. Presently, the MCA remains vigilant in their quest to secure Amazigh cultural and linguistic rights.

Amazigh language and culture are powerful and integral components of Moroccan national identity. The Moroccan government has endorsed progressive resolutions. However, implemented reforms are viewed critically by MCA advocates as empty, symbolic gestures that continue to negate Imazighen presence and contributions. The adopted measures only underscore the severity of the injustices and the fragmentation of Moroccan society. Additional institutional and representational actions to protect this community and foster its survival are crucial. Morocco remains enveloped in the richness of its Arab and Amazigh cultural and linguistic identities. As entangled identities, they are performing a difficult dance.

Annotations

Campbell, P. 2003. "Morocco in Transition: Overcoming the Democratic and Human Rights Legacy of King Hassan II." *African Studies Quarterly* 7(1): 38-58.

Annotation: The author presents an interesting view into Morocco's powerful monarchy and the steps it has taken to reconcile its past human rights abuses. Morocco has adopted a more democratic and transparent agenda. The late King Hassan II started this development campaign; his successor, King Muhammad VI, continues his father's work in the hopes of securing development aid. The author is complimentary of King Hassan II's reign and achievement, despite the repression felt by the political opposition, local human rights NGOs, and the women's movement. Campbell notes Morocco's desperate economic situation, social challenges, and political obstacles. This article does not mention the Amazigh community; indigenous, minority, or ethnic rights, or cultural and/or linguistic expression. However, it lays a solid groundwork of the human rights movement in Morocco and its challenges within the context of the monarchy.

Chaker, S. 2004. "Berber, A "Long-Forgotten" Language of France." *Language and (Im)migration in France*. 1-14. Available online: https://www.utexas.edu/cola/insts/france-ut/files/pdf/resources/chaker_english.pdf.

Annotation: Salem Chaker, a Kabylie Algerian, is an Amazigh linguistic specialist; he teaches at INALCO (*Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales*) in Paris. This piece details the expansive geographic reach and presence of the Berber (Amazigh) language, as well as its historic and linguistic roots, and status within countries dominated by Arab-Islamic ideology. Further, Chaker reveals the effects of Amazigh migration into France on both French civil society and the academic environment. An active Amazigh cultural association network has been cultivated and Amazigh focused research and academic programs have been developed. The presence of the Berber language (Tamazight) in France is evident. However, Chaker confirms that similar to the North African countries of Amazigh origin, Tamazight remains unofficially recognized in France and thus maintains its threatened language status.

Cohen, S. & Larabi, J. 2006. Morocco: Globalization and Its Consequences. New York, NY: Routledge.

Annotation: This concise book describes the transformative effects of globalization on Morocco. Specifically detailed is the role of development and its influences on political and social life, including political and market liberalization and restructuring, and social policy and progress. Despite the state's continued concentration of power and control, the monarchy has adopted a more democratic platform. The authors laud improvements such as a more open and transparent political system, greater political and civil society participation, and an improved human rights record. However, challenges still plague Moroccan society: unemployed youth remain disillusioned; social stratification and inequality persist; basic infrastructure is insufficient. Although the literature addresses Morocco in general, the Amazigh cultural movement is specifically featured. In particular, the movement's cultural-political nature and improved relationship with the state are revealed; these elements support and exemplify the monarchy's evolved position on political party pluralism.

Colchester, M. 2002. "Indigenous Rights and the Collective Conscious." *Anthropology Today* 18(1): 1-3.

Annotation: In this brief editorial, Colchester presents the development of and the challenges facing the indigenous rights movement. Additionally, he introduces the roles of regulatory measures, as well as the anthropological researcher within the indigenous rights sphere. As subjects of international law, indigenous peoples have collective rights to land and territory, customary laws, and political representation. Concurrently, indigenous communities face obstacles and limitations in synchronizing their collective politics and rights. The author reveals that increased commercial relations between the private sector and indigenous communities has led to the establishment of regulatory bodies that manage and protect the rights of the indigenous peoples. Further, Colchester suggests that anthropologists could aid indigenous groups in confronting their social and political challenges. However, he also notes that the researchers are invariably linked to the negative imagery of colonization.

Crawford, David. 2001 "How "Berber" Matters in the Middle of Nowhere." *Middle East Report*: 21-25.

Annotation: Crawford's personal narrative of rural Berber (Amazigh) village life depicts the effects of migration, education, and development on linguistic, social, political, and economic change. He uses a newly constructed road that leads to and from the village as a symbol of access and transformation for the village inhabitants. He also notes that village men now migrate back and forth for work to large towns and cities. This migratory movement affects the village language as the migrant community confronts language variation in the urban centers and transports this back to the village. Further, Crawford details the village's excitement anticipating the first day of classes in the government built primary school. Despite the rural setting, the villagers understand the importance of formal education for social mobility. However, this energy is fleeting, as no one understands the Arabic speaking teacher. The author offers the local mosque based school, a multilingual environment that lacks a formal curriculum, as a contrast. Finally, a visit by French and Arabic speaking authorities and development funders reinforces the language barrier between the communities. Crawford's symbolic road ushers in opportunity to the Berber village; however, a linguistic barrier remains.

———. 2002. "Morocco's Invisible Imazighen." *The Journal of North African Studies* 7(1): 53-70.

Annotation: David Crawford suggests that the Amazigh community has been repeatedly neglected from scholarly work conducted in Morocco. Crawford critiques current scholars' lack of inclusion of the Amazigh community from holistic Moroccan identity discourse, as well as from the contemporary Moroccan setting. He notes that the Imazighen are invariably portrayed in historical terms. Further, Crawford addresses the management of the Amazigh movement by urban activists. He demonstrates the significance of the Amazigh urban/rural binary, contrasting the differences of Amazigh community experience and context. The Amazigh movement, "a cultural project," has attached itself to the international cultural rights movement and focuses on the institutionalization of the Tamazight language within Morocco. Additionally, Crawford proposes a link between Imazighen invisibility in academia to the rampant rural poverty that affects large swaths of Amazigh-speaking communities. Crawford suggests a forward thinking scholarly agenda.

———. 2005. "Royal Interest in Local Culture: Amazigh Identity and the Moroccan State," in M. Shatzmiller (ed.), *Nationalism and Minority Identities in Islamic Societies*, 164-94. Quebec City, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Annotation: David Crawford's ethnographic research focuses on the Amazigh communities of the High Atlas in Morocco; he is particularly interested in dynamics of social inequality. Crawford addresses the monarchy's declaration that acknowledged Amazigh culture as part of Moroccan national identity. This declaration reversed years of legal discrimination and aided in creating the Royal Institute of the Amazigh Culture (IRCAM). IRCAM affects Amazigh

communities; it is charged with Tamazight language standardizing and oversees the implementation of Tamazight instruction in the classroom. Additionally, Crawford defines and distinguishes the three separate and distinct Amazigh regions and associated communities, showcasing the differences of region and history, social and political organization, resource inequality and economic reality, and tradition. Further, he notes the power of the state, the important role of Islam, and the struggling socioeconomic environment. He confirms that these complex and diverse factors contribute to Amazigh identity and the Amazigh movement.

Crawford, David. & Hoffman, K. 2000. "Essentially Amazigh: Urban Berbers and the Global Village," in R. K. Lacey & R. Coury (eds.), The Arab-African and Islamic Worlds: Interdisciplinary Studies, 117-33. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Annotation: David Crawford and Katherine Hoffman are experienced researchers in the field of Moroccan Amazigh linguistic, social, economic, and political identities. This article demonstrates the effects of modern technology (i.e. the Internet) and the formation of cultural associations on Amazigh identity. Amazigh-net, an online forum, connects a like-minded "imagined community" around contemporary Amazigh issues. Cultural associations also focus on local, regional, and national Amazigh issues. The authors also address the centrality of language to Amazigh identity, noting the dialectal variations and the challenges of language standardization. They explore the linguistic, cultural, and political agendas that Amazigh activists pursue, demanding institutional access and recognition. These activists, a minority of urban, educated Amazigh speakers, manage contemporary discourse and Amazigh cultural representation. However, the majority of Imazighen are rurally located and not involved in the Amazigh movement. In this article, Crawford and Hoffman address socially constructed elements (i.e. discourse, internet, associations) that affect and generate Amazigh identity performance.

Daniel, M. & Ball, A. 2010 "The Moroccan Educational Context: Evolving Multilingualism." *International Journal of Educational Development* 30(2): 130-35.

Annotation: Daniel and Ball investigate Morocco's educational system, its limitations, new measures of educational reform, and the state's overall complex identity, including the component of linguistic diversity. They note that limited educational access, as in Morocco, severely restricts individual social mobility and overwhelmingly affects the marginalized demographics of women, ethnic minorities, and poor and rural communities. They highlight that Morocco's national education system has been used traditionally as a mechanism to foster Arab-Islamic Moroccan identity. Restricted access to multiple languages, other than standardized Arabic, as well as a poor curriculum design has produced students with underdeveloped linguistic aptitude. However, according to the authors, recent educational reforms, such as the National Charter of Education and Training, hold promise and incorporate a more inclusive linguistic curriculum. Additionally, they suggest that Morocco's unique linguistic environment could be used as an educational model for other countries with similar linguistic characteristics.

El Aissati, A. 2001. "Ethnic Identity, Language Shift, and the Amazigh Voice in Morocco and Algeria." *Race, Gender & Class* 8(3): 57-60.

Annotation: The author, a Professor of Arabic and Amazigh linguistics and languages in the Netherlands, explores the Amazigh ethnic and linguistic identities of Morocco and Algeria, as well as the cultural movement that seeks official recognition of the Amazigh community. El Aissati specifically addresses the role of language on ethnic identity within the Amazigh context and includes the relationship between Amazigh, Arabic, and Islam, the threat of language shift on linguistic identity, and the revival of the Amazigh cultural movement and its challenges. This article is one of few that details language shift among Amazigh speakers; there has been little research conducted. El Aissati specifically maps out the implications of a language shift from Amazigh to Arabic. He also establishes the connection between the Amazigh cultural movement and the process of reversing language shift, thus reinforcing Amazigh cultural identity.

———. 2002. "A Socio-Historical Perspective on the Amazigh (Berber) Cultural Movement in North Africa." *Afrika Focus* 18(1-2): 59-72.

Annotation: The author's research addresses the status of the Amazigh language and culture in both Algeria and Morocco, the most Imazighen-populated countries. He specifically focuses on new language policy developments within the education systems. The language policy reforms have introduced the teaching of the Amazigh language into primary schools. Although these developments are progressive, El Aissati confirms that there is opposition - the pan-Arab nationalist movement. Woven into the article are elements of North African regional history, the multilingual language policies of other African nations (i.e. Malawi) and Islamic countries (i.e. Iran), and developments in the Amazigh cultural movement. The author reveals the differences between the Algerian and Moroccan language policies and educational reform, as well as the continued denial of linguistic rights within other institutional settings.

Errihanni, Mohamed. 2006. "Language Policy in Morocco: Problems and Prospects of Teaching Tamazight." *The Journal of North African Studies* 11(2): 143-54.

Annotation: Mohamed Errihanni highlights the difficulties and challenges facing an effective and efficient language policy implementation in Morocco. He links King Hassan II's public recognition of the Amazigh culture and language to implemented education reform in which Tamazight language instruction was introduced. Further, he notes the effects of language policies including the change in perception and status of a language, the unifying of different identities, and the promotion of economic mobility. However, according to Errihanni, Morocco's language policy and implementation have fallen short and face the following challenges: a lack of institutional support, ineffective teaching methods and insufficient commitments from teachers and parents, and unaltered social perceptions and societal division. Additionally, the author addresses the negative stereotypes associated with the Tamazight language. He reveals that Tamazight, like Moroccan Arabic, is considered a private sphere

language and thus its use is restricted to the home. Therefore, Tamazight language use lacks the social and economic capacity and global mobility that Moroccans desire and that which language policies foster.

Faiq, S. 1999. "The Status of Berber: A Permanent Challenge to Language Policy in Morocco," in Yasir Suleiman (ed.), Language and Society in the Middle East and North Africa: Studies in Variation and Identity, Surrey, Great Britain: Curzon.

Annotation: Faiq illustrates the complex relationship between language and nationalism in Morocco, including the factors of ethnicity and identity. He posits that below a harmonious façade, Morocco struggles with reconciling its multicultural and multilingual communities. He describes Morocco as a "linguistic mosaic," though the Arabic and French languages are used exclusively. The Amazigh language and discourse have been censored from the Arab-Islamic dominated history; Amazigh language lacks official recognition. The author also notes the importance and centrality of language to Amazigh cultural identity. The power of language is detailed through language policies, Arabization and national ideology, the Amazigh cultural movement and its language platform, and language and political shifts. Faiq concludes by retying language and cultural identity together.

Hart, D. 2000. Tribe and Society in Rural Morocco. Portland, OR: Frank Cass Publishers.

Annotation: This comprehensive collection of articles details historical and ethnographic accounts of the three geographically distinct, Berber (Amazigh) dense regions. Hart's fieldwork was conducted primarily in the northern Rif region; however, he also analyzes the High Atlas and southern Saharan communities. Through a comparative lens, he addresses elements of authentic Berber identity including tribal relocation and migration, genealogy and historical lineages, and laws and traditions. An analysis of the individual Berber communities exposes the variations within these communities that otherwise share "compatible" cultural values and structural systems. Hart also addresses region specific Arab-Berber differences and the Spanish influence in the North. He notes that "most of what has been written about Berbers has been written by non-Berbers;" he, too, falls into this category. However, his detailed and specific knowledge, especially of the Rif region, is valuable.

Hodgson, D. 2002. "Introduction: Comparative Perspectives on the Indigenous Rights Movement in Africa and the Americas." *American Anthropologist* 104(4): 1037-49.

Annotation: The author, a guest editor, compares the indigenous rights movements in Africa and the Americas, including achievements, challenges, and indigenous identity performance. Additionally detailed are ethnographic case studies that examine various geographical, theoretical, and political perspectives of indigenous rights. Hodgson briefly notes the history and working language of the indigenous rights movement. The author fully delves into key themes of the movement, specifically representation, recognition, resources, and rights. She demonstrates

how indigenous peoples view themselves within the forum of the rights movement and contrasts the well-established movements in the Americas with the newly established ones in Africa. Hodgson notes the importance of understanding individual country context in order to grasp the movement's development and challenges. Hodgson concludes that country specific ethnographical analysis can give insight on indigenous rights activism, as well as an understanding of the context of the movement on a global scale.

Hoffman, Katherine. 2006. "Berber Language Ideologies, Maintenance, and Contraction: Gendered Variation in the Indigenous Margins of Morocco." *Language & Communication* 26(2): 144-67.

Annotation: Katherine Hoffman has extensively researched the linguistic, ethnic, and economic roles of the minority Amazigh community in Morocco; her research is conducted in Tashlehit Berber, the Southern dialect. In this article, she presents the role of the historically and socially marginalized rural Amazigh (Berber) women - in the practice, preservation, maintenance, and contraction of the Tamazight language. Recently, the Moroccan government has made strides to be more inclusive in their national identity discourse, enveloping the Amazigh minority community into the national fold. However, despite these positive strides, Amazigh women, vital transmitters of cultural and linguistic tradition, remain restricted by Morocco's patriarchal system, remote geographic locations, social norms and expectations, and the confines of monolingualism. Hoffman's study presents the gender and geographic binaries (i.e. plains vs. mountains) that contemporary Amazigh populations face. This article is laden with technical linguistic terms including speech patterns, forms, and markers. Clearly illustrated is the powerful role and hindrances that Amazigh women face in maintaining linguistic tradition and presence.

Khrouz, D. 2008. "A Dynamic Civil Society." *Journal of Democracy* 19(1): 42-50.

Annotation: Khrouz explores the powerful and multifunctional role of Morocco's civil society in molding the country's more democratic future. The author reveals that mounting domestic pressures, as well as globalization, spurred the Moroccan monarchy to adopt political reforms. These political reforms created a dynamic and participatory civil society. The author notes civil society's broad reaching efforts to address sensitive human rights issues affecting Moroccan society, including women's rights, Amazigh cultural and linguistic rights, poverty, grassroots development, and socioeconomic challenges. Although progress and change have been made, many issues, specifically women's rights, remain embedded in a traditional Moroccan society. Khrouz highlights civil society's significant role and influence on the political and social setting in Morocco; he stresses that further political change is necessary.

Laskier, M. 2003. "A Difficult Inheritance: Moroccan Society under King Muhammad VI." *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 7(3): 1-20.

Annotation: Laskier offers a convincing portrayal of the state challenges that face King Muhammad VI after acquiring the throne from his late father, King Hassan II. The author

weaves the political weight and power that the monarchy wields throughout the article; Morocco's social, political and legal environments are set as backdrop. Laskier specifically highlights the state challenges of democratization, human rights and corruption, the Islamist agenda, the status of women, and the Berber (Amazigh) movement. Human rights advancements are noted and include the release of prisoners, the return of those exiled, and greater freedom of the press. Laskier richly details the strict traditional Islamist opposition. He also contrasts the challenges of the women's rights movement - law vs. cultural norms and expectations. The author dedicates the least amount of detail and text to the Berber cultural and linguistic movement, briefly explaining the movement's development and demands.

Madani, B. 2003. "Arabization of the Amazigh Lands." *International Journal of Francophone Studies* 6(3): 211-13.

Annotation: In this concise article, the author highlights the effects of French colonization on North African identity, specifically the French-imposed differentiation of the Arab and Amazigh populations and their distinct identities. This identity dichotomization remains today. Madani gently narrates North African history through an Amazigh lens, from Ottoman rule to the present day Amazigh language and identity movement. She paints the Amazigh into a distinct, yet subordinate, position under the ruling regimes of the Ottomans, the French and the current Arab-Islamic reign. Following independence a strict, institutionalized Arabization was imposed; the author characterizes this as "racist." As a result of Arabization, the Amazigh culture has disappeared from most of North Africa. However, she concludes that a significant and vocal community remains in both Morocco and Algeria. This article is broad reaching but lacks focus.

Maddy-Weitzman, Bruce. 2001. "Contested Identities: Berbers, 'Berberism' and the State of North Africa." *The Journal of North African Studies* 6(3): 23-47.

Annotation: Maddy-Weitzman highlights the resurgence of the Amazigh cultural movement in Morocco, Algeria and the diasporic communities. He notes that the Amazigh identity manifests through a variety of channels including language, structure, and practice. Despite the overarching movement's label, the Berber community is not homogenous and therefore, a "grand narrative" is difficult to create. Although Morocco and Algeria's Amazigh movements and experiences run parallel, Algeria's dissidence and volatile history is evident. Morocco's movement, on the other hand, has been easier to mute and temporarily satiate through regime action. The author chronicles the developments of the Moroccan Amazigh movement and its presence in the 1990s. Additionally, he states that both the current King Muhammad VI, as well as his late father, King Hassan II, have altered the political landscape in part by reconciling Arab-Berber narrative and relations, especially with the Amazigh Rif community. However, according to Amazigh activists, there remains work to be done. Maddy-Weitzman surmises that redefining the Amazigh identity will be a tense and difficult process.

- . 2006. "Ethno-Politics and Globalization in North Africa: The Berber Culture Movement*." *The Journal of North African Studies* 11(1): 71-83.

Annotation: Bruce Maddy-Weitzman has written extensively on modern history and politics in the Middle East and the Maghrib. In this article, he presents the global "Berber/Amazigh cultural movement (MCB/MCA)" and specifically focuses on the Moroccan movement. However, he does include, as a comparison, the Algerian Kabylie movement. He notes the Moroccan movement's dual orientation, resting between Western and Arab-Islamic cultures. A strong introduction to the "Berber Manifesto," a well-signed document, outlines MCB/MCA cultural and linguistic demands and intentions. Further, the author demonstrates the effects of globalization on the MCB/MCA movement. For example, the Berber diaspora, partnered with local Moroccan Berber intellectuals, are the driving forces of the MCB/MCA movement. They have adopted into the MCB/MCA agenda Western concepts of democracy and human/minority rights, as well as a subtle, secular tone. Despite the drive of the diasporic activist community, the author confirms the challenges that the MCB/MCA movement faces on Moroccan soil.

- . 2007. "Berber/Amazigh "Memory Work"," in B. Maddy-Weitzman and D. Zisenwine (eds.), The Maghrib in the New Century: Identity, Religion, and Politics, 50-71. Gainesville, FL: The University Press of Florida.

Annotation: The author frames the Amazigh identity movement through a historical lens. He argues that contemporary Amazigh community rewrites history in an effort to create a shared memory and collective identity, as well as to respond to the dominant Arab culture's negative perceptions of the Amazigh community. He richly weaves Amazigh actors and their contributions through significant periods of Moroccan history, including the Islamic conquest and French colonization. Today, Amazigh advocates challenge the dominant Arab-Islamic identity label that denies the societal role of the Amazigh community. Maddy-Weitzman contrasts the Amazigh movements of both Morocco and Algeria (Kabyle); he notes that the Algerian movement has been both more active and more violent than Morocco's movement. However, both movements' successes are dependent upon government policy. In this article, the author demonstrates how the Amazigh movements are reshaping Algerian and Moroccan national identities and histories.

- Marley, Dawn. 2002. "Diversity and Uniformity: Linguistic Fact and Fiction in Morocco," in Kamal Salhi (ed.), French in and out of France: Language Policies, Intercultural Antagonisms and Dialogue, 335-76. Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang.

Annotation: Dawn Marley's research interests focus on linguistic identities in Francophone countries. This in-depth article addresses the diverse sociolinguistic landscape of Morocco. Marley notes the asymmetrical coexistence of the Amazigh (Berber), Arabic and French languages; this inequality is reinforced by the institutionalized Arabization of the national language policy. Marley describes the linguistic capacities and capabilities of these three

languages including linguistic identity, value and variation, and historical language usage. Despite sweeping Arabization, a state-sponsored method to disassociate Moroccan society from French colonial presence, the persistent role of the French language in modern day Morocco is impressive. Further, the author closes with an entire section dedicated to the Amazigh cultural movement, its development, mission, and the involvement of the international community.

———. 2004. "Language Attitudes in Morocco Following Recent Changes in Language Policy." *Language Policy* 3(1): 25-46.

Annotation: Dawn Marley topically addresses Morocco's 2000 Charter for Educational Reform, a dramatic and diversified national language policy change. In this article, she details Morocco's multilingual landscape, associated linguistic identities, and linguistic policies and provisions. Additionally, she notes that following independence from France, state sponsored Arabization took place in order to eradicate France's linguistic and colonial presence. This process reinforced Morocco's "Arab-Islamic" identity, denied the presence of minority languages (i.e. Amazigh), and limited access to the outside world. Marley's quantitative study reveals the negative effects of Arabization on Moroccan youth education, as well as the opportunities that Morocco's current multilingual educational system presents. The study also notes that bilingualism in a "prestigious language" (i.e. Arabic-French, not Arabic-Berber) is considered advantageous for social and economic mobilization. Marley states that Morocco's multilingual future is evident.

Merolla, Daniela. 2002. "Digital Imagination and the 'Landscapes of Group Identities': The Flourishing of Theatre, Video and 'Amazigh Net' in the Maghrib and Berber Diaspora." *The Journal of North African Studies* 7(4): 122-31.

Annotation: Daniela Merolla showcases how the use of digital media, including mass media and 'small media' (i.e. video, mailing lists, etc.), is reshaping Berber (Amazigh) identity and cultural expression, both locally and internationally. Merolla interweaves the 'shift to literacy' theme throughout; this theme notes the shift of Berber language cultural expression from oral to written format. Merolla focuses on the written forms, such as theatre, video, and Internet. Overarching social issues and specific regional variations are exposed. The author surmises that despite a lack of financial and institutional support - a common obstacle for minority communities - contemporary cultural production, greatly aided by technology, connects the transnational Amazigh community, promotes the Amazigh activist agenda, and constructs and disseminates Amazigh identity to a broad audience. Merolla briefly notes significant Tamazight language developments within Morocco; however, these developments are devoid of political and social implication.

Sarfaty, G. 2005. "The World Bank and the Internalization of Indigenous Rights Norms." *The Yale Law Journal* 114(7): 1791-820.

Annotation: Sarfaty addresses the World Bank's (Bank) role in shaping domestic law and implementing indigenous rights policy and associated norms within developing host countries. A case study of a Moroccan loan showcases the political and legal constraints, as well as the power of civil society. According to Sarfaty, Bank policy and standards can be incorporated into a host state's institutional framework, reforming the domestic system. However, nationalist community polity and norms remain steadfast and the Bank must decide how to proceed within this environment. This case study demonstrates the complex relationship between the indigenous Berber (Amazigh) community affected by the Bank's development plan, the Moroccan government's dismissal of the Berber population as an ethnic minority, and the Bank's indigenous rights policy. Further, Sarfaty notes the influences and pressures of norm compliance within this process. Overall, this article is laden with legal terminology and theory; it is heavy for those not accustomed to the language.

Silverstein, P. & Crawford, D. 2004. "Amazigh Activism and the Moroccan State." *Middle East Report*: 44-48.

Annotation: Silverstein and Crawford introduce the oppositional and fragmented politics of the Amazigh activist community; they focus specifically on the militant faction. Government sponsored human rights developments, such as the inception of the Royal Institute of the Amazigh Culture (IRCAM), as well as the Tamazight language policy have satiated the international community yet divided the Amazigh Cultural Movement (MCA) into two camps. According to the authors, the militant arm of the MCA opposes the IRCAM and language policy developments. They believe that the Moroccan government, under the guise of human rights, has domestic and international ulterior motives. The motives, as the authors state, contradict the MCA's ideology, reinforce Arab-Islamic nationalism, further entrench the urban-rural divide, and fragment the global Amazigh movement. It is noted that the institution of IRCAM is both a symbol of Amazigh culture and linguistic rights, as well as a divisive mechanism within the MCA.

Van Heelsum, A. 2003. "Moroccan Berbers in Europe, the Us and Africa and the Concept of Diaspora." In *Occasional Lecture Series*. UCLA Center for European and Eurasian Studies, UCLA International Institute, UC Los Angeles.

Annotation: This article spans the breadth of Berber (Amazigh) history and geographic dispersion, the current political context in Morocco, and the Berber diaspora, specifically in the Netherlands. The author, a researcher at the University of Amsterdam, questions whether the transnational and multigenerational Berber movement can be defined as diasporic. She focuses heavily on the evolution of Amazigh associations in the Netherlands and the issues the Amazigh communities face in their host country, including immigration and second-generation Dutch Amazigh identities. Additionally, she includes the international span of Amazigh associations and communities throughout Europe and North America. Van Heelsum notes that the Internet provides a common and connective space for the transnational Amazigh movement; however,

and perhaps ironically, the international Amazigh community and associations do not share a common language.

Willis, Michael. 2008. "The Politics of Berber (Amazigh) Identity: Algeria and Morocco Compared," in Y. Zoubir & A. Amirah-Fernandez (eds.), North Africa: Politics, Region, and the Limits of Transformation, 227-42. New York, NY: Routledge.

Annotation: Michael Willis introduces the politicized Berber (Amazigh) identity within both Algerian and Moroccan political settings. He notes that previous scholars concluded that an Arab-Berber political divide did not exist. However, this is not the case today. Further, he explains how post-colonial Algeria and Morocco have witnessed parallel Berber movements. Despite this similarity, these movements have progressed uniquely and independent of one another due to differing locations of Berber communities, advocates and urban movements, and enduring colonial effects and country specific political alliances and climates. Both government regimes balance the Arab-Berber divide and have introduced the institutionalization and recognition of the Berber language and culture into the public sphere. Additionally, it is noted that Islamist movements, in both countries, challenge the Berber movements. Coincidentally, the Berber movement has gained international presence, connecting a wide spread activist community.