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Khalid Chahhou

Graduate Center, City University of New York

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THE STATUS OF LANGUAGES IN POST-INDEPENDENT MOROCCO: MOROCCAN NATIONAL POLICIES AND SPANISH CULTURAL ACTION

by

KHALID CHAHOU

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Literature and Languages in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2014
This manuscript has been read and accepted for the
Graduate Faculty in Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Literature and Languages in satisfaction of the
dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

JOSÉ DEL VALLE

7/24/2014
Date

Chair of Examining Committee

JOSÉ DEL VALLE

7/24/2014
Date

Executive Officer

JOSÉ DEL VALLE

LAURA CALLAHAN

LIA SCHWARTZ

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
Abstract

THE STATUS OF LANGUAGES IN POST-INDEPENDENT MOROCCO: MOROCCAN NATIONAL POLICIES AND SPANISH CULTURAL ACTION

By
Khalid Chahhou

Advisor: Professor José del Valle

This dissertation aims to assess the status of Spanish in post-independent Morocco from two different angles: the Moroccan national policies and the Spanish cultural action. In particular, it demonstrates that the national policy in post-independent Morocco was, to a great extent, a response to the pressure exercised by the nationalist movement since 1963, the great involvement of the Francophone elite, and the carelessness and emptiness left by Spain. As a result, the Moroccan authority has had to opt for a policy of double standards: On the one hand, to fulfill the identity claims raised by the nationalist movement, Arabic was officially constitutionalized and the educational system begun to become Arabized. On the other hand, Francization has been implicitly favored in many Moroccan institutions by Moroccan officials at the expense of the other national and foreign languages. These two linguistic choices are then the two major forces that shaped the status of the various languages involved in the Moroccan sociolinguistic context, including Spanish.

However, in 1990, Moroccan authorities started recognizing the linguistic diversity existing in the country and therefore shifted from officially favoring Arabization to favoring openness toward foreign languages. In parallel to this new orientation launched by the Moroccan agency through official discourse and legislation, Spain launched its cultural project aimed to
improve its foreign image, consolidate its brand, expand its culture and internationalize its language. The implications of this project in the Moroccan context have been reflected in the renovation and reactivation of the old cultural centers, the creation of many new ones and the strengthening of its cultural diplomacy towards Morocco through cultural conventions, agreements and treaties.

It is from a sociolinguistic perspective grounded on the analysis of texts that discuss, propose, criticize or implement language policies and cultural conventions that the chapters of this dissertation strive to discern the efforts of the Moroccan authorities to define the space of Spanish within the educational and societal sectors, as well as the efforts of Spain to promote it within the Moroccan society.

Chapter one describes the development of language policy as a field of inquiry in the Moroccan context. It strives to categorize the theoretical, topical and methodological developments of the field and describe and analyze the different types of linguistic planning that have been implemented from independence until today. It also strives to explore the ways in which such planning shapes the status of the different languages involved in the linguistic market in general, and Spanish in particular.

Chapter two gives a detailed description of all the sociolinguistic phenomena produced by the de facto bilingualism and multilingualism existing in the country, such as diglossia, linguistic competition, language contact and conflict, linguistic militantism, language selection, code-switching and lexical borrowing. Each of these processes has been carefully described, analyzed and approached in terms of its impact on shaping the status of Spanish.

Chapter three concisely describes the historical development of Spanish in Morocco, before, during and after independence in different parts of the country (especially the North and
the South), as well as the different levels of communicative proficiency that have been developed among its speakers (Spaniards and Moroccans). It also describes its current status in the different spheres of the Moroccan life (public and private educational institutions, media, translation, etc.) and analyzes the different historical, political and socio-economic processes and factors that contributed to such a condition.

Chapter four sheds light on the Moroccan language policies since independence and how these policies contribute to or prevent the improvement of the status of Spanish. Special attention is given to Arabization and Francization as two major policies that historically impacted the condition of Spanish. It also draws attention to the recent changes in Moroccan language policies (reflected in legislative documents and official discourse), characterized by a great level of openness toward foreign languages. The chapter describes, categorizes, analyzes and extracts conclusions from such legislation with the purpose of exploring its impact on the status of Spanish.

Chapter five pays special attention to the Spanish cultural action in Morocco, especially after the 1975 Constitution, which launched the democratization of Spain. It particularly emphasizes the ideology, objectives, actors, implications and international context of such an action and argues that the promotion of language through educational institutions is instrumentalized to improve the image of Spain, internationalize its language and culture and open new markets for its brand in Morocco.

Finally, the conclusion strives to extract the main factors that may contribute to hindering or promoting Spanish within the Moroccan lands in the future, and proposes some suggestions in this regard to researchers and policy makers aimed to help in clearly defining its status.
Acknowledgements

I would like to express my special appreciation and thanks to my advisor Professor José del Valle. You have been a tremendous mentor for me. I would like to thank you for encouraging my research and for allowing me to grow as a research scientist. Your advice on both research as well as on my career have been priceless. I would also like to thank my committee members, Professor Laura Callahan and Professor Lía Schwartz for serving as my committee members. I would especially like to thank all faculty and staff who have been there to support me when I was collecting data for my dissertation.

My warm thanks and prayers for Professor Isias Lerner who could witness one chapter of this work but could not witness the rest of it, as death – our unavoidable destiny – took him away from the academic family. I will never forget his inspiring words when I was presenting my thesis proposal: “¡Adelante Khalid!” Today, even though he is not physically with us, his spirit, wisdom and knowledge are present and will last forever. This actually reminds me of the saying of Prophet Mohamed (peace be upon him) who said: “When a person dies, his deeds come to an end except for three things: ceaseless charity; knowledge which is beneficial; or a virtuous descendant who prays for him” (Imam Muslim 815-875, 13:8).

Many thanks to Professor Mohamed Salhi, Head of the Spanish Department at the University Mohamed V, in Rabat; Mr. Ahmed Moustaghit, Professor at the University Mohamed Ben Abdellah, in Fez; Professor Abderrahamane El-Fathi, Head of the Spanish Department in the University Abdelmalek Saadi, in Tetuan; Dr. Driss Chahhou, Professor at the University Mohamed V, in Rabat, and a brother of mine; and Mr. El Ouafi Nouhi, Researcher at the Institut Royal de la Culture Amazigh (IRCAM). Your assistance in accessing documents and your eager advice were so tremendous, and without you, perhaps this dissertation would never see light.
Special thanks to Mr. Mustapha Mabrouk, Language Curriculum Coordinator at the Ministère de l’Éducation National (MEN), in Rabat, who was there to answer my questions and concerns and provide the necessary documents for my research. Mrs. Latifa Shobromana, a senior employee at the Institut des Etudes et des Recherches pour l’Arabisation (IERA): I will never forget your trust in me when you left your office for me to conduct research, while you were looking, in the middle of construction and repairs that were taking place at your Institute, for all relevant documents that might assist in completing my thesis. I am also grateful for the moment you offered a very unique and tasty Moroccan tea while I was searching the literature of the IERA: your generosity and kindness will last with me forever.

I also thank the staff of the IRCAM, especially its director Mr. Ben Hamza; the staff of the Conseil Supérieur de l'Enseignement (CSE); Nadi Al-Fikr Al-Islami; and the Centre National de Documentation (CND), especially its Chef de Services des Sources d’Information Nationales et Etrangères, Mrs. Amina Abouelfadel; the staff of the Instituto Cervantes, in Rabat; and the staff of the Spanish Embassy in Rabat; especially Mr. Feliz Cotado, Spanish Cultural Counselor; and Mr. Maiquinez, Language Consultant at the cultural department of the same Embassy.

Special thanks to my family! Words cannot express how grateful I am to my mother, my father, my mother-in-law, my father-in-law, my sisters and brothers for all of the sacrifices that you’ve made on my behalf. Your prayer for me was what sustained me thus far. I would also like to thank all of my friends who supported me in writing, and always encouraged and motivated me to strive towards my goal. Last but not least, I would like to express appreciation to my beloved wife, Fatiha Andoh, who spent sleepless nights and was always my support in the moments when there was no one to answer my queries, and to my beloved children Ihssane, Hudaifah and Mohamed Habib, for their constant support and unconditional love.
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CHAPTER I

Theoretical Perspective and Methodology of Research

It is generally accepted that the Spanish presence in North Africa dates back to the late 15th century. The successive expulsions of the "Moors" followed by the occupation of Ceuta and Melilla (1492), the occupation of Tetuan (1860), the Protectorate (1912), the War of Rif (1923-1926), and the conflict about Perejil Island (2003) are all historical moments which confirm the consistency and continuity of such a presence in Morocco (Affaya and Guerraoui 2006). However, this dissertation will examine the linguistic aspect of such presence, especially in post-independent Morocco (from 1956 until today).

The neglect by Spain in the region, due mainly to its internal and ex-colonial problems in the Americas and reflected in the improvisation and ambiguity that characterized its foreign policy (Gil Grimau 2003, 41); the Arabization of education and Moroccanization of instructors, which were adopted by the Moroccan regime since 1963; the strong political and cultural projection of France, which resulted in the Francization of the Moroccan elite, education and administration; the recent shifting of Moroccan national policies from Arabization to openness towards foreign languages; and the current external action of Spain through the activation of its cultural diplomacy are all factors to be considered in the moment of examining the Spanish linguistic legacy in post-independent Morocco.

One can say that the national policy in post-independent Morocco was basically a response to the post-colonial reality, which enforced the Moroccan authority to opt for a policy that strove to keep balance between the “Moroccan constants” (the unity of language, religion and monarchical power) and the requirements of modernity and progress, which imposed the unofficial Francization of most Moroccan sectors, but mainly the educational system.

After many years of this dual policy, Morocco has begun shifting toward the recognition
of a “de facto” multilingualism. It is the aim of this work to investigate the rationale behind this change, categorize and describe the different types and levels of linguistic planning that are currently taking place at the national level and explore the ways in which such change shapes the status of the different languages involved in the linguistic market, especially Spanish.

With reference to Spain’s cultural role in the country, one could notice that after many years of neglect and improvisation in the region, which was efficiently and diligently used by the Francophones to advance the position of French, Spain not only has renewed and reactivated the old institutions, but has also begun establishing new ones since the 1990s. The visitor of Northern Morocco can easily observe the growing Spanish presence in various spheres of everyday life: schools, cultural centers, Institutos Cervantes, libraries, businesses, media, tourism, TV channels, etc. It is the purpose of this dissertation to investigate the rationale behind the recent activation of the Spanish cultural policy in Morocco and how this process impacts the current status of Spanish language in this neighboring country.

For more accurate understanding of the current sociolinguistic status of Spanish, both explicit and implicit language policies of the two countries will be investigated and analyzed. In addition to that, the interruption of English, as a global language, is conceived as another decisive factor in the definition of the current status of Spanish.

1. The Development of Language Policy as a Field of Inquiry

Language planning as a discipline appeared in the 1950s (Wright 2004, 8). In fact, there was a great disagreement about the term that should be used to denote such activity and its first use. This depends much on the differences between the countries where language policy has been implemented. According to Cooper, perhaps the first term to be introduced in the literature was language engineering, by Miller in 1950. This term has been used far more often than
glottopolitics, which was incorporated by Hall in 1951. Cooper then noticed that, until very recently, though there were many conceptualizations of language policy, there was no universally accepted definition (Cooper 1989). Spolsky further specifies that language policy as a concept appeared for the first time as part of the title of a book published by Cebollero in 1945, and which was found in the Library of the American Congress (Spolsky 2004).

Haugen informs us later on that Uriel Weinreich used the term language planning in 1957 during a seminar at Columbia University, while Reese and Pool specify that the term language planning was coined only in the 1960s (Haugen 1966). He further claims the credit for being the first writer to pioneer the use of language planning as a term in 1959 through his book, The Ecology of Language (Haugen 1972).

After Haugen, Noss referred to language planning activity as language development, while Jernudd and Neustupny have proposed the term language management, and Gorman proposed the term language regulation. Now, of all the terms in use, language planning is the most popular (Cooper 1989). According to Daftary and Grin, applying political approaches to language has always been a great challenge to sociolinguists, and it was only at the beginning of the 1990s that workflows on language policy began to merge more fully in what is commonly called today language policy and planning (LPP) (Daftary and Grin 2003).

In French literature, we find terms such as amenagement linguistique, gestion linguistique, planification linguistique, and politique linguistique. Some French researchers, such as Corbeil and Auger prefer amenagement linguistique instead of planification linguistique (Calvet 1987). To them, language planning is an incomplete expression, not like amenagement linguistique, which describes precisely the permanent efforts to serve language(s), according to a flexible plan in which the entire society participates. One could sense the pride of Frenchmen of
the particularity and the higher expressive capacity of French compared to other languages.

From the time this term appeared until today, the field of study of language policy has greatly evolved from being restricted to an intra-linguistic analytical perspective to incorporating economic and socio-political factors in explaining linguistic phenomenon. At present, many of the publications, conferences and projects that helped to expand and better define the field of language policy have become classics, especially those published by Das Gupta, Cooper, Ferguson, Fishman, Ruben Jernudd (Hornberger 2006, 26). Spolsky further notices that despite the difficulties accompanying the development of LPP, this should not prevent us from recognizing that research in language policy is already situated in a very advanced position to address more complex issues of language (Spolsky 2004). In his most recent scholarly book, Ricento asserts that there is no doubt that this field has been increasingly more organized, and a great deal of development at the theoretical, methodological and topical levels has been articulated within it (Ricento 2006).

In the Arab world, several researchers had to investigate the many situations of language planning that the post-colonial reality imposed. Particularly in Morocco, some of them focused on studying the relationship between Arabic, Tamazight and the other foreign languages, while others focused on how to create new words and incorporate dictionaries. A third group focused on the position of Arabic and colonial languages, especially French and Spanish and most recently English, in the educational system. However, after visiting all the literature existing on language policy and planning, it becomes very hard to find a concise definition of what language policy and planning, in this country, stands for; except what was mentioned by Al-Kasimi who, after distinguishing between external planning and internal planning, conceptualizes language planning as similar to any kind of economic, political or scientific planning (Al-Kasimi 1987).
Al-Fihri, another eminent Moroccan sociolinguist, distinguishes between “l’amenagement interne du langue” (corpus planning) and the “reamenagement de son status” (status planning) (Al-Fihri 2007).

2. Language Policies and Planning (LPP) in Morocco

The intervention of human beings in linguistic situations is not a new exercise and perhaps it is as old as language itself; however, language policies as a set of options mainly aimed to organize the relationship between language and society are new (Spolsky 2004). Probably, the first developments and pioneering works in implementing formal language policies can be traced to the advent of the first grammar of Spanish as a European language by Antonio Nebrija in 1492, the establishment of the Academia della Crusca de Florence in 1582, and the establishment of the Academie Francaise by the cardinal De Richelieu in 1635. Bentaouet-Kattan asserts that language policy, as we know it today, began only with the advent of the concepts of national languages and nationalism in the 19th century, in the newly independent countries of Africa and South Asia (Bentaouet-Kattan 1999). She then notes that in these newly independent countries, becoming sovereign nations presented several challenges to their governments. The most urgent of which was the choice and establishment of a national language that would, in many cases, replace the language of the ex-colonizer.

Like many other developing countries, Morocco, which was under the colonization of both France and Spain, had to face a very controversial situation with respect to the willingness of its government to confirm its Arabic identity and the imperatives of modernity and prosperity, which require the maintenance of French. It is between these two major forces that the evolution of the status of Spanish has been figured out in this modest work.

For the purpose of this dissertation, theoretical, methodological and topical developments
of language policy in post-independent Morocco have been examined and analyzed.

2.1. Theoretically: From Corpus Planning to Status and Acquisition Planning

Even though language policy and language planning have merged into what many sociolinguists call *language policy and planning*, this dissertation parts from the distinction, made by Louis-Jean Calvet, between language policy and language planning. He calls language policy “the entirety of conscious choices concerning relations between language(s) and life in society”, and calls language planning “the concrete enactment and implementation of a language policy” (Calvet 1987). In the following, the types of language policy and language planning that the Moroccan context offers are presented and their impact on the status of Spanish is discussed.

2.1.1. Types of Language Policy

**Explicit versus implicit planning.** Spolsky defines language policy as “any efforts, explicit or implicit, to modify or influence practices by any kind of linguistic intervention” (Spolsky 2004). For his part, Schiffman suggests conceptualizing language policy “not only as those formal, explicit, or written decisions that are transmitted from above, but also those implicit, unwritten or unofficial decisions that can influence the results of policy-making in the same way of explicit decisions” (Schiffman 2006, 112). The Frenchman Calvet distinguishes between *practical language policy* – when post-independent States choose an official language for their people and strive to implement that policy until official language becomes used in all aspects of life and functions in all spaces that were restricted and reserved only to the colonial language – and *symbolic language policy* – when an official language has been chosen by the State but never implemented (Calvet 1987).

Spolsky further points out that many countries do not mention explicitly in their Constitutions which official language(s) they recognize. In such cases, one must search for “the
implicit lines of language practices and beliefs in a maze of customary practices, laws, regulations and court decisions” (Spolsky 2004). Languages other than the official one(s) are often found in the educational system as well as in informal settings. That is the case of foreign languages in Morocco, especially French, English and Spanish.

While discussing the different ways by which language shift occurs, Fishman argues that “the absence of authoritative policy, ‘a no-policy policy,’ generally works in favor of the stronger party in many settings throughout the world” (Fishman 2006, 318). In this context, one may notice that though Morocco does not have an overtly proactive language policy toward French, such a “no-policy policy” does strongly foster the spread of French for power functions.

De jure versus de facto planning. Interestingly, among the many categorizations of LPP proposed by researchers, Moroccan sociolinguists point to a new category that responds and reflects the nature of policy-making decisions in Morocco. They speak about politique de jure and politique de facto or what others consider as text de loi and politique de fait. In this regard, Leila Messaoudi asserts that what is usually observed in most linguistic situations is a large gap between the explicit law and the practice. It is true that this gap may vary depending on the sites and domains, and that explicit law and actual practices may even be in contradiction. In addition, when the laws are not always matching practices, it becomes quite difficult to evaluate the status of a linguistic variety (Messaoudi 2004, 27).

When, in February 2012, I interviewed Mr. Maiquinez, a language consultant in the cultural department of the Spanish Embassy in Morocco, he confirmed this controversial policy and did not hide his frustration towards it and the fact that it hinders the progress of Spanish language and culture in the country. He insisted that despite the efforts of cooperation that the Spanish official agency invests in the improvement of culture, Hispano-Moroccan relations are
faced with neglect and fatal improvisations that impede any progress. He then summarized his frustration with the Moroccan attitude through the Spanish proverb, “Entre lo dicho y lo hecho hay un mar” (between what is said and what is done there is a huge gap). He went even further to characterize the Moroccan policy as trivial and nonsense. However, he refused to allow me access to the contracts that were signed in this respect and which never have been implemented due to such negligence, since the publication of such documents may lead to a diplomatic crisis between the two countries. It follows that considering this dichotomy in evaluating the status of Spanish in Morocco is very crucial.

**Corpus, status and acquisition planning.** The evolution of language planning field of study has always been done in parallel with the development of language itself. In the decade of 1950-1960, it was influenced by structuralism, which conceptualized the latter as a stable instrument of communication, and monolingualism and cultural homogeneity as requirements for socio-economic progress, modernization and nationalism (Ricento 2006). In harmony with this conceptualization, language change in language contact situations has been seen as natural, and corpus planning was considered as a top priority and main concern of policy makers.

Perhaps, the pioneering idea of language as a social product is the one embodied in the *Course in General Linguistics* (Saussure 1959). A few years later (in 1964), William Bright launched Sociolinguistics as an academic subject of enquiry. From the beginning, this field was not homogenous and three major subfields of investigation have been developed within it: urban or variationist sociolinguistics, propelled by William Labov (Labov 1972); ethnography, propelled by Hymes and Gumperz (Hymes and Gumperz1972); and sociology of language, of which language policy is considered a great achievement, propelled by Fishman, who considers language planning a subtopic of the sociology of language. He further considers language
planning as the *applied sociology of language* (Fishman 1968).

These developments moved this new field forward from considering language planning an activity aimed at “preparing normative orthography, grammar and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community” (Haugen 1959), to a more social perspective, as proposed by Heinz, Cooper, Jernudd, Das Gupta, Fishman and many others. They all emphasized that planning for corpus almost always has straight implications on the status of languages. Ricento further notes that the first sociolinguist to use the status-planning/corpus-planning typology was Heinz in 1969, while acquisition planning was introduced twenty years later by Cooper (Ricento 2006, 28).

Currently, sociolinguists are able to distinguish between more than thirty different objectives of these three types of planning, based on the approach chosen at the time of their implementation. In Morocco, the observation of status and acquisition planning for Spanish offers great data for the language policy field and theory to consider. Indeed, the study of these two levels cannot be achieved without considering Arabization and Francization as two major language policy decisions that Morocco has adopted since independence, in addition to the interests of Anglophony and Hispanophony in the area, especially beginning 1990.

2.1.2. Spanish and Status Planning in Morocco

Status planning is concerned with attributing a status to a given language. It involves the allocation of languages to different societal domains, such as the official sphere, education, business, media, etc. The explicit proclamation of a language as the official medium of communication naturally enhances its importance to a significant extent, but the introduction of a particular language in the educational system can have far-reaching consequences, and the larger number of domains in which a language is recognized, the more valuable it becomes (Phillipson
Even though this dissertation aims to examine the general status of Spanish in Morocco, such status could be figured out best through the Moroccan public and private educational system. For a more comprehensive analysis, language promotion through both public and private Moroccan educational systems was utilized in this dissertation as a key to status and acquisition planning. For the above reason, I investigated the Moroccan official efforts and the Spanish cultural initiatives that have been taken to serve this goal. Above all, I intend to explore the cooperative efforts of the two States in this regard and the role of the Institutos Cervantes and the Spanish cultural centers in the promotion of Spanish. In addition, this work sheds light on the role of civic organizations (the Fundación Tres Culturas del Mediterráneo, the Averroes Committee and the Junta Andaluza) in helping reach this objective by alleviating the historical weight of Spanish-Moroccan relationships and creating a positive environment that favors a more fruitful linguistic-cultural exchange and serves as a soft power that will facilitate the promotion of Spanish in the Moroccan context.

2.1.3. Spanish and Acquisition Planning in Morocco

Of the many goals of acquisition planning, of special importance are the maintenance and teaching of Spanish as a foreign language in Morocco. Schools are more likely to succeed in promoting a language if they use it as a medium of instruction, not just as a subject (Cooper 1989). However, promoting foreign languages as media of instruction is now a source of major conflict and debate in Morocco. It is generally seen as a threat to the national identity and to the Arabic language. French is perceived as a high-risk threat, but is it the case for Spanish? We will learn, then, how reaching this goal is becoming a true concern for other national and international languages, as French has occupied this space and excluded Arabic and the other
Given the presence of Spanish in different societal domains (the Moroccan educational system, a good number of private schools, cultural centers, Institutos Cervantes and more than a thousand businesses, Radio and TV channels, tourism, etc.), this dissertation tries hard to discern the efforts of the Moroccan authorities to define the space of Spanish within the educational and societal sectors, the efforts of Spain to promote its learning and incorporate the right methodologies and textbooks to teach it to Moroccan citizens, and how those efforts are impacted by other competitors, especially French, which has a unique history and background in the country, and English; a global language that is pervading not only Morocco, but throughout the entire world.

2.2. Topically: From Arabization and Francization to the Recognition of Multilingualism and Linguistic Openness Toward Foreign Languages

The 18th-century European conception of the nation-state, popularized by Herder, Fichte and others, has already become inadequate to characterize today’s multinational states, newborn states and divided states among other possible states (Wright 2004, 11); that is to say that despite the old conceptualization of language as a unifying force and monolingualism as a natural situation, it became increasingly assumed that multilingualism is the very natural situation within the modern-democratic state. This new situation created several conflicts within the same State, and language policy decisions were seen at the national level as a solution to those conflicts.

In other words, in our times, LPP is not concerned only with solving the problems of post-colonial countries, but also those of all multilingual entities in the world. In agreement with this new conceptualization, Wright views LPP as “the discipline that enquires into all aspects of the language arrangements of all human societies” (Wright 2004, 12-13). In addition to the
above-mentioned developments in the conceptualization of modern states, it is important to notice that with the demise of Communism at the beginning of the 1990s, which fostered the American-dominated globalization as a macro socio-political model, and the revolution in information technology, culture increasingly crossed borders and an unprecedented volume of information was allowed to circulate at an unprecedented rate. In LPP, one strand has responded to this new reality with a critique of Anglophone dominance named linguistic imperialism (Phillipson1992).

Adopting the terminology of Bourdieu, in Morocco the penetration of English, in addition to French and Spanish, gave birth to a competitive linguistic market (Bourdieu 1991) within which the Moroccan state tries hard to keep balance, while the states supporting the above-named foreign languages try hard to promote their languages. One can say that globalization made Morocco an intensely linguistic market in which several languages are competing to define their spaces and where language is conceived as an instrument of action and power. This conceptualization of language as a symbolic product that reflects power relations is very fundamental for a deeper understanding of the Moroccan multilingual reality.

In parallel with this, as Spolsky asserts, small groups of ethnic, religious, and linguistic communities seized the opportunity to challenge the nation-state by demanding autonomy or independence, with consequent authority over their own territory. Some other groups did so by leading campaigns for defined language rights, perhaps independently but more often alongside other socio-cultural or political rights (Spolsky 2004). In Morocco, two different groups have reflected these developments: the Saharawi who claim their right of territorial and political autonomy, and the Amazigh, who claim the right of their language to be recognized as an official language in the Moroccan Constitution. Spanish, as we are going to explore, is used in Saharawi
lands as a symbol that distinguishes and distances the Polisario from Morocco.

It is in this multiethnic context that the status of Spanish will be examined, knowing that this language is fairly rooted in the Moroccan educational system, considered by the Northern population as a regional component of their identity and adopted by the Saharawi as a distinguishing element of their identity and a weapon to resist the Francization efforts in the region. It is the purpose of this dissertation to identify all those language policy-makers and managers who are involved in policy-making processes that directly or indirectly shape the status of this language.

2.3. Methodologically: From Linguocentrism to Interdisciplinarity

Since its establishment as a field of inquiry, sociolinguistics helped in moving the LPP theory away from what Spolsky calls “linguocentrism” (Spolsky 2004). Now, even though language is a central factor in explaining linguistic phenomenon, it is not an exclusive one. Hornberger notes that models and most appropriate perspectives should consider ideology, ecology, and agency at the time of assessing the interests and values that the LPP proposed, implemented or evaluated (Hornberger 2006, 34). Wiley further notes that researchers should appeal to the authority of history to explore how the past informs us about contemporary issues (Wiley 2006, 142). That is true since, throughout history, conquests and colonization, for example, have led to situations where language served as a tool to subordinate or exploit people.

In this dissertation, LPP is understood as both a multidisciplinary and an interdisciplinary activity, i.e. conceptual and methodological tools borrowed from various disciplines will be appropriately integrated and applied to analyze the status of Spanish in the Moroccan sociolinguistic context. Historical, geographical, political, and socio-economic factors are all considered, knowing that Spanish-Moroccan relations exist at all these levels. For that purpose, I
intend to respond to two types of questions: descriptive and analytical. Descriptive questions will assist in observing the trajectory that Spanish has taken for many centuries to reach its current destination. It matters then to answer questions like:

How does the history of languages in Morocco inform us about the current status of Spanish? What are the historical, social and geopolitical factors that have made Spanish what it is today? What was the impact of post-independence Moroccan policy, mainly Arabization and Francization, on Spanish? What was the Spanish colonial policy and how did it influence the past, present and future of Spanish in the region? How do recent changes in Moroccan language policy impact Spanish? And how do globalization and the spread of English influence both the Moroccan national policies and the Spanish cultural action?

The analytical questions are motivated by a strong desire to analyze the current agendas of LPP that Morocco and Spain incorporate in the region. In this regard, the dissertation strives to answer questions like: What is Moroccan language policy toward foreign languages, including Spanish? How does this policy shape the status of Spanish, and what ideologies are behind it? What initiatives have been taken, in which domains, by which agents and for which purposes? How can one explain the transition of Moroccan language policies from monolingualism, namely Arabization, to linguistic openness toward foreign languages in recent years? What is the national and international context of Spanish cultural action in Morocco? And what are its objectives, domains and managers? And how does such an action echo through language?

3. Methodology of Research

This descriptive and synthetic work aims to analyze the different historical, socio-political and economic factors that contributed to the current status of Spanish in Morocco, through the analysis of texts that discuss, propose, criticize or implement language policies. For
that purpose, the following documents have been used and analyzed:

- **Moroccan official documents that articulate language policies, especially those referring to foreign languages** (the Constitutions, the Charter of Education [Al-Mithaq Al-Watani Li Tarbiyah wa Takwin], the Urgent Plan 2009-2012 [Al-barnamaj Al-Isti’jali], the White Book [Al-Kitaab Al-Abyad] and the University Law).

- **Official Spanish legislative documents that refer to the promotion of Spanish language in the Moroccan territories** (the Convenio Cultural 1980, the Tratado de Amistad, Buena Vecindad y Cooperacion 1991, and the Convenio de Asociación Estratégica 2013).

- **Academic works and archives that discuss, analyze or criticize linguistic or cultural policies related to Spanish, and even those works that propose new directions and platforms for a more comprehensive policy toward languages in Morocco.**

To have access to all these documents, a visit to Morocco had been arranged in February-March 2012 and various Moroccan and Spanish institutions were visited. For access to Moroccan national policies documents, priority was given to three major Moroccan institutions: the “Conseil Supérieur de l'Enseignement” (CSE), the “Institut des Etudes et Recherches pour l’Arabisation” (IERA) and the “Institut Royal de la Culture Amazigh” (IRCAM), which are all located in Rabat.

The CSE is an institutional body with an advisory mission, chaired by King Mohamed VI, in accordance with the provisions of Article 32 of the Constitution. The Council has been reorganized by Dahir No. 1.05.152 of 10 February 2006, and came as a proof of the centrality of education and training in the societal project of Morocco, and the decisive role of the school in the consolidation of human development, the establishment of a society of knowledge, and the anchoring of citizenship values, tolerance and progress. It also came as a response to the need of following up the process of reform of the educational system by a body that allows permanent monitoring and evaluation of the educational system (Conseil Supérieur de l'Enseignement).

In the 2011 Constitution, the advisory and evaluative character of the council has been confirmed, and a consultative role has been added to the council, as Article 168 indicates:
“This Council constitutes a consultative instance charged to give its opinion on all the public policies and on all the questions of national interest concerning education, teaching and scientific research, as well as the objectives and the functioning of the public services responsible in these domains. It contributes equally to the evaluation of the public policies and programs operating in these domains.” (Constitution 2011)

One of the main concerns and areas of research, evaluation and advising is the status of languages in the educational system. My visit to CSE was an opportunity to get a special unpublished copy of “Al-Madrasah Al-Maghribiyah – Volume 3” which was focused on “Languages in the Moroccan School.” The volume has a variety of investigations developed by intellectuals, professors and researchers, who report, discuss and analyze the condition of the various languages existing in the Moroccan linguistic market. I was also informed by one of the Council’s agents that another publication in this vein is in progress.

In reference to the IERA, which was created in 1960 in accordance with the provisions of Dahir number 2-59-1965, issued in January 14 of 1960, and which forms part of University Mohamed V in Rabat, it has the mission of overseeing, developing and executing all the projects needed to implement Arabization. In addition, the Institute strives to make use of Arabic in the professional, academic, scientific and technical fields (Institut des Etudes et Recherches pour l’Arabisation).

Theoretically, the vision and mission of the IERA is clear enough and in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution. However, in practice the Institute faces tremendous bureaucratic and financial problems that really disturb and restrict its functionality, as its ex-director Mr. Fassi Fihri asserted in several occasions. On my last visit to the IERA in 2012, I was informed that there is a tendency to replace all those intellectuals who strive for continuing and implementing the process of Arabization with others who mark a negative attitude toward it, mainly Francophones who conceive the drive for Arabization as either premature or not well-enough planned (Benmamoun 2001, 104). This explains to a great degree the fight that the Francophony
is leading against the national language.

The last institution that I visited was the IRCAM, which started its work at the end of July 2002. It is an academic institution under the direct authority of King Mohamed VI. Its mission is to provide the King with “advice about the measures that are likely to preserve and promote the Amazigh culture in all its expressions.” In addition to that, its main mission lies in “contributing to the implementation of the policies adopted by the King to allow the introduction of the Tamazight language in the educational system and ensure the spread of its influence in the social, cultural, media, national, regional and local contexts” (Article 2). The IRCAM also strives to develop cooperation with international and foreign institutions and organizations, working in the field of its interest. Its ambition is to progressively become an institution that serves as a reference in the field of the Tamazight language and culture at the national, North African and international levels (Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe).

I also gave priority to visiting the University Mohamed V in Rabat and the University of Abdelmalek Assaadi in Tetuan, where the most ancient Spanish Departments and the most active research libraries are located. I was given access to the Master’s and doctoral dissertations catalog (1961 - 2012) through the Spanish, French and English departments. After conducting a thorough review, I learned that none of the dissertations is tackling the topic at hand. Both, Dr. Mohamed Salhi, head of the Spanish Department, at the University Mohamed V (in Rabat), and Dr. Abderrahmane Al-Fathi, head of the Spanish department, at the University of Abdelmalek Assaadi (in Tetuan), also confirmed to me that this field is very new and no relevant research exists in this regard.

In Tetuan, I was also able to visit the Cultural Center and the Center of Archives of the city and had access to the resources existing in this regard. I also visited the National Library in
Rabat where I was able to consult some Academic works in the field of sociolinguistics and language policy.

Another institution that I visited was the “Instituto de Estudios Hispano-Luzofonos”, which is part of the University Mohamed V, and which focuses on the study and research of various aspects of civilizations and cultures of Spain, Portugal and Latin American countries. Its work consists of the revaluation of the historical and cultural heritage of the Moroccan and Hispano-Luzophone world, as well as in the study of priority themes of common interest, associated with the present and the future. As indicated in its official webpage, the Institute aims to be an instrument of cultural and university diplomacy, and was erected as a Center of national and international studies and research. In reference to language, among many other missions, the Institute strives to promote the translation of works from Arabic to Spanish or Portuguese and vice versa, and publish works that examine the Hispanic heritage in Morocco, including the linguistic heritage (Instituto de Estudios Hispano-Luzofonos).

I also visited the Programs and Curricular Unit of the Moroccan Ministère de l’Éducation Nationale (MEN), in Rabat, where I met and interviewed Mr. Mustapha Mabrouki, the director of the Unit, who directed me to the official webpage of the Ministry of Education, which contains the Charter of Education of 1999, the Urgent Plan and the White Book. These are the main documents where I found official texts that contain policies referring to foreign languages (Ministère de l'Education Nationale).

In the Centre National de Documentation (CND) in Rabat, I had access to several unpublished documents that discuss and analyze the linguistic situation in Morocco and/or propose guidelines for a better planning of languages (Centre National de Documentation). Finally, I visited “Nadi Al-Fikr Al-Islami” in Rabat, a well-grounded institution, which has some
important historical and analytical publications about Arabic and its struggle with French and Francophony (Nadi Al-Fikr Al-Islami).

In reference to the Spanish institutions, I visited the Spanish Cultural Ministry in Rabat, which is part of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and whose mission is the coordination of the teaching of Spanish in the Moroccan educational system and the eleven Spanish cultural centers distributed throughout various parts of the country, but especially in the North (La Consejería de Educación en Marruecos). During this visit, I met Mr. Antonio Feliz Cotado, cultural council, who guided me to check the archived files of his ministry, including those relating to treaties, cultural conventions, plans of cooperation, etc., between the two countries. I also had a chance to meet with Mr. Maiquinez, a language consultant who works at the Spanish Embassy/Cultural Department (Servicios Culturales) in Rabat, and with whom I had an informal interview about the condition of Spanish in the Moroccan schools and the cooperative efforts that the Ministry invests to promote Spanish and forge a considerable position for it in the Moroccan educational system. Finally, from the six Institutos Cervantes distributed all over the country, I only visited the one located in Rabat, where I had access to various electronic and hard copy documents.

I hope that this synthetic and analytical work will be additive to the field of LPP by examining a new scenario where several languages are in contact and various agendas are implemented. This should enrich the data that have been collected in other multi-linguistic contexts and open new horizons for LPP to better define its field and expand its theoretical perspectives. It should be also a qualitative addition to the field of LPP as it will help us identify the factors contributing to or impeding the improvement of Spanish as a foreign language, in the Moroccan sociolinguistic context.
CHAPTER I

The Sociolinguistic Situation in Post-Independent Morocco

Morocco’s present sociolinguistic situation is complex. At present, the main languages in Morocco are Moroccan Arabic (Darija), which is a more simplified version of Arabic, and Standard Arabic. Darija has undergone a great deal of simplification at the phonological and morphosyntactic levels (Hammoud 1982). Even though some intellectuals consider it as totally different from Arabic, in fact it forms a continuum dialectal that enriches the Standard Arabic. Its ability to use great amounts of borrowings from Berber, French, Spanish and English makes it the largest spoken variety or lingua franca of the country.

Standard Arabic is a combination of Classical and Modern Arabic. Tamazight, which is the oldest language of the country, has three distinct varieties (Tarifit, Tashelhit and Tasusit). French, which is a colonial language, is the first foreign language and is of wider use in the school system, the administration and the media. Spanish, which has enjoyed some influence in Northern Morocco, has the status of a foreign language. And finally English, which has also become increasingly popular, especially in higher education, due to globalization. In their daily conversations, it is Darija that Moroccans use. Some educated Moroccans may occasionally use standard Arabic, depending on the degree of formality and complexity of the topic of discourse. Bilingual educated Moroccans also use Franco-Arabic code mixing and switching in their speech (Abbassi 1977).

The Amazigh and Arab-Muslim legacy, French and Spanish colonization, and the new migrations of rural communities towards the city make the region a linguistic field that escapes any kind of categorical and/or final analysis. In fact, Morocco faces a multilingualism that is overloaded with phenomenon like diglossia and triglossia (Youssi 1983). Ennaji speaks of quadriglossia (Ennaji 2011), while others speak of poliglossia (Fasold 1984). Code switching (French-Arabic / Arabic-Spanish / Tamazight-Darija, etc.), major or minor linguistic vitality of the colonial languages, the
influence of Tamazight varieties, and the interruption of English in the Moroccan linguistic market are all taking place in Morocco. All these factors make Morocco an intensely conflicted linguistic area and cause a set of socio-cultural problems that should not be ignored in the moment of planning languages.

The Moroccan Constitution promulgated following independence makes Arabic the national and official language of the country. With the arrival of the Arab Spring at the beginning of the year 2011, and under the pressure of the Amazigh movement, the government granted Tamazight the status of the second official language of the country. Without having an explicit status in the legislative texts, French is, de facto, the first foreign language and French-Arabic bilingualism is very common across the country: government buildings, road signs, commercial advertising, place names and names of streets are all in Arabic and French. The officialization of Tamazight added one more character to the public signs. In general, we can say that Morocco increasingly presents a multilingual face. The presence of Spanish and English in various sectors, especially education, is another sign of such a multilingual face.

In the following, we will explore how this sociolinguistic situation has been produced and evolved, the characters of Moroccan bilingualism and multilingualism and the phenomena that result from such an intensive contact between languages. Special attention will be given to the impact of these phenomena on shaping the status of Spanish.

1. History of Languages in Morocco

The history of languages in Morocco will be examined from a sociolinguistic perspective, because this will help us better understand the inter-influence that existed between these languages and their contribution to the development of the Moroccan society and the making of political decisions. On the one hand, we will try to explore how Arabic and Tamazight coexisted
before European colonization and how such coexistence has been impacted by the interruption of the colonizer’s language. On the other hand, we will examine the relationship between French and Spanish and the implications that these languages have had on the Moroccan linguistic map.

1.1. The Establishment of Islam in Morocco

The current languages and dialects of Morocco reflect the great linguistic and cultural wealth that has been forged over many centuries in this land. Phoenicians, Latins, Greeks, Vandals, Berbers, Arabs, Spaniards, French, English, Jews, Christians and Muslims all have passed, lived or are extant today on its coasts, its plains, its mountains and deserts. Each of these tribes and nations has left an imprint through language among other manifestations (Moscoso 2003).

Before the arrival of Islam in the 7th century, the language situation in Morocco consisted of three languages: Berber, the native language; Latin, the language of the administration; and “a hybrid mixture composed of Greek and Semitic elements that was bequeathed by Carthage” (Hammoud 1982). Arabic was introduced in North Africa as a result of the arrival of Islam to the region. However, the spread of Islam proceeded much faster than the spread of the Arabic language, which was limited to the few major cities. Arabic did not replace Berber but it did replace Latin, which was used as the language of administration (Bentaouet-Kattan 1999). It also became a cultural resource and bridge to a new system of values and beliefs. Consequently, Arabic achieved a special status within the tribal languages of Morocco, not only as a language of communication with those Arabs who came as conquerors, but mainly as the language of Quran that the Rifis, the Chelhis and the Susis used in their prayers at least five times a day. They all separated it from the Arabs and associated it with Islam; that is to say that they learned it not only to communicate with Arabs but also to do so with God. It is this religious function that
legitimated the expansion of Arabic among the different tribes and spontaneously empowered it to become the national language of Morocco, par excellence.

Currently, Arabic enjoys a sacred status mainly due to its cultural and civilizational power, which was reached through an assumed social agreement with other linguistic communities (Al–Awraghi 2005). Abdesslam Cheddadi emphasizes this idea by adding that Tamazight, as an oral language, has always been a great source for Arabic to develop its written functions. According to him, this behavior can possibly be explained by the great respect that always has existed between Tamazight and Arabic, and very possibly due to the civilizational supremacy of Arabic on Tamazight and the great Andalusian influence during periods of the Almoravids, Almohads, and Marinids (Cheddadi 2011, 49). The cultural tripod “Tamazight-Arabic-Islam” is then the common foundation of the Moroccan singularity, upon which openness or access to universal values can be achieved. Also, the knowledge of such components and their development should be perceived as the cornerstone of civilization in this region of the world (Moatassime 2002, 116). In our times, this cultural tripod is regarded as “linguistic constants” not only for Morocco, but also for the entire Maghreb.

1.2. Andalusian, Spanish and French Legacy in Morocco

Morocco was the birthplace of the Arab-Islamic conquest of Spain. Different human groups participated in this process, starting with the Berbers and continuing with the Almoravids and Almohads, who played a decisive role in the establishment and flourishing of the Islamic civilization in the Peninsula (Montequín 1987). In fact, the Arab-Berber legacy has been enriched by the Iberian-Andalusian-Islamic heritage, which greatly contributed to the shaping of the Moroccan personality. The Tunisian Historian Ibn Khaldoun mentioned in The Muqaddimah, also known as the Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun (Ibn Khaldun's Introduction) that the
Andalusians influenced Morocco in many fields, including the linguistic one, which is clearly embodied in proverbs, Muwashahat and songs, which are still widely used in Morocco (Ibn Khaldun 1967).

The Andalusian influence has been even deeper since the fall of Granada, the successive expulsions of “Moors” and Jews from the Peninsula to different parts of the world, but especially towards Morocco, and the parallel emergence of the ambitious vision of the political power of language. It was the Spanish Humanist Antonio Nebrija who recommended first this idea, which could have great implications on the agenda of the Catholic Kings (Lodares 2005). According to Zafrani, Spanish was the language used in the daily transactions between Muslims and Jews, and that is clear in the remaining texts on the Jews of Fez (Zafrani 1970).

The most recent French and Spanish dominations have also contributed to the shaping of the Moroccan identity. However, the independence of Morocco in 1956 brought to an end a phase of unbalanced colonial relations and the beginning of a new one, characterized by the equality of two sovereign nations. The Green March (1975) was a symbolic action that marked the true birth of politically and territorially independent Morocco. At the same time, the other side of the shore declared the end of Franco's dictatorship and the beginning of a democratic phase. These two processes are very significant, since they served as a preparatory stage for the further development of various treaties and agreements between Spain and Morocco and the most concise definition of more balanced bilateral relations (Jimenez 1989, Adila 2007, Benaboud 2009).

The international political isolation imposed on the regime of Franco was very decisive in the conceptualization of a new, more advanced and modern Spanish foreign policy. The impact of such a policy on Morocco was very obvious and echoed most through the socio-economic and
cultural fields. Spain, heavily affected by its colonial past in the region, did not cease attempting to overcome such history in different ways, but especially through cultural diplomacy (de Larramendi et al. 2009).

In reference to the French influence on the Moroccan linguistic map, Moustaoui asserts that another division has been established after the colonial rule, between a minority that is linked to the world of technology and business and which has the possibility of using French language, and the majority of the population that is deprived from the use of French or Standard Arabic. All these factors contributed to a type of multilingualism that is interpenetrated by an overloaded bilingualism (Moustaoui 2010).

2. Moroccan Bilingualism and Multilingualism

2.1. French-Arabic Bilingualism

In Morocco, one can easily distinguish between two types of bilingualism: elitist and popular. The first one is attributed to intellectuals and members of higher class. It is often serving the interests of the dominant group and has a great cultural, socio-political and economic value (e.g. French-speaking intellectuals: Tahar Benjelloun, Driss Chraïbi, etc.). This bilingualism does not reflect the everyday reality of the majority of Moroccans, who are forced to acquire such bilingualism in order to gain social recognition and access to the job market.

Loulidi characterized the Moroccan bilingualism as strictly urban; it is the high and middle classes that often use French within the family. However, in rural areas, where the vast majority of population is monolingual (Arabic or Berber), French is never used because of its futility and because of the high rate of illiteracy (Loulidi 1998, 179).

The problem of bilingualism arises with acuity in education. The Moroccan public education experience was founded on a plan where the bulk of education is taught in French
(math, science, history and geography), while Arabic is used only in language teaching, religious and civic education. Researchers, specialists and educators show a great deal of concern about the implications of this type of bilingualism on the success or failure at school and the proficiency of speakers in both languages. Moatassime, for example, considers this bilingualism as "wild" and twice disastrous for the cultural identity and the legal personality of the student of fair or mediocre intelligence. As a result, minority students with high intelligence would be the only recipients of the positive effects of bilingualism. He adds that bilingualism in the Moroccan school has produced generally bilingual illiterates who do not speak properly either in Arabic or in French. He concludes that, ultimately, given the irreversibility and the legitimacy of Arabization in the Maghreb, the French language must seek to reposition itself in the Maghreb as a language of culture and not as a language of instruction. It is a “beautiful” language that must remain available in the Maghreb along with the other global languages of wider communication (English and Spanish) so that North Africans choose it freely as a second language for cultural enrichment and not for acculturation (Moatassime 1992).

In their very valuable research on linguistic proficiency of Moroccan students, Elbiad and Elgherbi confirm that the interviewed subjects, mostly favoring a balanced bilingualism of French-Arabic, in fact do not dominate either French or Arabic (Elbiad 1985, Elgherbi 1993). Indeed, the linguistic and communicative mastery of both languages is an individual phenomenon, not a social fact (Boukous 2005).

In reference to the status of French and Arabic, this bilingual reality does not escape from a very apparent contradiction: in the Constitution, it is Arabic that has an official status; but in practice it is French that enjoys this status, since it is fully used in administration, economy and the media. The French colonial policy made French language deeply rooted not only in the
educational system but also in the socio-cultural domains of Morocco and generated a wide diglossic dichotomy between Darija and Classical Arabic (Marley 2005). In reference to that, Moatassime asserts that in the Arab world, language planning agencies face not only regional variations in terminology and level of scientific development, but also encounter the residue of colonial influence, notably French and English. Because of these colonial and postcolonial pressures, terminology for the sciences not only differs widely from one country to another, but also in some cases is actually contradictory (Moatassime 2002).

In a petition, signed by the Ulema (religious scholars) and intellectuals of Morocco, the massive presence of French in many aspects of the Moroccan daily life is seen as prejudicing the integrity of national and cultural personality. In terms of the petition, this bilingualism policy strengthens and consolidates the status of French within the Moroccan administration, at the expense of the national language, which is at the same time the language of the Quran. It also distorts the language spoken among the generations, resulting in a mixed language, which is neither French nor Arabic. In addition, it weakens the moral and spiritual values in the eyes of the younger generation and is detrimental to Islamic education and Arabic private education (Souali and Merrouni 1981, 422).

In fact, the Moroccan-Francophone language policies have led to the rooting of French-Arabic bilingualism in Moroccan society. This imposed – not chosen – bilingualism is deeply embodied in the daily life of Moroccans, with a clear supremacy of French over Arabic in both public and private sectors. It's an unnecessary bilingualism that is practiced in very simple daily dealings and not aimed to facilitate access to the different domains of knowledge and modern sciences. Instead, it causes competition and constant conflict not only with Arabic but also with other foreign languages in the country.
2.2. Spanish-Arabic Bilingualism

Taking into account the current situation of Spanish language in Morocco and all the historical circumstances through which it has passed, we can certainly say that there is quite an important number of Spanish speakers, although there are no accurate statistics in this regard. (i.e. Ammadi speaks of “six millions” and Roldán speaks of “three millions”. Therefore, there are bilingual individuals, especially in the Northern Strip, who have Spanish as a second or third language, and who use it in everyday life (Ammadi 2002, Roldán 2005).

The current Spanish-Arabic bilingualism is mainly due to the Spanish ex-colonial presence in the region. However, in today’s Morocco, the predominant role of television for the acquisition and use of Spanish in this context allows Sayahi to describe this situation as a case of media-bilingualism, a phenomenon that goes far beyond the symbolic internationalization of major languages to confirm new ways of bilingual development as a result of the emergence of media societies (Sayahi 2005a, 104). In fact, it is not surprising to find that Spanish-speaking Moroccans consider that television plays a great role in improving their ability to speak this language and recognize that, in a way, Spanish television has been their private tutor.

As opposed to French, Spanish bilingualism in general society and in schools is not seen as imposed or threatening to the Moroccan identity. Spanish culture is seen as an additional and unique regional component of the northern population. However, in the Saharawi lands, this same component is used by Saharawi people as a medium of resistance against Francization and Arabization, a distinguishing capital and, above all, an instrument of cultural diplomacy that is used to gain the financial and political support of Spain. On the other hand, the Moroccan authority conceives the use of Spanish in the Saharawi lands as fostering the separatist’s efforts to break the territorial unity of the country.
One can say that Spanish bilingualism in Morocco is of three types, depending on the spaces and domains of its use. In addition to media-bilingualism, identified by Sayahi in northern Morocco, the educational system favors an absolutely pragmatic bilingualism that conceptualizes the learning of Spanish as a preparatory step for access to the job market (especially in the field of tourism and business) or for emigration to Spain, not anymore a land of better opportunities for Moroccan citizens. In the Saharawi lands, Spanish-Arabic bilingualism is seen as highly politicized bilingualism as it is instrumentalized by the Saharawi regime, both to resist the Moroccan policies aimed to francize the region and to build bridges of communication and diplomacy with Latin America.

2.3. Multilingualism in Morocco

As previously mentioned, several linguistic varieties are cohabiting in Morocco: Arabic – language “de jure” – has a legal status, but suffers from the Francophone realpolitik, which made it stagnant and not responding to the increasing needs of modernity; Darija with different accents, of which the number is still not fixed due to the absence of a true dialectology; Tamazight, a language that actually refers to three main dialects: Tarifit, Tachelhit and Tasusit. However, at the beginning of this third millennium, this language could forge a place within the educational system. The efforts to release a super-linguistic structure, based on the structural similarities of its varieties, finally gave birth to Tifinagh and raised its status to the second official language of the country.

In reference to foreign languages, while French does not actually have the status of a foreign language, even if the political discourse presents it as such, it enjoys a “de facto” official status. Spanish and English have a general presence that corresponds to the international power of their supporting countries.
Morocco has inherited the present situation of multilingualism due to historical factors that are beyond control, including political decisions imposed by the Panarabist ideology (Al-kawmiyah), the establishment of the Francophone model in the country, the ex-colonial past of Spain in the northern and southern regions of the Kingdom, the new renaissance of the Amazigh movement and the policy of openness towards other civilizations of the world that the Moroccan regime has adopted in the years since independence. Abdessalam Cheddadi notes that in the absence of well-defined language planning, the above-mentioned factors contributed to a chaotic multilingualism (Cheddadi 2011, 56-57). Hence comes the need for a language planning that clearly determines the functions of national and foreign languages in the various domains of social life, especially in the field of scientific research and in the educational system. In the schools, multilingualism represents a reality that is very difficult to handle. First and foremost, it causes a feeling of "linguistic insecurity" for both instructors and students, which results in low and unsatisfactory outcomes for all students.

In reference to this last situation, Moatassime emphasizes that the exposure of students to several languages at the same time has transformed the Moroccan school into a laboratory of experiments done on students. He calls for and promotes an integrated multilingualism, which is entirely different from unnecessary juxtaposed multilingualism and which may be defined as a comprehensive educational process that first and foremost promotes proficiency in the national language, not only one or two foreign languages. These foreign languages should be introduced only after the consolidation of basic knowledge through the national language (Moatassime 2002, 60). In this context, some sociolinguists specify that the illiteracy rate in Morocco remains high (45% according to the World Bank) and results in complicating the language issue and leads to a non-recognized pluralism backed-up by the intellectuals who possess the power
(Grandguillaume 1983).

In the middle of this unstructured field, it is Tamazight and French that fight against the official language, Arabic. In recent years, some calls have been raised with the purpose of prioritizing the learning and teaching of Darija in schools over Classic and Modern Arabic. The gap between the former and the latter is expected to get bigger and bigger.

One can say that Moroccan multilingualism is not a sign of cultural prosperity but one of sociolinguistic disease. The marginalization that is exercised, at various levels of society, toward the national language combined with the increasing appreciation of foreign languages, particularly French, are clear signs of such disease. In addition, in the absence of true political willingness to overcome this chaotic situation, the learning of foreign languages will continue to have the effect of replacing the national language and hampering its development and normalization, as opposed to enriching it or allowing access to science and technology.

Also, in the absence of diagnostic studies that can help articulate an explicit and comprehensive language policy, this linguistic crisis will persist and the different problems that emerge from the coexistence and contact of various languages, such as language conflict (especially between Arabic, French and Tamazight), the issue of selecting the language of instruction (Arabic, French and recently English), the real status of Standard Arabic and its relation to the Moroccan accents, the status of Tamazight varieties, the future of foreign languages, and the issue of linguistic militantism will never be solved.

3. The Impact of Bilingualism and Multilingualism on the Moroccan Sociolinguistic Map

For a more comprehensive configuration of the status of Spanish language, we are going to proceed through a multidimensional approach to the Moroccan sociolinguistic reality. Great sociolinguistic phenomena combine to shape the distinct linguistic varieties incorporated in
Morocco’s linguistic market. In the following, we are going to shed light on each of these phenomena.

3.1. Language Conflict

Language conflict arises when two or more languages are socially and politically in an antagonistic relationship. It reflects power relations and the struggle of linguistic communities to expand the space, use and prestige of their respective languages. Tollefson points out that, “when language is perceived as a marker of group identity and a determiner of access to political and economic resources, then the probability of language conflict increases, and ethnolinguistic groups may be mobilized around the issues of language” (Tollefson 2002).

In reference to the Moroccan case, Hammoud says: “If we look into the source of the spirit of nationalism, we can see that it is influenced by language conflict and language dominance. A large segment of the Moroccan population does not see it as being simply a language conflict, but rather a conflict of identity, moral values, and traditions. It is also seen as a conflict of well-defined political and socioeconomic interests and benefits” (Hammoud 1982).

Interestingly, in Morocco language conflict is taking place at four different levels. First, it takes place between Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and French. This conflict is due to the ambivalent status of French. In fact, while the MSA has an official status, it is the French language that is used most frequently and is consequently the higher and dominant variety with respect not only to MSA but also to the rest of the varieties. French is officially perceived as a token for access to science and modernity, while Arabic use is restricted to religious domains. In addition, reinforcing the teaching of French and its presence in the economic sector has generated its massive use to the detriment of the MSA and increased the degree of conflict between these two languages. However, since 2011, a year that is marked by the explosion of the
Arab Spring, a second level of conflict has been activated. Advocates of Moroccanization criticize the impracticality of MSA in the daily lives of Moroccans and advocate for its replacement in the school system with Darija.

A third level of conflict is activated by the Amazigh Movement, which holds the policy of Arabization accountable for lowering the status of Tamazight. At the beginning, this conflict was considered a natural outcome of language contact; however, over time, it took on an ethnic character and a political dimension.

The fourth level of language conflict occurs between foreign languages, mainly French, Spanish and English. Historically, the discourse that dominated from independence until 1999 (King Mohamed VI’s speech) has always focused on French, because it is the first foreign language with greater use in Morocco. In the current official and dominant discourse the concept of foreign languages has been expanded to include Spanish and English. The situation of the latter in recent years has experienced a change that we should relate primarily to globalization. These changes have made English more rooted in the private sector.

In reference to Spanish, there are many factors that place it in conflict with the other foreign languages: its presence in the educational, media and business sectors; its use in all the competitions and tests organized by the State; its increasing ability to give access to any position in the public administration; and its wider dissemination at the international level, mainly through the Institutos Cervantes. According to the data provided by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Embassy of Spain in Rabat, Morocco is the country where the Spanish Government invests the most for the dissemination of Spanish.

Roldán perceives the conflict between foreign languages (French, Spanish and English) as relatively recent. Spanish, in this context and in comparison with French, is a minority
language, and its use is located only in some areas, especially in the North. But the existing data show a true advance in the learning and use of this language, since it is a language of great international projection that can allow access to various social and professional services and opportunities (Roldán 2005).

Bourqia asserts that language conflict in Morocco is grounded on two levels (Bourqia 2011): the first one is about identity and it takes place between Arabic and Tamazight and between Arabic and French. She further noticed that the identity conflict between Amazighophones and Arabophones has been incremented by the emergence of a recent third group, Darijaphones, who call for the Morocconization of the language.

Referring to the international dimension that identity conflict between Arabic, Tamazight and French is currently progressing, Al-Awraghi curiously notes that to counter any type of progress that Arabic can acquire, more than 131 Berber movements have been created by the beginning of the third millennium, with more than 30 of these organizations in Morocco, 55 in France and 5 in Spain. And so for this large number of organizations to be more powerful and influential, the International Congress of Tamazight was created in 1997, in Paris, with the following objectives: the grouping of these organizations in a political, non-governmental body, the internationalization of the Berber issue, and the observation of the development of power relations between Arabic and French in Maghreb societies. These objectives put the Amazigh leaders in a position that requires and oblige them to lead a furious fight against Arabic and the support of French (Al-Awraghi 2005).

The second one is a conflict of interests between the foreign languages incorporated in the Moroccan sociolinguistic market, namely between Francophones, Anglophones and Hispanophones. In fact, in recent years, Moroccan citizens show a great deal of interest in
foreign languages, especially those offering access to better life opportunities. In this regard, Fassi-Fihri asserts that the new tendency of Moroccans to underestimate their identity and embrace other cultures and languages is nothing but an impulse to escape from poverty and oppression and join prosperity. He concludes that the current language conflict is nothing but a consequence of the socio-economic and political crisis that the country is going through (Fassi-Fihri 2007).

Where this conflict has echoed the most is through the educational system. Abdelaziz Halili says that the conflict over selecting the language of instruction is instrumentalized to feed the conflict within public and private educational institutions and between various social classes, creating a communicative and social rupture between citizens (Halili 1999). In this sense, language is not instrumentalized to acquire knowledge but to put an end to social unity and communicative relationships between its speakers, and to establish a socio-economically hierarchic society. In this troubled context, private institutions, motivated by a pure profit-logic, prioritize the teaching of foreign languages at the expense of the national language.

The cost of language conflict on the Moroccan society is so high. The weakening of social ties, the increase of social differences, the deterioration of the socio-economic and cultural condition of citizens, the failure of the educational system and the lack of professional experience are the main results of such a conflict and explain to a great extent why nowadays there are movements that claim the reformulation of the national identity of the country. In reference to that, Ennaji specified that the Moroccan multicultural context hides a class struggle, group competition, a clash of interests of the different sociocultural categories, as well as ideological tensions, which pose problems for citizenship. These tensions and conflicts also reflect the fight for power at various levels (Ennaji 2009, 18).
In the middle of this conflict about language, Moroccan intellectuals take different positions. So, while the French-speaking elite, which has a mercantilist mentality, associates its attitude toward the national language with profit, the Arabic-speaking elite’s attitude seems to respond to pressures from some foreign countries. The fragility of the status of Arabic, then, depends largely on the absence of a political, cultural and scientific elite and the absence of a true social and cultural project. In addition to the above-mentioned controversial attitudes, recent calls for Amazighation and Morocconization of schools may lead to the strengthening of the Moroccan identity based on language criterion. All these factors make the linguistic situation even worse, and sociolinguists anticipate more balkanization of the Moroccan linguistic landscape.

These conflictive situations were recently a strong motivation for the Moroccan government to rethink a new model of language policy aimed at bringing balance to its linguistic market and solve any language conflicts arising from language contact. The status of Spanish in this dissertation is partially conceptualized based on these balancing-policies.

### 3.2. Language Diglossia

#### 3.2.1. Conceptualization

The concept of diglossia has gone through a progressive evolution. It was introduced and defined initially, at the very beginning of the 20th century, by the German linguist Karl Krumbasher (1902), and was generalized through the works of the French linguist William Marçais, who focused on describing the linguistic situation in the Arab world and who defined this concept as “the coexistence of a written language and a vulgar language that is frequently spoken” (Fasla 2006).

In 1959, Ferguson revisited the term and defined it as “the specialized use of two
varieties of the same language, which have a different social status, and are systematically used with a particular functional distribution” (Ferguson 1959). However, in one of his later research projects, he extended this concept to include “the specialized use of two different languages in the same linguistic community” (Ferguson 1970, 373-375), meaning that the genetic interdependence between two or more language systems should not be a requirement in the moment of defining a diglossic case.

3.2.2. Types of diglossia in the Moroccan sociolinguistic context

Morocco is a classic example of a diglossic speech community. Boukous distinguishes between three main types of diglossia: MSA versus Darija, Tamazight versus Darija, and MSA versus French (Boukous 2005).

a) MSA - Darija Diglossia: The two varieties are genetically related and have complementary sociolinguistic functions. In fact, MSA is the high and prestigious variety. It is used in situations of communication marked by formality, especially in the religious field and several administrative, educational and cultural institutions. The Darija represents the common low variety used in informal or semi-formal communicative contexts.

Ennaji further considers a stepping-stone between Darija and MSA, the so-called “Educated Spoken Arabic” (ESA), a variety used by educated people in spoken communication (Ennaji 2005). In another article, he revisits the topic and highlights that if one includes the command of Classical Arabic, ESA should be considered a real defined level of Arabic, and one can speak of triglossia or even quadriglossia among the speakers of Arabic variants (Ennaji 2007, 270). Curiously, Bourqia considers the idea of continuum dialectal in assessing the current diglossic situation between MSA and Darija (Bourqia 2011).

Cheddadi clarifies that the unification of written and oral varieties (MSA and Darija)
needs a very extended time frame and can be achieved only through the complete elimination of illiteracy, the generalization of education and the improvement of its quality, the creation of a scientific and literary culture that responds to the needs of modernity and the improvement of the cultural awareness of citizens (Cheddadi 2011).

b) Darija - Tamazight Diglossia: is a type of diglossia, which corresponds to the most recent definition of Ferguson, where two varieties are in relationship of diglossia concerning their functions, without being structurally diglossic. In sociolinguistic terms, in the past both varieties were not in possession of prestige and both of them did not transmit oral popular literature. However, in recent years, Tamazight was granted a more prestigious status when it was, first, introduced in the educational system, and later on constitutionalized as a second official language of the country, even though its speakers are much fewer than the Darija and its functionality is much reduced.

When the two varieties had the same status, they did not maintain a relationship of domination or conflict; however, with the officialization of Tamazight, Darija has been perceived as favoring Arabization and Amazigh activists have begun to see it as preventing the progress of Tamazight. In fact, Darija is considered the highest variety and Tamazight the lowest because, in terms of sociolinguistic functions, the former is the vehicular and transactional variety at the national level, while the latter is vernacular in urban Amazighophone areas, where its preferred use is within the family.

c) MSA - French Diglossia: it is the most important of all and is even very controversial since not only the two languages are not genetically related but also it is not easy to recognize which of the two varieties is high or low. This Diglossia is exclusively urban and elitist, and what is usually observed is the use of MSA and French according to the situations of communication.
MSA is used in educational, cultural, religious, and administrative institutions that require the use of the official language, while French is used in the fields of modernity, i.e. in scientific and technical education, in the more modernized economic sectors, in research and in between partners belonging to Western urban elites.

At the symbolic level, MSA and French represent, respectively, tradition and modernity. This paradox imposes two language policy choices: If the nature of modernity is based on tradition, MSA would be reinforced; if instead the civil society opts for the opening to the Western world, the position of French, English and Spanish would strengthen. This confusion certainly stems from the previous mixed language policy of the State towards the linguistic situation. Interestingly, the National Charter of Education and Training (the Charter) and the new constitution favor the openness toward foreign languages, since Arabization (as a language policy choice) is no longer included in the text of either document.

Neither English nor Spanish are in a diglossic situation with any of the above-mentioned languages and varieties. However, we can say that the diglossic condition of MSA and French has raised the status of the latter to a level that neither English nor Spanish can reach, and that explains, to a certain extent, the ambivalent status of French and the language policy adopted by the Moroccan government in this regard.

3.3. Linguistic Competition

Using Bourdieu’s terminology, language interactions, uses, functions and the social status of the different linguistic varieties depend on the structure of the language field in which these varieties are submerged. This linguistic field, in turn, is a reflection of the relationships that exist between the different linguistic communities, where each community possesses a linguistic capital within the linguistic market and where products or symbolic goods are exposed in the
form of languages or linguistic varieties that are in a competitive situation (Bourdieu 1977).

In Morocco, it is almost impossible to find spaces where only one language is in use. Typically, two, three or more languages are in contact, and struggle for the conquest and definition of spaces in the linguistic market is highly intensive. In fact, the permanent contact between several languages and dialects makes competition and the assignment of a status to each one of them inevitable.

Linguistic competition is taking place between Arabic and Tamazight; that is to say, that while Arabic is presented in the constitution as the only official and national language, in recent years the Amazigh Movement has started its struggle to unify the Tamazight varieties and elevate them to a status equal to Arabic. In fact, their effort resulted first in its introduction, in 2005-2006, in the educational system and then its constitutionalization, in 2011, as the second official language of the country.

Contrary to what is commonly known, competition between Arabic and Tamazight is not one of identity, as Moroccans have always been identified as Amazigh-Arabs; rather, it is about relations of power. So, while the new Amazigh see Arabization as directly responsible for lowering the status of Tamazight and subordinating it to Arabic, the defenders of Arabization perceive the Amazigh movement as aiming to linguistically balkanize the country.

Another type of competition is taking place between Arabic and French. So, while Arabophone advocates strive to restore the functionality of Arabic to the different aspects of life, Francophones strive to keep such functionality restricted to some traditional levels and reserve practicality and modernity exclusively for French. The Francophones, through the circles of power that are under their control, also try to francize the Moroccan society and disconnect it from its Arabic identity. In other words, while Arabization tries to connect MSA with the
modern world, Francization through a linguistic secularization process, tries hard to counter that trend, by presenting Arabic as a classic, unpractical and dysfunctional language.

A third level of competition, namely aimed to safeguard economic interests in the region, is taking place between foreign languages, especially French, Spanish and English. French, deeply rooted in the Moroccan society, was able to dislocate Spanish from the North and gain an ambiguous status that neither Spanish nor English could reach. However, the presence of these two international languages in the Moroccan linguistic market is increasingly attracting the Moroccan population and challenging the Francophone interests.

According to Boukous, languages in the Moroccan language market are prioritized in a way that allows speakers to aspire to control socially valuable language products. It follows a strong competition between languages, namely the Tamazight, Arabic and foreign languages, including French, Spanish and increasingly English. To him, sometimes, the linguistic market becomes a theatre of symbolic violence that is exercised in the diglossic and polyglossic relations between languages in competition (Boukous 2005). In reference to the outcomes of that competition, Sadiqui confirms that French was able to gain the status of second language at the expense of English and Spanish, which have been relegated to the status of foreign languages (Sadiqui 2003).

One of the objectives of this dissertation is to explore how Arabization, Francization and, most recently, Anglophonization of Morocco affect the symbolic value and status of Spanish in the Moroccan linguistic market.

3.4. Ethnolinguistic Vitality of the Minority and the Assimilative Acceptability of the Majority

Among the many factors that contributed to the maintenance of Spanish in the Moroccan sociolinguistic context, geographical proximity of the area to mainland Spain, its adjacency to
Ceuta and Melilla, and the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate during the first half of the 20th century played a significant role. Today, mass media and close socioeconomic links between Spain and Morocco continue to contribute to the maintenance of Spanish as a valid communicative code in the region. Not only the remaining descendants of the Spanish immigrants speak it, but also a considerable sector of the Northern Moroccan population.

Making use of the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality as developed by ethnolinguists, Sayahi interestingly highlights the importance of ethnolinguistic vitality among the Spanish minority in maintaining Spanish in Morocco. He specifies that even though in most cases minority groups tend to shift to majority languages, a different scenario can also happen wherein the minority group not only preserves intergenerational native competence in its language, both as an identity index and a medium of daily communication, but also avoids partial or total assimilation into the majority by not developing native competence in the host country’s language (Sayahi 2005a, 95). That is exactly the case of Spanish in Morocco, which can be explained by the institutional support that Spanish receives from Spaniard official institutions.

The Algerian philosopher Malek Bennabi (1905 – 1973), who has outstanding works about the rise and fall of human civilizations, with a special focus on Muslim societies, further notes that the willingness of the majority to abandon its roots and join the more powerful culture can be defined as the inner aptitude and acceptability of some societies to be colonized (Bennabi 1948). In this context, Sayahi confirms that, in fact, the presence of a vital Spanish minority, along with the cultural and economic value associated with its country of origin, may stimulate the majority group’s interest in them and help the minority members conserve both their group identity and their heritage language without facing the usual social and institutional pressure (Sayahi 2004b, 58).
3.5. Linguistic Borrowing

As in all situations of language contact, in Morocco linguistic borrowing is generalized. This phenomenon takes place between Darija and Tamazight, French and Spanish. Juan Goytisolo beautifully describes this process in the following words (Goytisolo 2007):

“Como las lenguas neolatinas de la Baja Edad Media -castellano, catalán, portugués, italiano, francés, etcétera- la daría ha ido separando de su matriz, el árabe clásico, sin renunciar por ello a sus raíces, y añadiéndole elementos de otros idiomas -tamazigh, andalusí, francés, español- en un continuo ejercicio de mestizaje y mutación que, para alguien apasionado como yo con el viaje de las palabras, es motivo diario de estímulo y admiración. Con una aptitud de asimilación que debería causar envidia, juega con los diferentes registros del habla, crea giros y palabras, inventa refranes, chistes y cuentos accesibles a la casi totalidad de la población”.

Like the Neolatin languages of the Late Middle Age – Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, Italian, French, etc. – the Darija has increasingly deviated from its origin, Classical Arabic, without abandoning its roots, and has integrated elements from other languages - Tamazigh, Andalusian, French, Spanish - through a continuous exercise of hybridity and mutation, which has become a daily source of pride and admiration for all those who show passion to the traveling of words, including me. With an aptitude of assimilation, which should cause envy, the Darija can play with the different speech registers, change words and invent sayings, jokes and stories that are accessible by the majority of the population. [Translation is mine]

In reference to Spanish, Fasla specifies that the language has left a good number of Hispanisms, not only in Darija but also in Tarifit; a variety of Tamazight spoken in the Spanish ex-colonies (Fasla 2006). Levy Simon comments on the linguistic borrowing process between Spanish and Darija through the following words:

“Los pueblos marroquí y español se han prestado palabras, del mismo modo que las amas de casa se pueden prestar utensilios o un poco de azúcar” (Levy 1992)

Moroccan and Spanish peoples have exchanged words, in the same way housewives exchange utensils or some sugar [Translation is mine]

This phenomenon is still active in the Northern strip of the country, where Spanish educational institutions are so visible and tourism, media and business contacts are very intensive. Extensive academic work exists in this regard and perhaps more has to be done to explore the increasing outcomes of this process. However, because the purpose of this study is
not to address this phenomenon, it was limited to pointing to its contribution to the maintenance of Spanish as a valid code of communication in the area.

3.6. Code Switching

Moroccan sociolinguistic context is also characterized by code switching, especially from French to Arabic and vice versa. According to Ennaji, bilingual educated people regularly switch from Darija to French. This process takes place mainly in informal situations, during daily verbal interactions between educated or highly educated people. However, in formal contexts, like administrations, bilingual Moroccans use only one of these codes, as formal contexts or specialized topics require the exclusive use of one language (Ennaji 1991, 15).

Attitudes toward code switching are quite different. So, while French-educated intellectuals favor it and conceive it as a symbol of high social status (Elbiad 1991, 35), the Arab-educated intellectuals are not all favorable to code switching and consider it as a corrupted use of language, a sign of identity loss, one of the residues of cultural colonization and a sign of lack of pride in Arabic language and culture. Moatassime, for example, qualifies it as a poor form of expression (Moatassime 1974), and Al-Awraghi believes that it is a nonsensical and unnecessary switching that reflects the educational poverty and the cultural perturbation of the Moroccan citizen (Al-Awraghi 2005).

In fact, code switching is quite generalized in informal contexts for pragmatic reasons. It is also very common, especially in science classes, and many teachers mix Darija and French to explain scientific and technical phenomena. The Moroccan audio-visual media, especially Medi I Radio and 2M TV Channel, also foster the use of French-Arabic code switching. In the Northern strip of the country, code switching from Moroccan to Spanish and vice versa is not as rooted as the French version. It is linguistic borrowing that takes place the most. However, a field study
might be required to investigate this sociolinguistic phenomenon.

3.7. Linguistic Militantism

In the absence of a language planning that clearly defines the domains and functions of all the languages incorporated in the Moroccan linguistic repertoire, and giving the huge gap between the “de jure” and “de facto” policy that the Moroccan government uses to deal with language issues, an overloaded militantism that instrumentalizes language as a weapon of political struggle becomes a very common practice among Moroccan linguist activists.

In fact, while the constitution states clearly that Arabic is the official language of the country, in practice it does not receive the necessary support. However, Tamazight – which was recently institutionalized as a second official language— and French language, which does not have any official status, both benefit from great official support. The new tendency of the State to open the private educational sector to foreign languages, mainly English and Spanish, is another factor that contributes to the escalation of language conflict and the deepening of linguistic militantism within the Moroccan society. This, in turn, implies that in the absence of a “de jure” and “de facto” national language, the tendency of language speakers to be identified through their languages becomes a prioritized choice against the public interest or the requirements of socio-economic development. In such cases, language becomes a political tool to fight the other languages.

Linguistic militantism is the main characteristic of Amazigophones and Francophones who enter into an identity conflict with Arabic, transforming the linguistic field into a balkanized space, where languages are not instrumentalized to enrich the national language, but to split the Moroccan society. On the one hand, in their recent fight to gain official recognition for Tamazight, Amazigh activists advocate for the liberation of their language from the pressure of
Arabization, which is perceived as a colonial process aimed at occupying the land of Tamzgha and permanently eliminating Tamazight. On the other hand, the media and financial support that Tamazight and Darija advocates receive from France (the Headquarter of the International Congress of Tamazight is located in Paris) leave no doubt that Francophones instrumentalize the controversial attitudes of linguistic militantists (Amazighophones and Darijaphones) to consolidate the position of French and secure its future in the region. Finally, as Northern Moroccans increasingly consider Spanish as part of their regional identity, a similar type of militantism is currently developing in North Morocco. This is very true since they consider the rest of Moroccan population as less civilized, mainly due to their lack of access to the Spanish culture, and tend to call them “Arubiyah” (Bedouins), “People of Interior,” or “People of the South.”

3.8. Language Selection

This phenomenon is embodied in the educational system, where the selection of the language of instruction is increasingly becoming a major issue that has a negative impact at both the individual and the societal levels. Moroccan students start learning French during the second year of public elementary education; English and Spanish are introduced in Middle and High School, while in the private sectors they are taught as early as preschool and kindergarten. The gap between Darija and MSA is getting wider every day, in every aspect of life, including education; and the French-Arabic diglossia is an accompanying process of education. One wonders as to the outcome of such a chaotic and improvisational situation. Ennaji warned of the linguistic insecurity or uncertainty that already exists among both teachers and students (Ennaji 1991, 13). Moattasime characterizes this hesitation in selecting Arabic as a national language of teaching as nourishing a juxtaposed and wild multilingualism, in the sense that languages other
than Arabic do not serve to enrich this national language but to jeopardize its status and challenge its communicative and functional capacity (Moatassime 2002). The best language for each social function is becoming an urgent issue that language planners have to solve; otherwise, the linguistic field will be like a wild forest where the national language is threatened by all the other languages forming the Moroccan linguistic repertoire. This non-recognized multilingualism is not beneficial either to the future of the country or to the future of languages.

How does Spanish manage to survive in this environment? What would be its future in this melting pot of controversial agendas and interests? How can all these sociolinguistic interactions and phenomena contribute to a clear definition of its functionality and spaces? These and other questions will be answered in the next chapters.
CHAPTER III

The Status of Spanish in the Moroccan Sociolinguistic Context

Despite the geographical proximity and common history, the high visibility of Spanish presence in Northern Morocco and the broad consensus among researchers that Spanish has been – and still is today – part of the North African sociolinguistic landscape, studies carried out on Spanish in this part of the world are very few compared to those developed in other places. However, this situation has begun changing by the beginning of this third millennium, and great interest in the Spanish of Morocco has already begun to show up among researchers. Firstly, in the form of general studies on the history of Spanish in the region and, later on, in the form of more specialized studies.

1. Overview on the Studies Completed about Spanish in Morocco

1.1. General Studies

Two types of studies fall under this category: the first type is to be considered classic and, in most cases, does not match the current situation of Spanish, including the studies carried out by Amzid 1997, Ghailani 1997 and El-Harrak 1998, which all focus on investigating lexical and semantic borrowings caused by the long contact between Arabic and Spanish. The second type is relatively recent and concisely describes the history of Spanish in North Africa in general and in Morocco in particular. Fernández-Suzor 1992, Tarkki 1995, Ammadi 2001, Markiegi 2004, Gil Grimau 2004, Martinez 2005, El-Fathi and Rivilla 2006, and Benyaya 2007 are all outstanding works aimed at investigating the historical roots of Spanish in Morocco and the way in which learning this language, not only in the Northern Strip, but across the country, was initiated during the colonization and post-independence. It is through these studies that all the ups and downs of Spanish in this country, the domains it could penetrate, the processes that accompanied its career and the actors who participated in these processes, have been configured in this dissertation.
1.2. Spanish in the Moroccan Educational System

El-Fathi highlights the importance that this language is gaining in the Moroccan educational system and the economic value that Moroccan citizens see in learning it (El-Fathi 2007). Ammadi pays special attention to the role of educational institutions (Spanish cultural centers, Moroccan educational system and universities) and the efforts of the Moroccan intellectuals in promoting Spanish in today’s Morocco (Ammadi 2001). Other studies focus on the methodology of teaching Spanish in the Moroccan educational institutions. Barquin Ruiz evaluated the Spanish textbooks used in Moroccan schools (Barquin Ruiz 2006). The doctoral dissertation of Benyaya carefully and nicely describes and analyzes the difficulties facing Moroccan High School students through their experience of learning Spanish (Benyaya 2007), and the most recent work of Ammadi highlights the importance of incorporating current events content in the curriculum, with the purpose of motivating students to learn the language (Ammadi 2008). Such studies help us in configuring the corresponding acquisition planning that both Spanish and Moroccan agencies have developed to respond to the reality of Spanish classrooms in Morocco.

1.3. Sociolinguistic Studies

Sociolinguistic studies are few and very recent compared to the previously mentioned general studies. Within this category fall those of Sayahi who is the most prominent figure in the field, since he has carried out two studies about linguistic vitality and the processes of acculturation among speakers of Spanish in the North of Morocco (Sayahi 2005a and b). One is about the retention and elimination of final /s/ among speakers of the North (Sayahi 2005), and the other one, in collaboration with Scipione, deals with consonantal variation among Northern speakers (Scipione & Sayahi 2005). He is currently working on a new project aimed at studying
the phonological adaptation of Spanish borrowings in Northern Arabic. His focus is on Northern Spanish not on Spanish in the educational system or in the other parts of the country.

Roldán, another eminent researcher, carried out a two-part study on the sociolinguistic development of Spanish across the country, with special attention to the various factors that contributed to the current situation of the various languages of Morocco, but mainly Spanish (Roldán 2005, 2006).


1.4. Studies on Spanish in Western Sahara

The works of Tarkki describe the history and condition of the teaching and use of Spanish in that area and can be seen as pioneers (Tarkki 1995, 1998). Leyre Gil Perdomingo and Jaime Otero Roth published an interesting work on the teaching and use of Spanish language in Western Sahara (Perdomingo and Roth 2008). Of all the works published in this regard, the book of Bahia Mahmud Awah and Conchi Moya about the future of Spanish in Western Sahara, *El porvenir del español en el Sahara Occidental*, is outstanding and more comprehensive (Awah and Moya 2009). The authors approach the different factors that shape the status of Spanish in the area and how both Moroccan and Spanish agencies politicize the language affair in the region. There is also a doctoral project of Morganthahler Garcia, entitled *The Legacy of Colonial
Language Politics in the Current Linguistic Situation of the Western Sahara, in which the author declares her intention to investigate the differences between language policies of colonial France and Spain in Western Sahara.

After completing an extensive review of the previous literature, it became evident that a comprehensive study that synthesizes the different works developed about Spanish and that investigates the role LPP could have in the configuration of its current status is highly needed. It is the aim of this dissertation to respond to this need and fill this gap.

2. Language Status: Conceptualization

Status is widely conceptualized within LPP as “the perceived relative value of a named language, depending on its social utility, which encompasses its so-called market value as a mode of communication, and on what Harold Schiffman calls a society’s linguistic culture” (Ricento 2006, 5). Therefore, the value(s) conferred on a language do not depend exclusively on the State’s officialization of a language through its executive, legislative, or judicial branches. Mythology and ideology among many other factors might be central elements in conferring a specific status to a language. In this regard, Stephen May asserts that languages and the status attached to them are the results of wider historical, social and political forces (May 2006, 259). In addition to that, Nancy Hornberger notes that planning for one language has repercussions on other languages and ethnolinguistic groups. It may favor a language over the others, even if these languages are all present in the same national territory (Hornberger 2006, 33).

With reference to Morocco, Ahmed Boukous asserts that it is much difficult to assign a specific status to the varieties present in the Moroccan market, because there is no clear law, legislative text or other principles that specify the foundations of a language policy (Boukous 2005). In fact, most of the varieties have a “de facto” status, except the standard Arabic and most
recently Tamazight, which enjoy an official status. The Moroccan legislation does not confer any status to foreign languages including French, which is “de facto” another official language of the country. English and Spanish are generally conceived as foreign languages.

In Morocco, and perhaps in other ex-colonial countries, neither the official status of a language nor the large number of its speakers necessarily guarantee a higher status for that language or always reflect its social and symbolic status within the society. That is true since Arabic is the official language of the country and its speakers are the majority; but still this condition does not guarantee it a higher status. On the other hand, French enjoys a high status even though it is both unofficial and elitist. Therefore, at least in Morocco, the social hierarchy between languages is not determined by legislative or statistic factors but by socio-cultural, economic and political ones. In fact, the social status of a linguistic community, the existence or not of a writing system, the ability of a language to produce knowledge and to facilitate access to the professional and labor market, the functionality of language and its economic status, the position of language in power domains, and the existence or not of institutional support, are all factors that should be considered in the moment of attributing status to language.

In addition to the above-mentioned factors, the role of globalization, the spread of satellite dishes (in Morocco, on every house, including slums, there is a dish), internet and all the new means of communication, is very decisive in favoring foreign languages, especially English, over local languages, which are progressively perceived as being of less value, primitive and not expressing new realities. For all these reasons, this dissertation aims to shed light on how all the above-mentioned factors are directly involved in the determination of the status of Spanish. But before that, it is very important to explore the historical development of Spanish in Morocco.

3. The Historical Development of Spanish in Morocco
Spanish was introduced relatively early in the Moroccan land. Antonio Quilis, in his book, *La lengua española en el mundo*, curiously highlights that Spanish has been spoken in Morocco since 1492, when colonies of Jews and Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula were established (Quilis 2002). Boukous confirms this claim when he asserts that Spanish was spoken by the “Moors” and Jews of Spanish origin who took refuge mainly in Tetuan, Fez, Rabat and Salé between the 15th century and the beginning of the 17th century (Boukous 2005). For instance, Serels asserts that thousands of Sephardic Jews chose to settle in Morocco after their expulsion from Spain; many of them settled down in the North, particularly in Tetuan and Tangier and maintained the knowledge and use of Judo-Spanish until its rehispanization during the Protectorate some four hundred years later (Serels 1996). Razouk also emphasizes that, in the 17th century, Spain undertook the expulsion of some 40,000 - 60,000 Moriscos who settled in Morocco, particularly in Tetuan, and who were mostly Spanish-speakers and retained the social use of their language of origin for more than one century (Razouk 1998).

The consecutive migrations of Sephardic Jews and Moors expelled from Spain were followed by several immigration waves of Spaniards in the 19th century, due to the economic and political crisis that Spain was going through, which guaranteed the use of Spanish in the area and its maintenance so far. By this time, more than four thousand Spaniards were already living in Morocco, mostly distributed through the North, but also in Southern and Central cities of the Atlantic Coast. They were dedicated to fishing, commerce and religious missions (Moscoso 2003).

The presence of the Spaniards was reinforced by the Spanish colonization of the Presidios, which began at the end of the 19th century (1860-61 Treaties, Convention of Madrid in 1880). With the signing of the Treaty of Algeciras in 1906, the Spanish presence grew even
more, and in 1911 the military occupation of the Northern part was stretched along the Mediterranean Coast to the North Shore of Sebou and Melwiya, in addition to the occupation of the South (Sidi Ifni and Western Sahara) already started in 1885 (Boukous 2005).

Moscoso thoroughly investigates the history of Hispanisms in Morocco since 1492. He concludes that through a period of almost five centuries (1492 – 1912), many Hispanisms have been integrated into Moroccan Arabic (Moscoso 2003). According to Levy Simon, in some cases, those Hispanisms had to make a round trip from Arabic to Spanish and from Spanish to Moroccan Arabic (e.g. the Arabic Word \textit{aljilil}, which in the Peninsula was transformed into \textit{alfiler} and which has returned to Morocco as \textit{filil}) (Levy 1992).

New waves of colonists and immigrants settled in Morocco after the Spanish Civil War. This led to the emergence of several schools that had Spanish as the only language of teaching, and where several generations of illustrious Moroccans have been trained and excelled in many fields of knowledge (Markiegi 2004). Today, the continued social mixing among the population of the two countries plays a great role in the maintenance of Spanish in the region (Gil Grimau 2003, 40). In the following, the historical development of Spanish in Morocco, from the time of the Protectorate until today, will be carefully examined.

3.1. Spanish During the Protectorate: A Natural Diffusion or a Planned One

The introduction of modern Spanish and its direct impact on the Moroccan linguistic map came to be obvious only after the Spanish colonization of the first areas of Morocco. Beginning November 1912, the French-Spanish Treaty controlled the zone that was under Spanish Protectorate, and Spanish language was used in all official administrations and institutions. It was also established as a second language, after Arabic, spoken by the Moroccans who had to establish commercial and social ties with the Spaniards (Daniel and Ball 2009). It is also during
this period that the Judo-Spanish or Hakitia, which was introduced in the country earlier, went through a rehispanization process that ended up eliminating all its distinguishing characters (Sayahi 2005b, 197). According to Valderrama Martinez, schools played a very important role in this process (Valderrama Martínez 1956).

However, there is a disagreement among scholars and researchers about the process of dissemination of Spanish in Morocco. Benyaya, for example, insists on its spontaneity and the lack of any default policy pursued with the systematic effort to teach the language of the conquerors to the Moroccan population. She further specifies that the progressive contact between the Moroccan population and the Spanish colony imposed the necessity of learning the language of the colonizer (Benyaya 2007, 169). In this regard, Manuela Marín, in her article “Julio Tienda (1898-1980) y la enseñanza del español en Marruecos durante el protectorado,” confirms that this phenomenon is true and is nothing peculiar in Morocco. She supports her argument with the fact that the Spanish expansion in America also was not accompanied by a systematic effort to teach the language of the conqueror, despite the known connection between language and the Empire that Nebrija had raised since 1492 (Anuario del Instituto Cervantes of 2003).

According to this group, the imposition of Spanish was mainly motivated by the need to understand and be understood, and it could generate in the relations between Spain and its southern neighbor, from the very beginning, the emergence of language intermediates or interprets - truchimanes – who played a critical role in the political and military action of the Spanish Empire in Morocco. The need for confident linguistic intermediaries favored the creation of training systems such as the publication of Arabic language teaching methods and interpreters were the main actors of the Spanish cultural action during the Protectorate. José
Lerchundi (1836-1896) is a good example of a diplomatic agent who contributed to this process by publishing the first method of teaching spoken Moroccan Arabic to Spaniards.

The creation of the “Junta de Ampliación de Estudios”, in 1907, was another act aimed at forming “Practical Arabists,” who could take an active part in the Spanish policy of penetration in Morocco. Also, it was not a coincidence that in 1912, the date of the establishment of the Protectorate, citizens witnessed the emergence of the pioneering Spanish grammar in Arabic written by Clemente Cerdeira (Manuela Marín 2003).

Contrary to the previous assertions, Moustaoui claims that for Spanish to attain the status that it is currently enjoying, both in the North and in Sahara, it was necessary that from the very beginning of the Spanish settlement, Spanish authorities in Morocco applied a language policy that converted Spanish into an official language in the colonized areas (Moustaoui 2006b). Obviously, this process required previous planning. The establishment of the first Spanish school for Moroccans, known as the “Escuela Hispano-árabe” (Spanish-Arabic School) in Nador in 1912, the “Alta Comisaría” (High Commissariat) and the “Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas” (Bureau for Native Affairs), in Tetuan, were all events meant to make Castilian the language of use in administration. In parallel to that, two other institutes were established in Madrid with the purpose of planning cultural and linguistic intervention in North Africa, including Morocco: the “Instituto de Estudios Africanos” (Institute of African Studies) and the “Instituto de Estudios Políticos” (Institute of Political Studies). This effort was greatly supported by libraries and cultural centers, which were established in Northern Morocco: Tangier, Larache, Asilah, Alcázarquivir, Alhucemas and Chauen.

No matter what the arguments of this or that group, one could say that, like French in its central colonies, Spanish was able to become the official language of the Protectorate – maybe
with reduced influence compared to French – producing the corresponding Spanish-Arabic bilingualism in the area. The Spanish colonizer showed a great deal of interest in issues relating to communication and education, proof of this is the creation, in 1913, of the Junta de Enseñanza, which was aimed at organizing the Moroccan educational system. With reference to that, Roldán asserts that the Spanish authority in the North, in collaboration with the Makhzen, was able to establish three different educational systems (Roldán 2005):

Spanish education focused on the creation of centers where primary and high school classes could be offered in Spanish to the colonial Spanish population and to Moroccans who could afford joining it. This educational system extended throughout the northern strip and was intended to keep the children of the Spaniards living in Morocco connected with their mother country (Daniel and Ball 2009).

Muslim education was focused on the years from primary to high school, with curricula primarily taught in Arabic, except during the hours dedicated to Spanish language, geography and history. In these schools, the study of religion and Islamic culture was also included. According to Manuela Marin, Spanish language was taught to Moroccans in a very careful way, as the works of Valderrama confirm (Manuela-Marín 2003).

Israeli education took place in different schools where children learned Moses’s religion, and which were also attended by Spanish teachers who took care of the teaching of Spanish in primary schools.

3.2. Spanish in Post-Independent Morocco

With independence in 1956, the recovery of Ifni in 1958 and the Saharan zones in 1975, many Northern Spanish residents returned to Spain, while many others, living in the South, joined the French model and even emigrated to France or elsewhere. As a result, Spanish lost its
status as a dominant language and maintained only a low position in the areas previously dominated by Spain. According to Roldán, in this time of decolonization, Spain lost, very possibly, a unique opportunity to negotiate certain recognitions for its language in the new State (Roldán 2005).

In addition, the hasty and often contradictory decisions that the Moroccan authority took in the field of language policy after independence have created several problems not only for the general use of Arabic as an official language, but also for French and Spanish. Al-Khoutabi points out that in the 1960s Spanish began to be introduced in the educational system of independent Morocco as a foreign language, along with English, German, Russian, Italian and Portuguese. To him, such a decision was triggered by the international political situation, which did not favor good relations with Egypt and France. Therefore, the Moroccan Government chose to open the door to other languages (El-Khoutabi 2005).

Seizing this opportunity and taking advantage of the Spanish loss of interest in the continuity and prosperity of its cultural heritage in Morocco, French speakers gradually occupied the Northern spaces that were previously conversing in Spanish (Gil Grimau 2003, 44). It is in this time that French was introduced as the language of social promotion par excellence. Spanish language became restricted to domestic and family uses, the future of Spanish schools became uncertain and many Spanish families, accommodated in the North, decided to enroll their children in French schools (Krikez 2005).

With Arabization and Moroccanization of faculty and staff in 1970 and the significant decrease of the Spanish population, the classrooms of these schools and institutes were progressively occupied by Moroccan students and students from other nationalities. The work of cultural centers was meritorious and effective, because it filled the gap created by the foreign
cultural policy of the Spanish State. In addition to the teaching of Spanish language and culture, these centers contributed greatly to the development of the teaching methodology in this country. They also were involved in the cooperation with the university departments of Spanish language and the improvement and creation of the daily material needed for classrooms. According to Roldán, these centers have continued operating until today, but already with a new configuration, they are integrated within the external educational action of Spain (Roldán 2005).

3.3. Spanish in Today’s Morocco

From independence through 1980, Spanish did not really enjoy much popularity and its teaching in the Moroccan educational institutions had to go through the French methodology and instructors, who always presented it as an underdeveloped and incapable language. However, on the eve of his visit to Spain in 1989, King Hassan II recognized that it was a big mistake not to promote the teaching of Spanish language in Morocco and declared a sort of "reconciliation" with it (Hassan II, 1989).

Two years after such a claim, a Spanish inter-ministerial Commission was created. It involved the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Education and Culture and it was designed to rethink the strategy of Spanish cultural action in Morocco. In the same year, the greater body responsible for the diffusion of the Spanish language and culture, the Instituto Cervantes, was created. This body built upon the experience of its “physical predecessors,” which were, of course, the cultural centers, but this time with greater maturity in the method and greater professionalization in the methodology of teaching Spanish. In addition, the Cervantes, in collaboration with the Ministry of Education of the Spanish Embassy in Rabat, took responsibility for cooperating with the bodies responsible for education in the Moroccan educational system (Benyaya 2007, 173-174).

In our days, the presence of Spanish language is obvious at several social and educational
levels. In Tangier and Tetuan, and throughout almost all of northern Morocco, Spanish is particularly visible thanks to the heavy presence of Spanish institutions and mass media. However, in the rest of the country, it is of little functionality and use (Loulidi 1998). In the educational system it is taught optionally as a foreign language. Students from Tangier and Tetuan learn French to continue their scientific college studies at the university, where French is the language of teaching of scientific subjects.

In 2012, the Instituto Cervantes published its annual report, entitled “El español, una lengua viva.” The report distinguishes between two groups of Spanish speakers in Morocco: the first group, which is around 6,586 speakers, dominates the use of Spanish and is composed of Spaniards or Moroccan-Spaniards who were born in Morocco. In addition, during the general census of the population and habitat of 2004, Moroccan authorities reported 51,435 foreigners among the legal population of the Kingdom. 45.9% of them were from France and Spain. The Profil démographique et socio-économique du Maroc, of 2009, indicates that the Spanish population is, at present, the second in number and is residing in the Northern provinces: Tangier-Asilah 25.2%; Tetuan 14.3%; Nador 3.4%; Larache 3%; Casablanca 23.7%; Rabat 9.9%; Agadir 4.3% (Profil démographique et socio-économique du Maroc).

The second group is around 3,408,939 speakers, within which dominance of Spanish is limited. The report also refers to another 22,000 Spanish speakers in Western Sahara. In reference to the number of students of Spanish as a foreign language, the report advances the number of 84,182 students in all Morocco, including 25,800 in the Western Sahara.

In this same context and in reference to the users of Spanish in Morocco, it seems that the above distinction greatly matches the findings of Sayahi who also distinguishes between two types of Spanish.
3.3.1. Spanish of Moroccan Spaniards

The few thousands of Spaniards born and living in Morocco, especially in the northern strip, are mostly older people since young people return to Spain to continue their university studies, given that in Morocco it is impossible to do so in their own language. Their number in the North of Morocco is in continuous decline and the vanishing of this type of speaker in the near future is unavoidable. However, the decline would not include the other native speakers who settle down in the area for business purposes (Sayahi 2005a, 98). This class of native speakers is actually predicted to increase due to the economic crisis that Spain has been going through for almost a decade. The Moroccan media already points to a progressive growth of this class and another mainstream class, which comes to Morocco in search for job opportunities, without specifying their number or percentage.

Moroccan-born Spaniards instrumentalize Spanish not only to ethnically distance themselves from Moroccans, but also to guarantee access to the different services offered by Spanish institutions. They are very conscious of the increasing value of their language worldwide and the growing interest that Moroccan citizens find in it. Knowledge and use of Spanish not only are group-identity markers for these speakers but also a symbolic sign of their status as Spaniards.

There are several factors that eliminate the possibility of any kind of linguistic assimilation among the host community members and the immigrant minority: teachers coming from the Peninsula; the influences of the media; the frequent contact with Spain, Ceuta and Melilla; the vitality of the Spanish community, and the strong perception of their Spanishness. In addition, the rights that the Spanish government bestows on its citizens further convince them that Spanish identity is more valuable, and that language, as a central part of that identity, should
be preserved (Sayahi 2004b, 60).

3.3.2. Spanish of Moroccans

Sociolinguistically speaking, three factors distinguish the North from other parts of Morocco: the first is the existence of some Berber varieties, namely Tarifit, different from those spoken in other Amazigophone areas; the second is the existence of a regional Arabic dialect that reflects the results of contact between Arabic and Spanish, and the third factor is the widespread proficiency in Spanish language that many northern Moroccans possess.

Those Moroccan citizens who were in contact with the Spaniards have maintained knowledge of Spanish in this area. Currently, despite the existence of French as a “de facto” second official language, Spanish can be considered as a second language for many speakers of Northern Morocco, which has been frequently described as a "Latín American region with djellaba," a place where “se palpa lo hispano, se escucha, se ve y hasta se come” (Gil Grimau 2002). In the Rif mountain area, which includes Nador and Husseima, there are still a large number of Spanish-Amazigh bilinguals (Bentaouet-Kattan 1999).

The Northern Moroccans develop their Spanish language skills through the constant exposure to Spanish media and intensive interaction with those Spaniards touring or living in Morocco; that is to say that the acquisition of Spanish mostly takes place outside the school and in informal contexts. In addition, there is another factor that reinforces the use of Spanish among Moroccan Spanish-speakers, and that is the presence of Spanish companies and businesses, which impose the use of Spanish on their Moroccan employees.

One can confirm that for socio-historical, geographical and economic reasons, the presence of Spanish in Morocco is increasingly likely to consolidate in the public as well as in the private sectors. Despite these factors, the role of Spanish language has often been either
ignored or minimized in the majority of the sociolinguistic studies that make reference to North Africa in general and Morocco in particular. This study seeks to shed light on the importance of this language in Moroccan life, especially in the educational system.

3.3.3. Spanish in Moroccan formal educational institutions

At present, there are three main institutions in charge of the teaching of Spanish in Morocco: Moroccan formal education; the Spanish cultural centers and schools, which are under the supervision of the Ministry of Education; and the Instituto Cervantes, which is under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In the absence of any Spanish institutional support for Spanish language, the Moroccan Ministry of education had to build its own system of teaching Spanish, completely aside from the collaboration with Spain. In fact, it was France who helped establish Spanish within the Moroccan educational framework. However, the French support ended up reproducing an outdated and underdeveloped vision of Spain. According to Benyaya, from independence until the 1980s, the Moroccan educational institutions have been using archaic, outdated and inadequate teaching materials, which were transmitting a topical image of Spain’s “flamenco and bullfighting.” Textbooks were eminently French and author rights, important source of income for many French inspectors, were a reason given for the near-monopoly of the Spanish teaching materials (Benyaya 2007).

In 1976, the Moroccan Ministry of primary and secondary education declared a new methodological approach to the teaching of Spanish – detached from the French, as the following text clearly states:

“La enseñanza del español no debe pasar por la relación con el francés. Es peligroso acostumbrar a los alumnos traducir al francés en lugar de aprender a pensar únicamente en la lengua extranjera” (Spanish Program 1976, 6).

“The teaching of Spanish should not pass through the relationship with French. It is dangerous to
accustom students to translate to French instead of learning to think only in the foreign language”
[Translation is mine]

The implications of this new approach could be felt through the creation, in 1982, of the National Commission for the Elaboration of Moroccan Spanish Textbooks. However, until then, reference models continued to be French (Serghini 2005). It was only at the beginning of 1990s that Spain could activate its educational cooperation with Morocco through its Ministry of Education (Roldán 2006). Before this year, Morocco launched two important initiatives which were aimed at establishing a solid foundation for the future teaching of Spanish through its educational system: The first initiative consisted of creating "Clases de Preformación”, in eleven cities of the country, with a significant number of hours of Spanish language teaching per week (up to eight hours). These classes were accessed only by the most brilliant students of the 5th year of secondary education, who were supported with scholarships and who then would continue their studies in Hispanic Philology in the respective departments of the universities of Rabat and Fez. The School of Arts in Rabat and the Ecole National Superieur (ENS) launched the second initiative, which was aimed to train 21 teachers of Spanish and place them in institutions where Spanish was taught for the first time.

The maintenance of the Spanish cultural legacy and the promotion of Spanish language through the Moroccan educational system were assisted by both the Moroccan Ministry of Education and the different advisory bureaus of the Consejería de Educación y Ciencia, which is supervised by the Spanish Embassy, in Rabat (Ammadi 2001). Today, Spanish is offered in the 16 regional academies of education and training of the Kingdom. According to statistics from the Moroccan Ministry of Education for the year 2003, the number of students studying Spanish in Moroccan high schools amounts to 48,587, distributed among 236 secondary schools. There are about 600 Spanish teachers, supervised by 29 Moroccan inspectors. The demand for Spanish is
growing, and Spanish is increasingly attracting more students, but always after English. The study of Spanish in high school is one option in addition to English, German and Italian. In practice, choosing one of these languages depends on its offering in the school in which the student is enrolled. English is the only language offered in the 650 schools that exist in Morocco, while Spanish is offered in approximately 42% of High Schools (Benyaya 2007b, El-Fathi 2007).

In the current High School curriculum, Spanish is taught six hours per week for students majoring in Humanities and Art; eight hours per week, in the course of the second and third years for those students who aim to pursue their college studies in the area of Spanish language and literature; four hours per week in the course of the first and second years, but only three hours per week, in the third year for students majoring in Scientific field.

Also, from the year 2005-2006 a new project has been launched for the purpose of extending Spanish to Moroccan Middle Schools and exposing Moroccan kids to it at an early age. Some private primary schools offer the possibility of learning Spanish beginning in the first grade. However, considering the programs and materials that should govern these two levels of teaching, it is surprising that there is nothing available (Benyaya 2007a, 175).

At the University level, since the 1950s, departments of Spanish language and literature have been growing in Morocco, and today five of the 14 public universities have a Department of Spanish: The School of Arts in Rabat (1959), the School of Arts in Fez (1973), the School of Arts in Tetuan (1982), the School of Arts in Casablanca (1988), and the most recent School of Arts in Agadir (1991). These departments of Hispanic language and literature, in each of the above-mentioned Schools, have become centers that disseminate the Spanish language and train many Hispanists who are currently working in the field of scientific research in Morocco.
Mohamed Salhi, Abdellatif Limami, Levy Simon, Abdessalan Okab, Abderrahmane El-Fathi, Aziza Bennani, Larbi Lamsari, among many others, are some of the famous figures of Moroccan Hispanism in our days.

According to the course catalog of the different Spanish departments, Moroccan universities offer courses of Spanish language (Morphosyntax, Grammar, Phonetics and Phonology, History of the Spanish language), General Linguistics and Sociolinguistics, Reading and Textual Analysis, Semiology, History of Spain and America, Spanish and Hispano-American Literature, Theory of Literature and Criticism of Literature, Translation from Arabic-Spanish and from Spanish-Arabic.

In addition to these courses, Spanish is offered as a foreign language, a supplemental language or as a language of support for college students majoring in scientific subjects. This variation in the offering of Spanish allows those who studied Spanish in secondary school to deepen their knowledge of the language and have access to Spanish bibliography as needed in their majoring subjects. In the Universities of Meknes, Marrakesh, Ujda and more recently Taza, where there is no Spanish Department, Spanish is offered as a complementary foreign language. In technical schools, such as the Superior Schools of Commerce and Tourism in Casablanca and the Escuela de Ciencias de la Información in Rabat, Spanish is taught to those interested students.

In addition to these departments, there is a school of Translation and a School of Journalism in Tetuan. There are also two ENS schools specialized in the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language in Fez and Tetuan; both are responsible for training graduates in Hispanic Philology to teach this language. More than 2,600 Moroccans are studying Spanish Philology in addition to another 600 each year studying in Spain, especially in Granada (El-Fathi 2007).
Today, a greater recognition has been ascribed to the title of Spanish Doctorate, a privilege that was exclusively reserved for French, and this change is producing a greater number of researchers who prefer to do their doctoral dissertations at Spanish universities (Roldán 2005). The University of the Two Kings is another ambitious and innovative project that was announced in 2005 and may represent a significant leap toward the cooperation between the two countries. However, the project is still suspended for the time being.

One can conclude that, compared to French and English, the progress of Spanish in the various Moroccan educational institutions is slow but steady and firm. The policy of linguistic openness adopted by the Moroccan authority in parallel with the Spanish activation of cultural action and diplomacy are two circumstances that make us expect a promising future for this language, without overlooking the many challenges that a very competitive environment like Morocco can present for such a future.

3.3.4. Spanish in the Spanish educational institutions

Among the many Spanish educational institutions that exist in modern Morocco, the Cervantes Institute, which is under the supervision of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is the most popular. The network of Institutos Cervantes covers five of the most important cities of the country: Rabat, Casablanca, Tetuan, Fez and Tangier, where the Institute has one of the most important libraries of the Spanish State outside the Iberian Peninsula and the first one in Morocco and Africa with Hispanic resources that exceed 66,000 volumes. The Instituto Cervantes, faithful to the policy of international dissemination of Spanish, maintains in Morocco (together with other institutions, such as the Instituto de Cooperación con el Mundo Árabe (ICMA) a constant collaboration aimed at developing activities that both facilitate the dissemination of the language and culture and foster the infrastructure needed to implement
Hispano-Moroccan cultural and scientific programs.

The country also has eleven schools (colegios, institutos) with Spanish curricula from primary through secondary education. They are supervised by the Ministry of Education and Science, which is integrated in the Embassy of Spain in Rabat, and they are geographically distributed as follows: Colegio Lope de Vega in Nador; Colegio Melchor Jovellanos in Al Hoceima; the schools of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, Juan de la Cierva and Jacinto Benavente in Tetuan; Severo Ochoa and Ramon y Cajal in Tangier; Colegio Luis Vives in Larache; the Spanish School of Rabat; Colegio Juan Ramón Jiménez in Casablanca; and the Spanish School of Laayoune. In terms of enrollments in these schools, the Ministry of Education reports show that in 2004, 4,208 students have been enrolled, 81% of whom are Moroccans. In the academic year 2007/2008 enrollment increased to 4,723.

The Embassy of Spain and its department of education and culture, its linguistic assessment agencies (Asesorías Lingüísticas) and its cultural centers, along with the work of the five centers of the Instituto Cervantes, are then the main promoters of the Spanish language and culture in Morocco. The teaching and dissemination of Spanish language are reinforced with the large number of other Spanish institutions spread out throughout Moroccan cities. The Asociación de Españoles Residentes en Marruecos (ADERMA), the Chamber of Industrial Trade, Caritas, the Casa de Espana in Tangier, the Casa de Nazaret, the Casa de Riera de Monjas, the Consejo de Residentes Españoles and the Spanish Hospital are only few among many other institutions. Markiegi points out that, due to the increasing mutual economic interest between both countries in the last few years, around thousand Spanish businesses – supervised by the two chambers of Commerce in the country (Casablanca and Tangier) have been installed in Morocco. To him, these two factors progressively contribute to the configuration of Spanish as an
economic resource, the knowledge of which has value in the Moroccan labor market (Markiegi 2004).

3.3.5. Moroccan Hispanism

Another aspect of the evolution of Spanish language and culture in the country is the emergence of a Moroccan literature in Spanish, and the increasing publication of books in this language, although it is still limited and based on personal initiatives. The majority of Moroccan writers in Spanish language are forced to take care of the costs of publication of their own books, which they personally have to sell or just give away as gifts to their friends. Most of these publications have never been published by a famous publishing house in Spain or elsewhere, but some are now considered classics: Chakor 1987, and Bouissif-Rekab 1997 among others. They are worthy of being read and studied, even though they lack any kind of institutional support. Their authors are mostly intellectuals who dominate Spanish and use it as an efficient tool to express their concerns (Ammadi 2002, 47).

This unsupportive situation has recently begun changing since some Spanish publishers (QUORUM and KALIMA) and some other Moroccan Institutes (the “Instituto Tarik Ibn Zayyad” and the “Instituto de Estudios Hispano-Luzofonos) started taking special interest in these works. The introduction of digital production as well as other technological developments in the field of printing is a factor that greatly contributes to the circulation of such publications. Today the bibliography of Moroccan works in Spanish has grown in quality and value. Writers and journalists like Mohamed Chakor, Mohammed Sabbag, Abdelkader Uariachi, Mohammed Bouissif Rekab, Mohamed Mamoun Taha, Mohamed Sibari, Ahmed Daudi, Mohamed Ibn Azzouz Hakim, and many others have greatly expressed their love for Spanish culture and conceptualized Spanish language as a vehicle through which Moroccans and Spaniards
communicate (Salhi and Moreta 1998).

In reference to that, Grimau specifies that it is in Morocco that the most important Hispanism of all Arab countries exists, with a proximity and impact that clearly matter much to Spain. He also asserts that it is within this Hispanism that an almost unique phenomenon of international Hispanism, not Spanish or Ibero-American, is produced: people who write their work in Spanish. He further comments that the factors residing behind this unique phenomenon are mainly the feeling of ownership and the consideration of Spanish as an integral part of the Moroccan linguistic landscape (Gil Grimau 2003). However, after diagnosing the positive aspects and the challenges that are facing the Moroccan Hispanism, Mohamed Mghara suggests how it can survive and flourish. He points out that relevant teaching of the language, official financial support, and inspiration of the French model should be prioritized (Mghara 2004).

3.3.6. Translation to Spanish

In the field of translation, it is important to highlight the secular transcendence of the Escuela Superior del Rey Fahd, in Tangier, which could translate into Spanish the works of authors with international projection, like Mohamed Chukri, Driss Chraïbi, Tahar Benjalloun, Fatima Mernissi, Muhamed Zafzaf, Jenata Bennouna, Abdelmajid Benjalloun and others (Ammadi 2002). In addition, the translation of Spanish works to Arabic has achieved great importance in the publishing sector, the novel being the most translated genre, followed by stories, poetry and theatre. For this reason, masterpieces of great authors such as Cervantes, Juan Ramón Jiménez, Federico García Lorca, or Juan Goytisolo, have been translated into Arabic and have undoubtedly enriched the world of letters and culture of Morocco.

Today, Spanish in Morocco is an excellent vehicle of expression in publications of great quality and dissemination, such as Aljamía (Magazine of the Consejería de Educación y Ciencia
de la Embajada de España y de la Asesoría Lingüística, in Rabat), *Trujumán* (Magazine of the Escuela Superior Rey Fahd de Traducción in Tangier), and the *Revista marroquí de estudios españoles*.

3.3.6. Spanish in the media

In reference to the Moroccan media in Spanish language, we must reference a Moroccan newspaper in Spanish language that is called *'La Mañana'*'. However, the latter closed down in 2006 due to poor circulation figures. In addition, the first Moroccan TV channel airs half an hour of news in Spanish, while radio airs another hour program every day with information in Spanish. In recent years, Hispano American influence began to be felt through the introduction of Mexican subtitled TV series, which is a great tool and new strategy for exposing Moroccan viewers to the Latino culture.

Transmissions by Spanish television are captured without difficulty, especially in the North, although in the last few years, transmissions by Arabic channels succeeded in grabbing the attention of the Moroccan audience as well. However, due to the enthusiasm aroused by Spanish football in Morocco, the broadcasts of football matches in Spanish are still attracting millions of Moroccans. Moustaoui asserts that of the many ways that Moroccans get exposed to the Spanish language (including the daily contact they have with the Spaniards permanently living in the country, businessmen who are settled in Ceuta and Melilla and thousands of tourists who chose Morocco as their best place to spend their vacation) the Mass Media are most effective in helping them have access to and learn Spanish (Moustaoui 2010).

An increasingly incipient phenomenon is the presence of webpages in Spanish in the Moroccan Internet space. We should bear in mind that Spanish is the third greatest language in terms of presence on the Internet, and that by itself produces significant effects in a country like
Morocco which shows a great deal of interest and enthusiasm for new technologies.

3.3.8. Spanish in the Saharawi lands

The status of the Saharawi lands is one of the major political issues currently threatening the territorial integrity of Morocco. So, while Moroccan authority and people perceive these lands as part of the big Morocco, which have been occupied by Spain since 1860, the Polisario separatists struggle to convince the international community of their loyalty on these lands and therefore advocate for their recuperation. In this dissertation, these lands, which include the Western Sahara and the Camps of Tinduf, are perceived as Moroccan. However, because Spanish language has a different status in these lands, a special paragraph has been dedicated to it. In the following, Spanish in these lands will be presented at a glance from the time of Spanish colonization until today.

For several centuries, Arabic was the official language of Moroccan territories, including the Saharawi lands. But since the colonization by Spain, precisely from 1940-1970, Spanish was established as the only language of education. According to Awah and Moya, the language policy adopted in the Saharan educational system gave Spanish an unprecedented boom due to the young Saharawi who studied it in primary and higher grades and who became fluent in it thanks to the efforts of many Spaniard teachers who were devoted to the language and to the people of their colony (Awah and Moya 2009).

After the recovery of Sahara by Morocco in 1975, Arabic has been reintroduced again in the educational system via the policy of Arabization, which was implemented throughout Morocco. Since then, Arabic has become the official language while Spanish became treated as a foreign language. In parallel to this process, Morocco began a policy of imposing French as a way to counter the Saharawi tendency toward instrumentalizing Spanish language and culture to
distance themselves and resist the Moroccan assimilation and integration process. Nowadays, Spanish enjoys great importance and prestige in Western Sahara, which provoked the “Saharawi Government” to develop a clear language policy of coexistence between Arabic and Spanish. When Spain completely abandoned the Saharan lands in 1975, 90% of the population was illiterate. One year after the departure of the Spanish colonizers from the area, the Polisario proclaimed the region as a “Saharawi State,” and bilingual education (Spanish-Arabic) became mandatory in schools. In other words, students had to study Spanish beginning the third year of primary education, after which they started learning subjects entirely in Spanish.

In addition to the adoption of a language policy that favors the coexistence between Arabic and Spanish in the educational system, this “New State” has used Spanish as a crucial element of diplomacy, especially with Latin America. According to Awah and Moya, Spanish has served as a bridge for communication and cooperation with the majority of Latin American countries that officially recognize the “Saharawi State” (Awah and Moya 2009). Promoting Spanish is now a priority for the Saharawi, who also perceive this language as a great tool to internationalize their fight for separation from the Moroccan State. Proof of it is the signing in 1970 of some educational conventions that allow thousands of young Saharawi to study in Cuba, Panama, Mexico and Venezuela, and the launching in 2005 of the “Generación de la Amistad,” a Saharawi group of writers and poets born in Madrid, which currently acts as a “language-resistance movement”. One can say that nowadays Saharan Spanish plays the role of a language of resistance against Globalization and against the Francophone culture that Morocco tries hard to promote in these lands, and it will continue to be an essential reference to ensure and defend the Polisario separatist project.

4. Conclusion
At the end of this chapter, it should be noted that despite the neglect by Spain, its absolute disinterest in protecting its cultural heritage in Morocco, its lack of motivation to provide any kind of educational support to the Moroccan government, and the adoption of Arabization and Francization as two exclusive linguistic choices, Spanish could be maintained as a valid code of communication in today’s Morocco.

Several factors have contributed to its maintenance in Morocco in general, and in the Northern area in particular: The geographical proximity of the area to mainland Spain, its adjacency to Ceuta and Melilla, the growing number of Spanish companies and businesses, and the media all favored its articulation within the educational and social spheres, and its appreciation by many Moroccan speakers. In fact, Affaya and Guerraoui confirm that currently Spanish is perceived as a beneficial component of the Moroccan identity (Affaya and Guerraoui 2006). This positive attitude also continues to be a great determining factor behind its maintenance in the area.

The immigration of many Moroccans, especially students, to Spain is another factor that currently works for the improvement of the status of Spanish in Morocco. In the last ten years, hundreds of Moroccan students joined Spanish universities, especially the University of Granada and Cádiz, from Central and Southern Morocco (Sandoval and El-Fathi 2007).

Since the beginning of the current international economic crisis, which badly hit the Spanish economy, this immigration process has reversed and many Spaniards started moving to Morocco hoping to find better opportunities. It’s a new reality that requires the eager attention of researchers as it may lead to a change in the Status of Spanish. Being aware of the close-knit networks that Moroccan-born Spaniards tend to maintain with the purpose of resisting cultural, religious, and linguistic assimilation, the new immigrant Spaniards are expected to reinforce this
tendency and make it work in favor of promoting the Spanish language and culture within the Moroccan society.

Finally, in this time of globalization, the interdependence of political and socio-economic interests of both governments entitles their cultural relations to become stronger and deeper. In fact, the presence of Spanish in the various levels of the Moroccan educational system, the Moroccan Hispanism, the efforts of translation, the very active role of Spanish cultural institutions, and the use of Spanish as a tool of resistance in the Saharawi lands are all signs that confirm such a global trend. However, the presence of French and English, as two more valid communicative codes in the area, represents a true challenge for the consolidation of Spanish.
CHAPTER IV

National Language Policies in Post-Independent Morocco

The de facto multilingualism existing in Morocco requires us to investigate the status of Spanish in relation to the other languages that make up the Moroccan linguistic repertoire. In addition, and above all, we will examine the role of the Moroccan State in the legislation of language policies that (as they are intended to regulate and keep balance within its multi-linguistic market, avoid linguistic conflict and improve the condition of the educational system) directly or indirectly impact the status of Spanish. In this chapter we are going to learn what the different Moroccan educational reforms say about languages and how they shape the status of Spanish. How do Arabization, Francization and the most recent official recognition of multilingualism and openness toward foreign languages, all embodied in the Charter and other official documents, impact the status of Spanish, particularly within the educational system of post-independent united Morocco? But before engaging in such an analysis, it is very important to present an overview of the linguistic debates and language policy works that have been developed in Morocco for more than five decades after independence.

1. What is at stake in linguistic debates in Morocco?

The linguistic issue is one of the most difficult ones in the current history of Morocco. The literature existing on this topic shows that the question of language relates generally to a constant debate on Arabization, Francization and most recently Amazighation. The future of foreign languages is another issue, particularly Spanish, which is increasingly considered a component of the Northern identity and the language of a neighbor with whom Morocco shares a long history and a common future. English, which stands out as an unavoidable scientific, technological and global language, is also at the center of these debates. The issue of language teaching, and the language of teaching itself in Morocco, is another hot topic. More recently, in addition to the conflict
generated by the parallel presence of Arabic and French in the school system, some new calls have been raised for replacing Arabic with Darija in instruction, while some Amazigh advocates press for generalizing the teaching of Tamazight in all public schools. In this regard, Ennaji points out that “the debate about Arabization and bilingual education, or Franco-Arabization, implies a larger debate on citizenship, government policy, ideology, politics, religion, culture, and identity” (Ennaji 2009, 19). The Charter and the 2011 Constitution make this debate even more complicated, as both documents adopt a “savage” multilingual approach, using the terminology of Ahmed Moattassime (Moattassime 1974). As language and development go hand in hand, many Moroccan sociolinguists point out that the development of modern Morocco will not be achieved without a clear language policy. Hence, Fassi Fihri wonders what type of linguistic reform the Moroccan government wants for its citizens. To him, this reform must undergo a cultural project that the State, the society and the elite all have to embrace. Without it, languages will be in constant conflict (Fassi Fihri 2007). My analysis will focus on the position of Spanish in this cultural project and its role and function(s) within this de facto multilingual context.

2. Language Planning and Policy (LPP) Research in Morocco

Researchers have progressively recognized the importance of LPP research in Morocco. Completed work in this field goes hand-in-hand with the academic debates that have been taking place since independence. In the next paragraphs, we will proceed to introduce the studies on Arabization, Francization, multilingualism as recent choices made available in Modern Morocco, and the language(s) of instruction in the school system due to their direct relationship to our research. Burgeoning studies on Tamazight and Amazighation are at the center of the current media debates; but being outside of the scope of this work, we are not going to tackle them.
2.1. Arabization


2.2. Francization

controversies and conflicts between Arabization and Francization in the Moroccan society, but especially in the educational system. The above-mentioned works of Al-Fasi, El-Wadghiri and El-Kattani are frequently mentioned in these studies, as they contain great testimonies of French leaders about French language policy in the region.

2.3. Multilingualism


2.4. Language and Education

Of special importance are the studies focused on the analysis of language issues in the Charter. Marley analyzes the changes proposed in it, while examining official attitudes towards Arabic, French, and bilingualism (Marley 2004). Many other studies discuss The Charter’s

In the course of examining the literature and studies existing on language policy in Morocco, it became evident that none of them deeply investigate or analyze the implications of Arabization, Francization and the new multilingual vision on the status of Spanish. The latter almost always receives only a brief treatment in the context of describing the Moroccan linguistic repertoire. In interviews conducted with Mohammed Salhi, the vice president of Mohammed V University, chairman of its Spanish Department and an academic who displays a keen interest in the status of Spanish in the Moroccan educational system, along with Abdurrahman El-Fathi, chairman of the Spanish Department of Abdelmalek Assaadi University in Tetuan, both men confirmed that studies on this subject are missing and absolutely necessary. It is hoped that this study begins to fill this gap.

3. LPP in Post-Independent Morocco

Like many other ex-colonized countries, language selection had become a matter of national choice in post-independent Morocco. That is to say that the decision of which language (colonial or local) would best serve the building and unification of Morocco was based on which language would provide access to advanced Western technological and economic assistance. Due to power relations, French was used for formal and specialized domains while Arabic was restricted to serve local and regional functions. The result of this choice was the consolidation of a diglossic situation, which led to lowering the status and reducing the functions and domains of Arabic, while elevating the status of French to national political and elite educational sectors.
In this regard, Fishman noticed that, as a result of colonial policy, the countries of the Maghreb, including Morocco, experienced contradictory pulls within their societies, where Classical Arabic, with a literary tradition, was favored for reasons of nationalism, while French, a language of wider communication, was favored by the newly educated people (Fishman 1972). The conflict between these two opposing forces has been echoed, both at the societal and governmental levels, through escalating debates between the defenders of Arabization and the defenders of Francization. Facing this situation, the government opted for a dual policy consisting of supporting Arabization in education while maintaining French language in other societal domains.

Recent sociolinguistic research indicates that, in terms of State’s involvement in linguistic affairs, language policy can be of two types: interventionist and strongly centralist (the case of France), or liberal (the case of the United States, for example), where the lack of regulation does not imply the absence of a policy, but a natural process of self-regulation that comes about as a result of language contact and conflict. In fact, the post-independence Moroccan language policy is founded on these two types. It opted for Arabization, as unifying language legislation, in parallel with a liberal policy, since the use of other linguistic varieties was – and still is – not regulated. That is the case of French, which is not constitutionalized, but enjoys a very privileged and unique status.

Fassi Fihri differentiates between “clear language policies” (those that occur at the legislative level “de Jure policy”, and the “real language policies” or “de facto policy”. According to him, in Morocco and many third world countries, we find a huge gap between legislation and practice. He does not hide his surprise at the fact that while in the Constitution Arabic is the official language of the country, in public life banners, signs and commercials are
all in French, Darija and, recently, also in Tamazight (Fassi Fihri 2007). It's a clear contradiction between official policy and daily life, which manifests itself in the symbolic, legal and socio-economic spheres.

One can describe Moroccan language policy as “the policy of the ostrich,” using a common Arabic metaphor to denote burying one’s head in the sand while exposing one’s back to the winds. In fact, while the Moroccan State shows a great deal of interest in international languages, its support for its declared national languages, mainly Arabic, is extremely limited. These contradictions are mainly due to the absence of a well-balanced language policy with objectives that put the needs of the majority before those of the minority. One should also wonder why in Morocco there is a tendency towards the balkanization of the socio-political life, which is echoed in the linguistic field through the introduction of several languages in the linguistic market without any logic or clear planning.

It is also a fact that, after recovering its independence in 1956, Morocco had to make several tough decisions, the first and most important of which was that related to language policy. Boukous distinguishes between four language choices that the new independent countries had to take. According to him, many African countries selected the language of the colonizer. Some other countries, like Nigeria, granted the language of the colonizers an official status in parallel with the officialization of some local varieties. Unlike Asian countries, which consigned the status of national/official language to local languages of the country, the countries of the Maghreb opted for the revitalization of the official language used before colonization, without abandoning the language of the colonizer. This of course applies to Morocco, which embraced both Arabization and Francization (Boukous 2005).

According to many Moroccan sociolinguists and intellectuals, the language policy of
post-independent Morocco was to a certain extent a reaction to French and Spanish colonization. That is true since Morocco had to face the controversy of confirming its national identity and keeping French for its practicality. It’s a linguistic choice that responded to both the historical and civilizational roots of the country and the needs of a society newly released from colonization. This choice was embodied in the educational system, through the introduction of Arabic in elementary and secondary education, and its generalization in the seventies in the social and humanistic sciences of higher education. At the same time, the status of the first foreign language in elementary and secondary education was given to French, which also was the medium of instruction in the higher technical sciences.

This linguistic choice was not the ideal one, since it was always oscillating between ideological and political imperatives, which impose the rejection of the language of the colonizer, and the daily practical needs of an Administration that was led by fully Francophone administrators. This hesitation ended up creating a conflictive discourse between the advocates of Arabization and the advocates of Francization. Moreover, in recent years, other civilian activists claim the need for adopting the Darija as a language of communication and instruction. Today, an identity-based discourse, represented by the advocates of Arabization, Amazighation and Marroccanization, and a pragmatic discourse, mainly represented by Francophone advocates have been developed within the Moroccan linguistic market. The former is made public, but the latter is largely hidden. Apparently, any kind of public defense of French, at the expense of other languages, is not politically and ideologically welcomed and is seen as impacted by the French postcolonial agenda in the region.

Moustaoui asserts that, in a country marked by the primacy of Arabic and the presence of Tamazight, French, Spanish and English, the State had to begin a process of unification and
integration of citizens under a single model with the purpose of homogenizing the various aspects of life. It is on the basis of Islam and Monarchy, as two foundational constants of the country, that Morocco prioritized Islamic law and the Arabic language in its Constitution and Mudawwana - Civil Code (Moustaoui 2004). However, in the first decade of the new millennium, the State, forced by the claims of the Tamazight movement, had to grant a higher status to Tamazight by inserting it in elementary education, creating the IRCAM, and recently recognizing it as a second official language. At the same time, French is taught starting in the second year of elementary education; English is a good candidate to be introduced in the last year of elementary school, and is currently taught, in addition to Spanish and other foreign languages, in the last year of middle school and during the three-year cycle of secondary. This simultaneous multilingual reality has resulted in an “undefined linguistic juxtaposition,” where conflict about functions and domains is increasingly taking place.

It is in the educational system where Moroccan post-independence language policy has had its most significant impact. In the following, the impact of Arabization, Francization and the most recent changes, incorporated in the Charter and other subsequent official documents, with respect to the status of Spanish, will be discussed and the different reactions to the State language policy towards foreign languages in general, and towards Spanish in particular, will be examined.

3.1. Arabization as a “De Jure” Moroccan National Choice

Before advancing in the analysis of the policy of Arabization, it is important to concisely describe the development of the Moroccan educational system and the position of the linguistic issue within it. Three crucial moments in the evolutionary process of education fall under the purview of this paragraph: before, during and after the Protectorate.
3.1.1. The Moroccan educational system before, during and after the Protectorate

Before both the French and Spanish Protectorates began in 1912, education in the Kingdom of Morocco was carried out mainly in the Koranic schools, which consisted of three stages: the Koranic schools which served as elementary schools, the Madrasah and Zawiyah which served as Middle or High schools, and the ancient Qarawiyine University in Fez, the Ben Youssef Mosque in Rabat, and the Youssefiya Mosque in Marrakech, which provided for higher education (Benhania 1996). In most of these mosques, students were supposed to memorize the entire Quran, as well as a considerable amount of Hadiths (sayings of Prophet Mohamed), as a pre-requisite to studying more Islamic and scientific subjects. Throughout this period, Arabic was the language of instruction and the language of debate and discussions.

After colonizing Morocco, France established a new educational system modeled on that of the Metropolis, in which the French language was used. Not only did this model fail to provide a unified educational system, but it also deepened the existing social divisions between the people of Morocco (Bentaouet-Kattan 1999). French policy was clearly based on a “divide and conquer” mentality, which was embodied in the “Dahir Al-Barbari,” a law enacted in 1930 to preserve the Berber customs. This law’s main intent was to create a national division between the Berbers and the Arabs. The Frenchmen made it their business and main priority to make Berbers learn outside the Muslim traditional schools by creating Berber schools.

In addition to the Berber schools, there was a minority of native Jews who settled in Morocco after they were expelled from Spain and for whom the French colonizer also established “les Ecoles Franco-Israelites.” This French educational policy made the division among the Moroccan population even greater (Arabs, Jews and Berbers) and was perceived as a threat to Morocco’s cultural and religious identity. In fact, it did not make substantial
contributions to the overall development of the country and divided Morocco into separate socioeconomic and ethnic groups rather than promoting economic development and unity among the different sectors of the Moroccan society (Al-Jabra 1989). Furthermore, the use of French as a medium of instruction was a source of disruption in the socio-cultural setup of the Moroccan society (Hammoud 1982).

The Spanish zones apparently have operated according to the same educational model. According to Tibia, on the whole Spain followed a policy in its zone similar to that adopted by France in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco: grants of land to settlers, encouragement of Catholic missionaries, promotion of the language and culture of the Protectoral power, and neglect of Arabic and Islamic schools (Tibia 1972).

The prestige of education in Arabic was drastically reduced as a result of the French and Spanish policy, which intended to spread the superiority of their respective languages at the expense of Arabic. However, it should be noted that the Spanish policy was not as influential and profound as the French policy. The result of the French policy was the rise of a small but powerful bilingual elite, which was completely detached from the mostly monolingual population.

After independence, while Spain could not sustain its cultural legacy embodied in the cultural centers and educational institutions, France wanted to continue its presence in Morocco. The establishment of an educational system that would take into consideration the deeply rooted Arab-Islamic culture and language and, at the same time, make use of the imposed Western system was a priority. Therefore, in 1957, the Moroccan government established a Royal Committee for Educational Reform, which adopted four educational principles: universalization of education, unification of the diverse educational systems existing at independence,
Arabization of public education, and the Moroccanization of the teaching staff (Bentaouet-Kattan 1999). Of the four principles, Arabization received more attention, and the selection of Arabic, as a national language, was a form of countering the colonizer’s language policy. Moustaoui considers that the choice of Arabic as an official language of the country was not a linguistic act, but a political one (Moustaoui 2007, 129).

The outcome of this new reform resulted in a system that was divided into three main tracks: modern, original and technical. The modern track was a mere reflection of the French primary and secondary programs that had been established during the Protectorate and used French as a medium of instruction. The original track emphasized Islamic culture and civilization and used Arabic as a medium of instruction. The technical track is in continuous decline and the struggle to maintain it persists in most educational discussions and assemblies. In terms of dominance, this divided system reflected, to a certain extent, the long and constant conflict between Arabization and Francization in order to expand their respective spaces of use, and how such conflict could relegate Spanish and replace it in the zones in which it was dominating.

3.1.2. Spontaneous Arabization versus planned Arabization

The consolidation of Arabic in Morocco has gone through different stages. Abdelaziz Halili differentiates between three phases: the first phase began with the arrival of the first Muslim troops, first under the leadership of Uqbah Ibn Nâfi Al-Fihri, in the year 640, and then under the leadership of Moussa Ibn Noussair, in the year 711. During this period, the presence of Arabic was insignificant since the Northwest of Morocco was almost the only region affected by its speakers. This area was nothing but a transitional zone to Spain, which seemed to be the main objective of the conquest. However, the ninth century marked the beginning of a new phase, in which the presence of Arabic in Morocco began to be more tangible; proof of this was the
creation of Fez by the Idrissis, in the year 808, and the establishment of the first colonies of Andalusians in the area of Jbala. Later on, the Almoravids did the same thing with the city of Marrakech, which helped Arabic expand more and more until it reached the North. In a third phase, the strengthening of the Arabic presence was marked by the arrival of the Hilalian Tribes in the year 1118, thanks to the Almohad Yacqoub Al-Mansour, and by the settlement of the Kholt, Sefyan and Beni Malek groups in the Haouz and Gharb (Halili 1999).

The massive expulsion of Andalusians to Morocco at the end of the Spanish Reconquista in the 15th century consolidated the presence of Arabic, especially in urban centers, like Tetuan, Sale, Rabat and Fez. The immigration of the Andalusians accelerated the process of Arabization of the surrounding Amazigh communities—particularly those of Ghomara, those settled in the Strait of Gibraltar, the Sanhajis of Ouezzane and those of Sefrou. Arabization at this stage was more intensive than during the former periods. Despite all this, until the end of the 15th century many Moroccan areas in the northeastern mountains remained Amazigh and many Arabs were easily Amazighated. One could say that the Moroccan linguistic map did not change much from the 16th to the 19th centuries, since the number of Amazigh in Morocco generally ranged between 40-60% of the population. However, as Boukous clarifies, at the beginning of the 20th century, the Amazigh undertook a massive migration to the big cities and had to learn Arabic for practical and pragmatic purposes (Boukous 2005).

This study distinguishes between two crucial moments of Arabization: the first one was spontaneous and took place before the colonization of Morocco by France and Spain; and the second was planned and took place after independence. It is this second process that this dissertation is concerned with the most. What is Arabization in this second sense? What are its ideological foundations and objectives? What reactions and discursive debates have been raised
because of its implementation? How was it evaluated after several decades? What was its impact on national and foreign languages? Did Arabization have any impact on the status of Spanish?

3.1.3. Arabization: conceptualization

After an extensive investigation of Arabization, it became evident that, depending on political or ideological affiliations, Arabization was perceived in different ways. The I.E.R.A., an official institution in charge of Arabic language planning, defines the term Arabization in one of its official documents, in the following words:

“L’arabisation consiste à rendre à la langue arabe la place qu’elle avait perdue durant la période coloniale, c’est-à-dire lui permettre de remplir à nouveau pleinement son rôle de langue nationale assurant les fonctions de communication, de formation et de gestion à tous les niveaux et dans tous les secteurs de la vie collective”. (I.E.R.A. 1989, 6)

“Arabization consists in helping Arabic recover the place it had lost during the colonial period, i.e. allow Arabic to again fulfill its role as a national language, ensuring the functions of communication, training, and management at all levels and in all domains of community life”[Translation is mine]

From the above definition, Arabization can be conceived as a process of linguistic normalization applied to Arabic. It refers to both corpus and status activities of language planning. Corpus planning of Arabization entails the development and modernization of the language so it can meet the needs of the modern world, while status Arabization refers to the process by which Arabic replaces French in the domains of education, government, administration and business.

Nationalist and Islamic movements, political parties and cultural organizations conceive Arabization as a process of recovery of national identity, and as an intangible principle meant to eradicate the presence of the Francophony, which is considered invasive in the areas of education, administration and business. According to de Fasla, given the close correlation between the Standard Arabic, Islam and national identity, Arabization is considered a symbol of cultural independence (Fasla 2006).
To the Amazigh movement, the term Arabization is understood as an ethnic process intended to assimilate the Amazighophone population (Elbiad 1991, 40). Contrary to this assertion, Moatassime claims that Arabization is a relatively recent term, which has never been registered as an ethnic assimilative process but is rather a symbol of cultural decolonization from Francization (Moatassime 2006).

In reaction to the massive presence of French in all aspects of the Moroccan life, the Ulema (religious scholars) and intellectuals of Morocco signed a petition in 1981, in which French was considered a threat to the integrity of the Moroccan cultural ethos. In the following words, the signatories of the petition clarify that Arabization is neither against studying foreign languages nor openness toward the civilization of the twentieth century.

“La politique du bilinguisme raffermi et consolide la langue étrangère (français) au sein de l'administration marocaine, au détriment de la langue nationale, qui est en même temps la langue du Coran. Elle déforme la langue parlée chez les générations actuelles, qui s’expriment en une langue « métissée » qui n’est ni arabe pur ni français pur. Elle affaiblit les valeurs morales et spirituelles aux yeux des jeunes générations. Elle porte préjudice à l’enseignement islamique et à l’enseignement arabe privé”
(Souali and Merrouni 1981, 422)

The bilingualism policy strengthens and consolidates the foreign language (French) within the Moroccan administration, at the expense of the national language, which is at the same time the language of the Quran. It distorts the language spoken among the current generations, which communicate in a 'mixed' language that is neither pure Arabic nor pure French. It weakens the moral and spiritual values in the eyes of the younger generation. It is detrimental to the Islamic education and private Arabic education

[Translation is mine]

Interestingly, after examining the many definitions given to Arabization, none of them perceive it as a process to replace Spanish in the zones in which it was established during the Protectorate. In fact, it was Francization that took care of that, as we will see later in this chapter. Spain did not have a clear plan to promote or spread its language in the Moroccan zones that were under its control. Also, it was not prepared to do so due to its own internal problems. Therefore, in contrast to French, Spanish was not conceived as a threat to the Moroccan identity,
and even today it was never registered as such.

3.1.4. Legislative framework of Arabization

Since independence, the Moroccan State has put in place a legislative and operational framework to enable Arabization to take place. The preamble to the 1956 Moroccan Constitution clearly reflects the language policy model that Morocco applied from independence until very recently:

المملكة المغربية دولة إسلامية ذات سيادة كاملة. لغتها الرسمية هي اللغة العربية. وهي جزء من المغرب العربي الكبير

“The Moroccan Kingdom is a sovereign Islamic State. Its official language is Arabic and it is part of the Large Arabic Maghreb” [Translation is mine]

The officialization of Arabic through the constitution as a pillar of the country's language policy, together with the inclusion of Arabization in various educational reforms, give an outline of the language policy of post-independent Morocco. Arabization was de jure policy par excellence. In the following, we introduce the various educational reforms that had Arabization as their main principle.

The 1957-1959 Educational Plan claimed universalization, unification, Arabization and Morrocanization as four foundations of the Educational Reform. The many reforms that followed this first plan (Al-Mukhattat Al-Khumsi 1960-1964; Al-Mukhattat At-Thulathi 1965-1967; Al-Mukhattat Al-Khumsi 1968-1972; Al-Mukhattat Al-Khumsi 1973-1977; Al-Mukhattat At-Thulathi 1978-1980) carefully reconsidered these four principles and looked at each one of them as a necessary factor for the development of education in the country. According to Benhania, even though Arabization was considered as a fundamental part of these successive reforms, it did not neglect the fact that Morocco cannot be isolated from the rest of the world, and learning a foreign language was recognized as a necessity for each student if he or she wanted to be more functional in all disciplines (Benhania 1996). In other words, this plan did not deny the historical,
geographical and political position of Morocco vis-à-vis Europe or the West in general, nor did it deny the Arab-Islamic connection that unites Morocco with the East. However, in the Reform Plan of 1981-1985, for the first time the government adopted Franco-Arabic bilingualism. According to Driss El-Kattani, this new plan favored the interests of some political parties, mainly Francophones, not the general Moroccan population. Unlike El-Kattani, King Hassan II demonstrated in 1995, through an official discourse, his strong opposition to the entire process of Arabization of the Moroccan educational system and his strong belief that such a move could lead to the isolation of future Moroccan students and make them less competitive:

“I am asking the committee, then, to review its agenda and to review the nostalgia of some of its members toward the 1960s; and it should not condemn Morocco, or the future Moroccan to eternal imprisonment by applying full Arabization; and as long as I am in charge of the freedom of individuals and communities, I will stand against this movement... entire Arabization I believe touches the dignity, the freedom and the ability of the Moroccan to be among the leaders in scientific and mathematic fields”.

[Translation is mine]

Arabization continued as an official language choice until the year 1999, when the Charter brought out a new reform that promotes bilingual education in the areas of sciences and technology.

3.1.5. Ideological foundations of Arabization

The adoption of Arabization has been motivated by a language ideology that perceives Arabic as the only language representing the Arab-Islamic legacy in Morocco (Boukous 2003). The Panarabists (al-qawmiyyun), Islamists and Nationalists all considered Arabic as an Arab-Islamic heritage and a modern language, which forces them to work to provide Arabic with the necessary qualifications, both structurally and functionally, to wage their campaign against French, which for them is responsible for the assimilation of the Moroccan elite in the French culture. Their arguments are founded on the sacred character of Arabic, its historicity, its unifying power, its symbolic ability to lead the country to cultural independence and the
A number of researchers have observed that a powerful motivation behind the policy of Arabization is the pursuit and maintenance of power. According to Marley, Arabization has been presented as the means of unifying the country and enabling a return to an authentic Moroccan identity (Marley 2002). Moatassime summarizes the objective of Arabization as recovering the legitimacy that Arabic once had, not only in government and businesses, but also and especially in education (Moatassime 2006). Unlike Moatassime, Miloud Ahbadou asserts that Arabization has not been embraced due to an educational need. There are mainly three ideological and political reasons behind it: first, to confirm the national identity after independence; second, to limit the impact of French; and third, to relegate local languages to a lower status (Ahbadou 2011).

To summarize, we can say that Morocco opted for a policy of Arabization, which aimed at replacing French, the language of the colonizer, with Arabic, the language of identity. Arabization was a policy intended to prioritize Arabic over French, while conserving local linguistic variety as a heritage of both Arabophones and Amazigophones. It was not meant to eliminate the local varieties and its main fight was with French, not with any other foreign language.

3.1.6. Arabization outcomes

There is a lack of consensus among Moroccan sociolinguists and intellectuals on evaluating the policy of Arabization. Among the intellectuals and sociolinguists who have registered major negative implications of Arabization, Laroui noticed that inconsistency in implementing Arabization was one of its major problems (Laroui 1973). Roldan asserts that Arabization was a very difficult task due to the lack of scholarly material and Arabized
professionals who could meet the demands of the new nation (Roldán 2006). However, to some intellectuals, the major achievement of Arabization has been the consolidation of French-Arabic bilingualism in the educational system (Al-Jabri 1982, Sirles 1999, Benyakhlef 1987, Cooper 1989). To others, improvisation was the main character of Arabization and could produce a counter effect: it was hoped that all Moroccans would learn the national language and, with time, the vernaculars would disappear. In the five decades since its partial implementation, French has become more entrenched in several sectors of the Moroccan society. In addition, contrary to all expectations, Arabization ended up generating a diglossic situation (Youssi 1983, Fasold 1984, Boukous 2005, Cheddadi 2011).

The efforts of Arabizing the educational system have not fully succeeded for three main reasons: the strong position of French in the socioeconomic and political life, the negative attitudes of the ruling elite toward Arabization, and the inconsistency in implementing the Moroccan language policy (Ennaji 2009, 17). In addition to that, Fasla asserts that the very limited success of Arabization is due to a variety of factors: the poliglossia; its incomplete inclusion in the educational system; the wide use of French in the private sector, higher education, State bureaucracy, and the commercial and legal sectors; and the recent attempts to revive Tamazight varieties by the Tamazight movement (Fasla 2006). Berdouzi further believes that continuing to insist on the Arabization of science and technology in schools may consign millions of young Moroccans to a cultural and socio-economic ghetto (Berdouzi 2000).

Unlike the previous researchers, some intellectuals conceive Arabization as a sovereign official decision par excellence, as it was aimed to consolidating Moroccan unity and identity. Al-Awraghi, for example, points out that Arabization has had a major role in preventing the total Francization of Morocco and elimination of local languages (Al-Awraghi 2005), while
Moatassime believes that Arabic is the only North African language that can serve as a language of education, culture, science and international communication; but it could serve as such only if it is restored and becomes open to modernity (Moatassime 1992).

To Granguillaume, the success of Arabization could be achieved through three processes: the restoration and adaptation of the Arabic language to the modern world through the creation of technical terms in Arabic and the introduction of specialized glossaries, the inculcation of respect for the other national dialects and their preservation as a national heritage and putting an end to the undeclared policy of bilingualism (Granguillaume 1983). Mustapha El-Couri asserts that we should overcome the attitudes that often evaluate Arabization in terms of the incapacity of its internal system to respond to the needs of modernity (El-Couri 2001).

One can conclude that the problem was not in adopting Arabization as a language policy, but in the inconsistency, hesitation and improvisation that went hand in hand with its implementation. That is to say that, even though Arabization was adopted as an official choice of the country, in practice the Francophone elite resisted it. Insofar as nationalist movements and Islamic leaders and organizations all endorsed and embraced Arabization, it was an emblematic popular choice. However, the Francophone minority, which was well positioned in power, resorted to realpolitik in order to absorb this popular trend and neutralize or reverse it. Their policy was to empower French in the domains of economy, administration and education, reduce the use of Arabic, and progressively impose Francization on all sectors of Moroccan life. Today, it is French that is progressing in all domains, while Arabic is kept in a subordinate status that relegates it to what the French elite consider as “langue du bois”.

In fact, there is no real agency to support the implementation of Arabization. The IERA is in continuous decline; the project of Mohamed VI Academy of Arabic, which was decreed in
2000, is still suspended; the Charter removed the term Arabization from its articles and replaced it with multilingualism; and the 2011 constitution granted Tamazight an official status. All these are clear indications that the state no longer favors Arabization and that Arabic is losing more and more support that an official language requires.

3.2. Francization as a “De Facto” Unofficial or Realpolitik Choice

There is no legislative text or document that clearly refers to the status of French. It is the power that the French elite has in the Moroccan regime, the practical support that French is getting from both the Moroccan and French agencies in all domains, the privilege that it has in the educational system and the laissez-faire policy toward French programs, cultural centers and missions that make French the real official language of the country. It is a well-organized effort aimed at producing a powerful elite that ensures the dependence of Morocco on the French model, against a very superficial support addressed to the masses, which does nothing but generate a hybrid language that does not qualify them to compete with the Francophone elite or reach the power circles.

Despite the absence of any “de jure” policy regarding French, the Moroccan state constantly affirms its commitment to promote Francophony by granting French a privileged place in its “de facto” language policy, especially in education, training, administration and media. This ambivalent status is interesting because it puts French in a position of contact, interaction and competition with other languages in the Moroccan linguistic market. Among the effects of such an ambivalent condition is the socio-political positioning of the elites that hold responsibility in creating, in some way, an internal colonialism. This situation seems to be particularly paradoxical since Francophony has become an instrument of division, and French could prevail over all other competing languages due to apparent policies of promotion and
internal support by the Moroccan authorities.

3.2.1. Francization as concept

Interestingly, there is no official definition of Francization. Not only that, but the concept is rarely used and purposely replaced by another term “bilingualism” that seems to be more neutral and natural and has a better connotation in the society. In the Moroccan legislation such a process is not mentioned; however, in reality it is a trend that is deeply rooted in educational and administrative institutions. Even though this study does not focus on French, it claims to be the first one in conceptualizing the term. This step seems to be very necessary for us to explore its implications on the Moroccan linguistic market, of which Spanish represents a great component.

In the Moroccan context, Francization can be conceptualized as a divisive unofficial or “De Facto” language policy designed to prevent Arabic from being a unifying national language, deprive it from the privilege of reaching the domains of science, administration and business, as well as from being a language of access to modernity, prosperity or international exposure. Also, this policy/concept acts as an exclusive force against the other local and foreign languages that make up the Moroccan linguistic repertoire. This definition becomes more evident after examining the ideology, objectives and outcomes of the French language policy in Morocco.

3.2.2. Ideology

In harmony with the above-mentioned conceptualization, the Belgian scholar Vandromme called Francophony “a subversive movement . . . in which everywhere serves the French political empire...by dividing nations” (Vandromme 1980). In fact, with the French colonization of Algeria in 1830, French language and culture began forging a site within the North African linguistic and cultural landscape through military power. This was obviously a profoundly disruptive experience in the region, in which an Arabic-Islamic identity had been
dominant for many centuries. The introduction of this new element in the region provoked a fierce battle to protect the original identity and expel the foreign elements. Moatassime, among many others, noted that colonization was accompanied by the partial or total elimination of Aboriginal cultures, and particularly the most dynamic of them, signified by written Arabic and its prestigious civilization (Moatassime 2006).

According to Allal Al-Fasi, the prominent nationalist leader who has been at the forefront of resistance to Francization since its implementation in Morocco, the French colonization of Morocco was both military and linguistic in nature. The history of the French language testifies that the 18th century was a century held sacred by the French, who saw their language as the most beautiful and clear of all languages, while the languages of colonized lands were seen by them as the most backwards. In the 20th century, European settlers became willing to give their linguistically handicapped colonial subjects a chance to learn the real language (Al-Fasi 1931). Al-Awraghi, another eminent Moroccan scholar and sociolinguist, asserts that the existing literature on French policies towards Northern African countries makes it clear that France had three objectives in the region, corresponding to three different phases (Al-Awraghi 2005):

In a first phase the colonizer intended to ruin the social structure of the Moroccan people. This is confirmed by writings of the colonial officials themselves. According to Gaufroy-Demombynes, in his book *L’œuvre francaise en matiere d’enseignement*,

“It is very dangerous for us to allow a Moroccan group to gather and be united around the same language and the same system. We have to adopt the old expression "Divide to rule"... We have to take advantage of the Berber element to weaken the Arab element. It is very true that the Berber is a useful force that we must use to counter the Arabs and Arabic. In addition, we have to use it against the Makhzen... The French, not the Berber, has to replace Arabic and serve as the common and civil language” (Gaufroy-Demombynes 1928). [Translation is mine].

In the second phase, France activated the ethnic division launched in the first one, with the purpose of escaping the costly price of fighting against the Moroccan people. This objective
was achieved through the implementation of the Dahir Al-Barbari, in 1930. Unexpectedly, this Declaration gave birth to the national movement, which considered this step as an attempt to use the Berber element in segregating the Moroccan nation. Therefore, all Moroccans opted for its absolute rejection.

In the third phase, the Christianization of Berbers was activated. Hubert Leyote, the first French Resident-General in Morocco from 1912 to 1925, stated clearly in a letter to his army that the interest of France in the region was to develop the Berber’s personality outside the context of Islam. Maurice Leclais, another figure of the French colonial regime, confirmed the willingness of France to eliminate the teachings of Islam and the Arabic language in all Berber schools and teach Berbers everything except Islam (Al-Wadghiri 1993). Fasla noticed the same thing when he said that during the colonial period, the French tried to dissociate Moroccans from their languages and cultures and divide their society into ethnic groups (Arabs vs. Berbers) in order to facilitate the progress of colonization (Fasla 2006).

3.2.3. Francization outcomes

There is total consensus among intellectuals that after cessation of the military occupation of Morocco, France was constantly changing methods to secure its linguistic-cultural continuity in the country. One such method was the formation of a French-speaking Moroccan elite. By facilitating access to power for this elite, creating – at the popular level – the Tamazight movement and providing it with logistical and political support, they were able to counter any official decisions that might favor Arabic and threaten the French future in the country (Al-Awraghi 2005). In this regard, Moustaoui does not hesitate to question the independence of Morocco when he says that by following an inherited colonial model, Morocco jeopardizes, to a great extent, its own independence (Moustaoui 2004, 130-131).
Fassi Fihri also says that the arrival of the colonizer made not only Morocco, but many other Arab countries, miss the opportunity of generalizing Arabic in schools. The French worked to replace Arabic and also waged an ideological battle against it, forming an elite that was really convinced that the latter could never be a language of science or knowledge (Fassi Fihri 2007). This situation produced a wild multilingualism, since the French fight against Arabic was and still is a fight over the identity of the Moroccan people. It’s a multilingualism that not only hinders the prosperity of Arabic but also that of French and other foreign languages.

We can conclude that Francization was able to hinder the development of Arabic and its modernization. The French elite made it a priority to weaken Arabic in all domains and restrict its use to religious spheres of education, first by producing what we can call “linguistic secularization,” and then by minimizing the number of users of Arabic in Morocco and increasing the French speakers. It was able to plant division among Arabs and Amazigh, stop the evolution of Arabic, limit the use of Tamazight and Darija in family environments and daily affairs, and block the unity of written and oral Arabic. Moreover, the Francophone elite knew how to create a relationship of dependency of Moroccans to French culture. After independence, it was very natural that the nationalist movement (Islamists and Communists) and the Moroccan intellectuals raised the banner of Arabization, although they did not have the theoretical or the practical means to implement it, which made Arabization a mere slogan without true content.

3.3. Arabization’s and Francization’s Impact on the Status of Spanish

As previously mentioned, Arabization's main objective was to normalize Arabic and make it recover all the societal domains that were reserved mainly for French during colonization. It was the first official decision to achieve such a goal and its immediate impact was the remodeling of the Moroccan linguistic map and the lowering of the status of French and
Spanish as the main languages in the ex-colonized zones.

To France and its Francophone elite, this was a very challenging threat to the future of French in Morocco. Therefore, they resorted to propagandistic speeches and publications that presented French as the only language allowing access to science, technology and modernity. Spain did not or could not maintain its linguistic and cultural influence in Morocco with the same vigor as France, mainly due to its internal problems. The future of Spanish was then in the hands of the Moroccan state, which was dominated by a powerful Francophone elite and challenged by an Arabized national opposition. How did these two factors shape the status of Spanish?

Moatassime asserts that it was the accelerated Francization the primary responsible for the linguistic chaos that Morocco faced and is still facing today. He adds that, paradoxically, the Maghreb never was as thoroughly Francophone in the colonial period as it became after independence. In an educational system that was supposedly Arabized or in the process of being Arabized, French remained compulsory from elementary school to university. The objective of this was to generalize French much faster than Arabic and to relegate other foreign languages to a lower status (Moatassime 2006).

Krikez asserts that Spanish-Moroccan education was disappearing, undermined by an imposed bilingualism that facilitated for French the progressive occupation of all the Northern spaces (Krikez 2005). Angel Moratinos describes the struggle of Spanish language and culture against Franco-Moroccan policy in the following words:

“vivieron siempre aislados de los distintos centros locales marroquíes. La responsabilidad no fue estrictamente española, sino que las autoridades de Rabat, por estrictas razones políticas, aplicaron a rajatabla el bilingüismo oficial: árabe y francés, mientras que nuestra lengua y cultura no solo no encontraron apoyo alguno, sino que hubieron de enfrentarse a todo tipo de dificultades para su difusión”. (Moratinos 1993)

“They lived always isolated from the different Moroccan local centers. Responsibility was not strictly Spanish, since the Moroccan authorities in Rabat, for pure political reasons, applied a very strict official
bilingualism: Arabic and French. Meanwhile our language and culture not only found no support whatsoever, but had to face all kinds of difficulties for dissemination.” [Translation is mine]

Toufik Majdi also asserts that, after independence and the recovery of the southern areas (Sidi Ifni 1958, Saquiet El Hamra and Oued Eddahab 1975), Spanish continued to regress mainly due to the language choices made by Morocco: Francization and Arabization (Majdi 2009, 153). According to Bennis, the expansion of Francophony has entailed the elimination of Spanish in Northern Morocco and the Moroccan Sahara in the post-independence era. It has also restricted Arabic to functions that do not respond to societal needs and do not live up to the expertise required by the international community. Francophony grew under the umbrella of bilingualism and cultural diversity, in order to constrict Arabic’s usage and dominate all other languages (Bennis 2002). In fact, by prioritizing French at the expense of other languages, Morocco lost the opportunity to empower Spanish. Spanish disappeared gradually from the North because of the imposed official bilingualism, and began to be introduced, during the 1960s, in the educational system of independent Morocco as a foreign language along with English, German, Russian, Italian and Portuguese (El-Khoutabi 2005). Sayahi further speaks of a process of linguistic assimilation geared toward francizing the North and relegating the status of Spanish in this area to a lower level (Sayahi 2005, 103).

Consequently, Francization was able to determine the importance of Spanish at two levels: status and acquisition. Spanish became a simple foreign language, although it had been an official language during the Protectorate. French and Arabic replaced it in the educational and administrative institutions of the Northern Strip of Morocco, and its presence became much reduced in the social spheres.

At the acquisition level, the Francophone elite took advantage of the failure of Spain to incorporate the French methodology and texts in teaching Spanish, which were accompanied by
an ideological agenda that strove to present Spanish as an underdeveloped language and Spain as a country in crisis. At the same time, French was presented as the only language of modernity with access to science and technology. Therefore, the teaching of Spanish in Morocco continued, until the 1990s, with French textbooks, such as "Pueblo 1 and 2," “¿Qué tal Carmen?” and "¿Adónde?.” They all presented an image of Spain that was filtered through the French perspective: bereaved women, desolated and dark towns. In short, in Moroccan schools, the teaching material used for Spanish has been archaic, inadequate and promoting the image of an underdeveloped country. This stereotype could hardly attract a teen audience, and has left a persistent negative mark in the imagination of several generations of students (del Pino 2004).

Fassi Fihri speaks of a clear tendency of the Francophone elite to idealize and commercialize the linguistic affair, which did not favor the mastering of Arabic, French or any other foreign language, by Moroccan citizens. He urges this elite to abandon its exclusive thoughts and stop imposing French on Moroccan citizens because this makes them lose the opportunity to learn other languages, like Spanish and English. He also asserts that the state’s hesitation or indecision in making clear language policies will never allow the development of the country and the improvement of its educational system (Fassi Fihri 2007).

At the same time, the particular place that Francophony has in political, economic, scientific and cultural fields provides French with a tremendous power of appointment and distribution of values. For that reason, Mohamed Bennis does not hesitate to blame the Francophony for always being a major factor in the destabilization of symbolic social values. He insists that by dismissing Arabic from its functions, Francization is the only policy responsible for forcing Arabic to remain anti-modern and the other foreign languages to remain stagnant (Bennis 2002, 58).
It became evident that French is the most decisive factor in defining linguistic-cultural spaces and that Moroccan Franco-Arabic language policy played – and still plays – a marginalizing role against foreign languages, particularly Spanish, and Arabic itself. That is to say that, in contrast to the post-colonial policies that envision Arabic as a unifying force, the French elite succeeded in presenting Arabization as divisive and multilingualism as the only way to keep the unity of the country. The recognition of this multilingual reality is not always officially declared.

Recently, this situation has given birth to two contradictory reactions: one supportive of multilingualism (mainly Francophones and Amazighophones) and one against it (Arabophones). The latter wonder why Morocco has to adopt, de jure or de facto, various official languages when all modern states have only one; they also wonder if the type of multilingualism the Moroccan state is promoting may end up killing the national language, lowering the quality of education and causing cultural perturbation for Moroccan citizens. In fact, moving away from Arabization and promoting such multilingualism will have various implications for the status of the different languages existing in this linguistic melting pot.

3.4. The Impact of the Spanish Neglect on the Status of Spanish

While some sociolinguists and intellectuals exclusively blame Arabization and Francization for lowering the status of Spanish in the region, some others believe that the above-mentioned factors were nothing but a natural reaction to the absolute neglect, ambiguity and improvised nature of Spain’s policy in the region. In this context, Javier Barquin Ruiz asserts that in addition to the Franco-Arabic policy, the Spanish presence in the region has been progressively reduced and impoverished due to the distrust of Spaniards living in Morocco in using their own language. They all joined the French colony and made Spanish language loose a
historical opportunity to better position itself in the Moroccan sociolinguistic context (Barquin Ruiz 2006).

In reference to this, Roldán also asserts that in the moment of Arabization and Moroccanization of the educational system – the 1960s and 1970s – Spain was not in a good position to assert its own will in such a process (Roldán 2006, 30). Moratinos describes the fact that Spanish language and cultural roots did not entirely disappear from the Maghreb context as a “miracle” (Moratinos, 1993). Khoutabi insists that, in the face of Spanish carelessness in the area, Morocco had to undertake the difficult task of creating its own methods for teaching Spanish with minimal collaboration with Spain, whose help was repeatedly sought by Morocco to no avail (Khoutabi 2005). Gil Grimau confirms that the main factor leading to the conservation of Spanish in Morocco in the last twenty years is not any effort by the Spanish state, but the interest of the Moroccan authorities themselves and the influence of Spanish television (Gil Grimau 2003, 41).

The adoption of Arabic as the only official language, French as a de facto second official language, and Spain’s neglect of the region are thus the main factors that contributed to the reduction of the status of Spanish in Morocco. Benyaya curiously noticed that these same factors recently urged Spain to rethink and activate its cultural action in Morocco (Benyaya 2007a, 170). Scipione and Sayahi interestingly point out that in spite of the above-mentioned factors, Spanish is still a significant part of the Northern Moroccan identity and, in concurrence with Gil Grimau, they contend that interest in Spanish has been sustained mainly through television broadcasting in recent years (Scipione and Sayahi 2005, 105).

For Mohamed Mghara, it is certain that if the Spanish language still exists in Morocco it is not due to the work of Spanish institutions, but to the tenacity of Moroccans in learning it
(Mghara 2004). Recent polls, completed by Affaya and Guerraoui, showed that Moroccan citizens never felt satisfied with the way in which the Moroccan government manipulated Spanish. Nearly two thirds (63.1%) of Moroccans believe that Morocco has made a mistake by neglecting the teaching of Spanish, because they see it as the second foreign language of the country (Affaya and Guerraoui 2006).

3.5. The Status of Spanish in Western Sahara

Western Sahara has a unique political status that is still troubling, not only for the Moroccan people, but also for the international community at large. The Moroccan-Polisario conflict about this land ended up creating a unique status for Spanish. After proclaiming the “Saharan State” on February 27, 1976, the Polisario adopted Spanish, in addition to Arabic, as a sign of national identity and distinction vis-à-vis the French-speaking portion of the country, and Arabic-Spanish bilingual education was imposed. This policy reinforced by the constant political support that the Polisario received from Spain, helped Spanish acquire a more advanced status in this portion of the Sahara. After the recuperation of the Western Sahara following the Green March in 1975, Morocco started a policy of imposing French as a second language instead of Spanish in order to weaken the distinction exploited by the Polisario as an element of differentiation and resistance (Awah and Moya 2009).

On both sides of the conflict, a certain politicization of language is readily apparent. Spain uses language to counter the Moroccan presence in the area and Morocco does the same to counter the Spanish presence. The fact that the Moroccan authority shows considerable interest in teaching Spanish in its schools while countering it in the Sahara clearly confirms the politicization of the language issue; meaning that in the Sahara, Spanish is fought by the Moroccan authority not as a language per se but because it is used to empower a separatist group
that endangers the unity, stability and future of Morocco. Any support of or effort by Spain to spread its language in the Sahara is seen by Morocco as an action that favors the Polisario separatist groups.


In the following, we will examine the legislative texts dealing with language policies, as embodied in Royal speeches, the different Moroccan Constitutions, the various documents of the MEN, including the Charter drafted in 1999, the Urgent Plan (2009-2012), the White Book, the MEN General Orientations, and the Law of the University. We will also touch upon the documents of the CSE, and the cultural conventions and treaties that Morocco has signed in this regard. We will proceed through a critical analysis, hoping to clearly define the current status of Spanish in contemporary Morocco.

4.1. Royal Speeches: Language Policy in Favor of the National Constants

In the discursive literature, we find that the monarchical institution, as the highest authority in the country, started marking a positive attitude toward foreign languages in Morocco and a negative one toward Arabization in Royal speeches from the 1970s onward. In 1970, for example, Hassan II stated in one of his speeches

"...The perfect knowledge of foreign languages will truly allow us to enrich our Arab-Muslim patriotism" (Fragment number 7 of DHII, in the Annex, 1970) [Translation is mine].

However, as Moustaoui noticed, the reference to foreign languages in this speech is vague and might be justified, to a great extent, by the interest of strengthening the nation state as a homogenous entity and not in consideration of sociolinguistic realities (Moustaoui 2010). In other words, openness toward foreign languages was aimed at consolidating the national constants: the unity of religion, territory and monarchical institution.

As previously mentioned, in a 1995 speech about privatization of education and
Arabization, King Hassan II demonstrated his strong opposition to full Arabization of the Moroccan educational system. He believed that such a move might lead future Moroccan students to seclusion and make them less competitive. Five years later, Mohamed VI, the current king of Morocco, retook and reproduced the same discourse when he said:

“A propos des langues, Mon auguste père, Sa Majesté le Roi Hassan II, avait dit il y a des années que celui qui ne maîtrise qu’une seule langue peut être considéré comme analphabète. Il a aussi dit “Le Maroc ressemble à un arbre dont les racines nourricières plongent profondément dans la terre d’Afrique, et qui respire grâce à son feuillage bruissant aux vents de l’Europe”

With respect to languages, my august father said that in these years a person who masters only one language might be considered illiterate. He also said that Morocco looks like a tree that is deeply rooted into the land of Africa, and that breathes through its leaves from the winds of Europe” [Translation is mine]

He further noticed that the branches of the Moroccan tree are naturally closer to Spain and France than to UK and Germany. The Moroccan tree is articulated along the axis of Rabat-Madrid-Paris.

“... les branches de l’arbre marocain sont naturellement plus proches de l’Espagne et de la France que la Grand Bretagne et de l’Allemagne. L’arbre marocain se dresse selon l’axe Rabat-Madrid-Paris”

"... the branches of the Moroccan tree are naturally closer to Spain and France than to UK and Germany. Moroccan tree stands along the Rabat-Madrid-Paris axis" [Translation is mine]

Furthermore, on October 17th 2001, the new king delivered, in the Town of Khenifra, a discourse in which he officially recognized the linguistic diversity and the plurality of the Moroccan identity.

"Through this Act we all want, first of all, to express our appreciation of our shared history and our national cultural identity, built around multiple and varied inputs. The plurality of the tributaries that have forged our history and shaped our identity is inseparable from the unity of our nation grouped around these sacred values”[Translation is mine]

In the same year, while addressing the Moroccan people, on the occasion of the Feast of the Throne, the King assessed the cultural diversity of Morocco in the following words:
"Dear people, an important issue which concerns us all, is namely the question of national identity, an identity which is characterized by its diversity and its plurality as it is characterized by its homogeneity, unity and originality throughout history” [Translation is mine]

Based on these various fragments of Royal Speeches, it is clear that the monarchical institution has been changing its language policy over and over again, depending on the political challenges it was facing at a given moment. After independence, the biggest challenge was the Arabized nationalist movement. Therefore, the adoption and implementation of Arabization was the most convenient decision to consolidate the monarchical institution. In our time, the recognition of multilingualism comes as a response to Francophone and Amazighophone political pressures, but for the same purpose: to assimilate these pressures and keep its leaders under the leadership of the monarchical institution. These much-politicized choices are not necessarily intended to recognize and promote the sociolinguistic diversity existing in the country, but to assimilate any kind of opposition that may challenge the power of the monarchical institution. This logic is reinforced over and over again in all official documents pertaining to the issue; as the following statements form the various versions of the Moroccan constitution demonstrate.

4.2. The Constitutional Legislation

The different versions of the Moroccan Constitution (1957, 1962 and 1994, reformed in 1996) were all based on two cornerstones: Islam and Arabic. The preamble of each of these versions clearly states that Arabic is the official language of the country:

“The Moroccan Kingdom is a sovereign Islamic State. Its official language is Arabic and it is part of the Large Arabic Maghreb” [Translation is mine]

While many Arab nations were hoping to experience radical changes after the Arab spring, the current resistance of the so-called “Profound State” is aimed at ending such hope, in some cases through oppression, as is the case of Egypt, Syria and Yemen, and in some other
cases through partial and superficial recognition of some popular rights, with Morocco as a perfect case in point. The Moroccan Government, under its famous slogan "the Moroccan particularity," knew how to absorb the frustration of the Moroccan people that was expressed in the protests of the Movement of February 20. In order to stem the tide of popular discontent, it responded in a partial manner, to some of the protesters’ demands through the validation of a new constitution. However, many Communist and Islamic activists and politicians view the reforms contained in this new constitution as superficial, highly politicized and aimed more at appeasing than at genuine change (Fath Allah Arsalan, Ahmed Arrisouni, Hassan Benajeh, Mohamed Darif, etc.).

In reference to language, for the first time, the preamble of the 2011 constitution does not refer to Arabic as the official language and officially recognizes the diversity existing in the country:

"Morocco is a sovereign Muslim State, attached to its national unity and to its territorial integrity. The Kingdom of Morocco intends to preserve, in its plentitude and its diversity, its one and indivisible national identity. Its unity is forged by the convergence of its Arab-Islamist, Berber [Amazighe] and Saharan-Hassanic components, nourished and enriched by its African, Andalusian, Hebraic, and Mediterranean influences. The preeminence accorded to the Muslim religion in the national reference is consistent with the attachment of the Moroccan people to the values of openness, moderation, tolerance and dialog for mutual understanding between all the cultures and the civilizations of the world" [Translation is mine]

However, chapter V of the constitution confirms the official status of Arabic and the commitment of the Moroccan state to work for its protection, development and promotion. Likewise, Tamazight has been confirmed as a second official language of the state and a common patrimony of all Moroccans without exception.
Arabic is the official language of the State. The State works for the protection and for the development of the Arabic language, as well as the promotion of its use. Likewise, Tamazight constitutes an official language of the State, being common patrimony of all Moroccans without exception. [see the English version of 2011 Moroccan Constitution]

Finally, considering the Hassaniya, another variety of Arabic originally spoken by Beni Hassan Bedouin tribes in the south of the country and an integral component of the Moroccan cultural unity, the constitution expressed the state’s commitment to preserve it. The Hassaniya was introduced in Morocco through Mauritania and Western Sahara between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. It has almost completely replaced the Berber languages spoken in this region. Hassaniya is relatively distant from other North African variants of Arabic. There are several dialects of Hassaniya. The primary differences among them are phonetic. Today Hassaniya is spoken in Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Senegal and the Western Sahara (Gordon 2005).

The State works for the preservation of Hassani, as an integral component of the Moroccan cultural unity, as well as the protection of the speakers [of it] and of the practical cultural expression of Morocco. Likewise, it sees to the coherence of linguistic policy and national culture and to the learning and mastery of the foreign languages of greatest use in the world, as tools of communication, of integration and of interaction [by which] society [may] know, and to be open to different cultures and to contemporary civilizations [see the English version of the 2011 Moroccan Constitution]

With reference to foreign languages, the above constitutional paragraph insists on the importance of learning and mastery of the most widespread contemporary languages as tools of communication, integration, societal interaction and openness to different cultures and
civilizations. There is no reference to a specific foreign language.

4.3. Legislative Texts Issued by the Ministère de l’Education Nationale (MEN)

As described in its official website, under Article 1 and 2, the MEN is responsible for developing and implementing the governmental policies in pre-school, elementary and secondary education, and in the training of instructors. It is also responsible for preparing classes for higher and technical education and ensuring, within the limits of its powers, state control of private education. In structural terms, the MEN is responsible for the organization of its administrative structures and the distribution of resources placed under its control according to national goals and priorities. The central structure of the Ministry, composed of one Department for Elementary, Middle and Secondary education and another for Higher Education, has an outstanding Programing Committee and sixteen Regional Academies of Education and Training all over the country. These Academies are in charge of three fundamental aspects of education: evaluating the performance of teachers, monitoring the implementation of programs, and renewing curricula and textbooks (Ministère de l'Education Nationale).

Moroccan legislation pertaining to education is enacted in two ways: first, in the form of Royal Decrees, made by the King, and signed only by the Monarchical institution; second, in the form of laws drawn up by MEN, and approved by the Parliament. Since Independence, it has been primarily MEN that has elaborated the different reforms of the educational system, which were intended to establish a united, democratic, Moroccan and Arabized educational system. However, after several decades, the outcome was much lower than what was expected and the signs of a complete crisis of the educational system were visible. It was well known that public education was of poor quality, with concrete evidence in the form of plunging test scores and a surging interest in private schools. In the face of the previous challenges and those of
globalization, the Moroccan authority has had to rethink its strategy for preparing Moroccan citizens for the 21st century. It was in this context that MEN introduced a new reform: the Charter. A Special Committee “Comité Special de l’Éducation et Formation” (COSEF) was formed with the purpose of developing a new reform of education, which led to the adoption of the Charter. It was published in January 2000, after being presented in October 1999, through a Royal Speech, and approved later on by the Parliament. The Law applies mainly to the first and second cycles of Moroccan compulsory education. In addition to this fundamental document, MEN issued subsequent documents that were aimed at facilitating its implementation and success (the Urgent Plan, the White Book, the General Guidelines and the University Law).

4.3.1. Spanish in the Charter

Linguistically speaking, this document adopted a new perspective that takes into consideration the diversity of the Moroccan linguistic-cultural landscape. It is within this new legislative framework, which aims to establish balance between the national constants and openness toward the demands of modernity that we will try to define the status of Spanish.

Article 110 of Foundation 9 highlights a variety of factors that must be considered with reference to language and educational policies: the official status of Arabic, the various components of the Moroccan identity, the strategic geographical position of Morocco, the Maghreb, African and European dimensions, the openness toward the other languages and civilizations of the World, and the importance of incorporating a language of instruction that gives Moroccan citizens access to technology and modernity in the educational system. Interestingly, for the first time after independence, Arabization is not mentioned in the Charter and multilingualism is recognized as a “de facto” reality that requires clear planning.

Based on the above-mentioned considerations, Foundation 9 defines three lines of
linguistic action: improving the teaching of Arabic language and expanding its domains of usage; openness to the varieties of Tamazight; and improvement of foreign language instruction as a necessary step in gaining access to the sciences. It is a tripartite approach based on the right of citizens in the national language, native/mother tongues and foreign languages. This plan seems to be well balanced as it considers the linguistic diversity existing in the society and the universal dimension of the Moroccan identity.

**Foundation 9: Improve the teaching and use of Arabic language; the perfection of foreign languages and openness toward Tamazight**

**Article 110:** As the Constitution of the Moroccan Kingdom considers Arabic the official language of the country; and as its empowerment and use in the different fields of science and life was, still is and will continue to be a national objective; and in consideration of,

- The various factors contributing to the fertilization of the Moroccan legacy,
- The strategic geographical location of Morocco, which makes of it a land of civilizations,
- The Maghrebin, African and European neighboring dimensions of Morocco,
- The tendency of Morocco to open up and communicate with the international community,
- The role of pedagogical planning in determining the language of teaching sciences and most recent technologies

_The Kingdom of Morocco adopts, in the field of education, a language policy that is clear, harmonious and consistant [Translation is mine]_

Article 111 emphasizes the necessity of improving the teaching of Arabic, although it does not specify which variety of Arabic. However, it insists on the official status of Arabic and
the compulsory nature of its teaching for all Moroccan children. Articles 112 and 113 refer to how to use spoken Arabic, from which one could easily assume it is Moroccan Arabic. Likewise, article 113 refers to a fact of utmost importance: the creation of the Academy of Arabic Language beginning in the academic year 2000-2001.

The “de jure” or legislation is clear enough on how to progressively widen the domains of use of Arabic; however, in “de facto,” all of the above-mentioned lines of action are inactivated, disturbed by a powerful Francophone elite, a new-born Tamazight movement, and unsupportive attitude (suspension of the Academy of Arabic) and laissez-faire policy of the State. The positive attitude of the legislator toward widening the domains of Arabic without any official support can be understood as a way to avoid the large opposition that such a decision may face within the Moroccan society. It also looks like the legislator is progressively preparing the society to admit a multilingual society. If that is the case, the Charter may lead to more social hierarchy and fracture.

In addition to the above-mentioned factors and against any logic of reinforcing the use of Arabic as the only language of instruction, Article 114 calls for the diversification of languages allowing access to new technologies at the university level. The immediate implication of such legislation is that, in addition to French, other foreign languages (mainly English) are now entitled to become languages of instruction.
Article 114: The gradual opening of optional programs, during the national deceny of education and training (1999-2009), with the purpose of offering scientific, technical and pedagogical subjects in Arabic language at the college level. Adopting new pedagogical approaches and hiring professional trainers can achieve this objective. In addition, the opening of higher education programs, with the purpose of facilitating research and training through those foreign languages that are more useful in terms of their scientific and communicative capacity. [Translation is mine]

In fact, while the policy makers adopt in the Charter a “pragmatic – functional – communicative approach” that keeps the doors open to a great level of competition and self-accreditation between foreign languages, they consciously or unconsciously contribute to the weakening of Arabic and to an increasing balkanization of the linguistic map of Morocco. That is to say that, while all nations prioritize their national languages and open the doors for other foreign languages to enrich their cultural values, in Morocco the elimination of Arabization from the wording of the Charter can be understood as abandoning Arabic and opening the doors for a wild multilingual state that will contribute to the disruption of the Moroccan society. In fact, the current daily Moroccan debates in the media clearly show the chaotic linguistic situation in today’s Morocco.

Article 117 of the Charter also highlights the importance of mastering the use of foreign languages and proposes a road map on how to achieve such a goal:

For the first time, Article 117 of the Charter distinguishes between first and second foreign languages. It also prioritizes the introduction of the first foreign language (French) beginning in the second year of Elementary School, instead of the third year, which means that officials are increasingly heading toward a more francized educational system. The second foreign language (mainly English and perhaps Spanish) is to be introduced in the fifth year. The Article does not specify again which foreign language is the first and which one is the second. However, due to historical, political and socio-economic factors, the very simple Moroccan citizen assumes that, by first foreign language, the legislator refers to French, which achieved such a status mainly through a de facto policy and a linguistic culture that was progressively
internalized as an assumption into the Moroccan psychology. The other foreign languages are expected to define their status based on competition and through a process of self-regulation and accreditation.

**Article 117:** To familiarize learners with foreign languages at an early age and help them master them later on, the following guidelines should be followed progressively and in agreement with the human and pedagogical resources available, beginning the school year 2000-2001:

- The first foreign language should be introduced beginning the second year of elementary school, with emphasis on the listening and speaking skills,
- The second foreign language should be introduced beginning the fifth year of elementary school, with emphasis on the listening and speaking skills,
- The teaching of foreign languages should be supported with their use in the teaching of some cultural, technological and scientific subjects, for the sake of achieving a higher level of functionality and communication of the language,
- Colleges and institutions of higher education should create programs tailored to fulfill the needs of learning languages, including Arabic. Such programs should contain cultural, technological and scientific units that consolidate the functional character of languages.
- Language instructors should be engaged in systematic professional trainings and the learning of languages should be continuously assessed,
- Develop a decennial plan for teaching foreign languages, before June 2000, based on the linguistic objectives proposed in Article 112 and in agreement with the following steps:
  - Create an institution aimed at preparing professional leaders in the field of language teaching.
- Carefully select new language instructors and systematically train them in the field of new strategies and methodologies of language teaching.
- Clearly define the strategies, timing and financial resources required for the assessment of language teaching and learning at the national level.

[Translation is mine]

However, due to the global economic value that English is gaining day after day, English was able to forge a higher status in the country and Spanish has been relegated to a lower status. The repercussions of such a tendency are seen throughout the educational system, where virtually most Moroccan high schools and universities prioritize the offering of English at the expense of other foreign languages. Another example of this is the foundation of the University Al-Akhawayn, an Anglophone institution par excellence in the city of Ifran, and the suspension of the “Universidad de los Dos Reyes” project. To some analysts, English is entitled to replace French and become the first foreign language, as it is experiencing a boom among the Moroccan popular sectors due to its great international presence.

The Charter clearly advocates for multilingualism through the introduction of French, Tamazight and a second foreign language, in addition to Arabic, from elementary school onward. Mr. Maiquinez, a linguistic consultant in the cultural department of the Spanish Embassy in Rabat, confirmed during my visit in February of 2012, that while the Charter keeps the doors open to all foreign languages to be taught since elementary school, in reality this choice is restricted to French and English. He asserted that the many initiatives that his department presented to the Moroccan authority, with the purpose of allowing Spanish to be taught at an early age, have been either ignored or rejected.

The Charter also suggests introducing other foreign languages at an early stage of school. This tendency allowed Spanish to be introduced for the first time in Middle School, beginning the school year 2005-2006, and it continues to be offered in the three courses of secondary
school. However, it is not guaranteed that pupils who have chosen Spanish in middle school can continue their studies in this language at the high school level, especially in areas in which the continuity of Spanish is not ensured. English is offered in all educational institutions, while Spanish is offered only in 51% of them. Maiquinez responds that since the Charter does not say anything about which language is to be prioritized in schools, the school directors use their authority and judgment to place students in language classes, and most of the time they favor English at the expense of other languages. To him, the status of Spanish seems to be endangered by giving the school principals the authority to select which language to teach at their institutions, as the offering of English in these schools is certainly much more frequent than Spanish.

So, legally, students can choose between several languages (English, Spanish, German and Italian), but in reality English is prioritized over the others. According to Roldán, 90% of students choose English while only 8% of students choose Spanish (Roldán 2005). Exacerbating this problem, some of the students who are enrolled in Spanish do so simply because the English courses are full. The obvious consequence of this is the damage to the course done by a preponderance of disinterested students.

In an unprecedented move, the Article calls for improving the functionality of foreign languages by incorporating them in the teaching of some scientific, technological and cultural units. In addition, it calls for the creation of college programs that help students improve their language skills and calls for the development of workshops and training programs to prepare qualified language instructors. Once again, English is de facto the first beneficiary of such initiatives.

Article 118 specifies that, in addition to the official programs taught through the
educational system and in collaboration with private language agencies (cultural centers, libraries, private schools, etc.), the Ministry of Education assumes the responsibility for establishing regional networks specialized in the teaching of foreign languages through immersion programs during school breaks. This initiative has opened the doors of competition between the different language agencies to implement more programs to promote their respective languages. In practice, English and Spanish greatly benefit from these networks, but with a clear advantage to the former over the latter.

Article 118: In collaboration with specialized bodies and through the best use of the available equipments and human resources, the parties in charge of education and training should establish regional nets aimed at teaching foreign languages in private institutions. These nets will incorporate the most developed assessment techniques and strategies to teach foreign languages, including intensive courses, multimedia, language labs and cultural and linguistic immersion programs. To achieve this last objective, these regional nets will make use of on campus students’ residence, during summer breaks.

We should notice that against the declaration of Arabic as the first official language of the country and against the objective of the State to strengthen and widen its spaces, the linguistic choices articulated in the Charter have contributed to the weakening of Spanish and to more balkanization and hierarchization of the Moroccan sociolinguistic map. Also, rather than establishing a highly necessary linguistic balance, these choices created a great conflict between national and foreign languages. They have intensified the relationship between Arabophones and Amazigophones and between Arabophones and Francophones and contributed to an unbalanced level of competition between the Francophony, the Hispanophony and the Anglophony. In fact,
the majority of sociolinguists and intellectuals did not welcome the Charter’s choices and made them a source of criticism of the policy makers.

We should also notice that while the choices reflected in the Charter’s model leave no doubt that language policy makers had overcome a period of improvisation in favor of clear and effective planning, its implementation seems to be hindered by a number of problems, such as: Which language must be used in the teaching of sciences—Arabic, French or English? How to keep balance between what is local and what is universal? Does Morocco have the necessary human and financial resources for such a vast multilingual project?

With regards to the contradiction between the choices embodied in the Charter, while Errihani interestingly points out that the reform is a clear departure from the old Arabization policy, which required all students to study in Arabic and switch to French once they reach the university, and that the talk about strengthening the role of Arabic in higher education is nothing but a way of paying lip service to the initial policy of Arabization without openly admitting its failure (Errihani 2008). I believe that officially insisting on widening the spaces of Arabic while introducing more foreign languages in elementary schools, in addition to Arabic and Tamazight, is nothing but a way to absorb the popular and intellectual resistance that this choice may provoke. In fact, insisting on exposing children to more languages in their first five years of schooling, (which means that children between the ages of six and ten are required to learn four different languages with three distinct scripts in the first five years of their schooling) is a clear tendency to empower foreign languages at the expense of the national one. And with such a daunting task asked of students, one should wonder how this could at all be achieved.

Tomastik was absolutely right when he observed that, against what that Charter tries to convey, the choices embodied in it convey a clear message: stop the expansion of Arabic in
technical and scientific disciplines, which could lead to isolation from the rest of the world. Technical subjects are to be taught in the most suitable languages, in higher education. This formulation opens a broad space for the use of foreign languages, especially French, English and Spanish, which have major presence in the Moroccan linguistic context - although surprisingly none of them is specifically identified as a language of instruction (Tomastik 2010, 105).

For Fassi Fihri, in the tripartite plan proposed in the Charter great attention has been paid to Tamazight and foreign languages, but no attention was given to Arabic. Fassi Fihri does not hide his frustration toward the incompatibility that exists between legislation and practice and classifies this behavior as a linguistic racism against the Arabic language (Fassi Fihri 2007). In this same context, Ahbadou specifies that the Charter’s content does not correspond to what exists in practice: Arabic, for example, is the official language in the Charter, but in reality it suffers from marginalization. To him, the gap between the Charter’s content and the de facto linguistic practices is increased by socio-economic factors, the absence of a very clear national language policy and the power relations and ideological and political conflicts that exist among the elite (Ahbadou 2011).

In summary, one can say that the new Moroccan language policy is a good example of language politics. That is to say that every linguistic choice has been incorporated in the Charter for political reasons and reflects, to a great extent, the power relations and conflicts that exist at very high level: Arabic, the so-called first official language, is not welcomed anymore by the political elite and therefore is kept at a status-quo and stagnant condition that does not allow its access to higher education and technological spaces; Tamazight is instrumentalized by the francophone elite to block any progress that those Arabophone advocates may inquire for Arabic; French is the de facto official language as it is supported by a politico-economically
powerful francophone elite; English is progressively forging a more powerful position in parallel with the technical, scientific and communicative power that it enjoys in our days; and Spanish, which for geographical and historical reasons has become a component of the Moroccan identity, is striving to achieve a better position, especially in the educational system, which may serve as a solid foundation for diplomacy and intercultural influence.

4.3.2. Spanish in the Urgent Plan 2009-2012

The time required to implement the Charter content was supposed to be 10 years, but as of 2008 there were only partial plans and strategies for how to implement it. So, after eight years, the reports of MEN itself, through COSEF, expressed dissatisfaction with the degree of compliance with the Charter objectives and advised acting more effectively for the development of education in Morocco. The CSE, a high consultative institution, also presented its first annual report about education in Morocco in 2008 and clarified that the main reasons behind the failure in implementing the Charter were the delay in the activation of the CSE itself, the absence of a clear strategy for the implementation of the Charter, and the bias and selectivity in implementing its content.

King Mohammed VI, in his speech on the occasion of the opening of the fall of 2007 parliamentary session, urged his agency to prepare an Emergency Plan, which would serve as a road map aimed at accelerating the implementation of the reform over the course of the next four years. It is in this context that the MEN developed an Emergency Plan "NAJAH (Success) 2009-2012," which was described in the preamble as a breath of fresh air for the Charter. It is not another reform of the educational system, but a practical plan derived from the Charter for relaunching its fundamental objectives. The Plan introduced twenty-three projects. The twentieth project, outlined on pages 64-65, is dedicated to mastering the use of languages (Ministère de
After emphasizing the four linguistic goals set by the Charter—which are the need to strengthen the Arabic language, master foreign languages, diversify languages of instruction for scientific subjects, and open up toward the Tamazight—the Plan defined two unbalanced levels. Firstly, at the level of languages of instruction, the Plan recognized that there is a huge gap between secondary and higher education. Secondly, at the level of teaching languages, it recognized that there is an obvious mismatch against the linguistic skills sought. The plan reached this conclusion from a national test that was held in 2006, which revealed that only 7% of 11th grade students master Arabic, and only 1% master French. Therefore, the Plan defined as an objective the improvement of mastery of languages by students, whether Arabic, Tamazight, or foreign languages.

Three practical steps have been defined with the purpose of improving the learning of languages: the improvement of pedagogical methods and techniques through the implementation of the pedagogy of integration; the implementation of support measures for struggling students in the field of language learning; and the modernization of Arabic language learning through the Mohammed VI Academy for Arabic Language.

Within this new action plan, the methodology of teaching foreign languages and the human and financial resources allocated for it are supposed to improve. It is in this context that the CSE released in its Annual Report (2008) the following statement:

“Il est aujourd’hui de la responsabilité de l’école d’assurer pleinement aux élèves la maîtrise de la langue arabe, l’accès d’un nombre croissant d’enfants marocains à la langue Amazigh et à la maîtrise des compétences nécessaires en langues vivantes étrangères qui participent de la trajectoire historique du Maroc et de sa tradition d’ouverture sur le monde” (CSE-Rapport Annuel 2008).

“It is now the responsibility of the school to ensure that students fully master the Arabic language, a growing number of Moroccan children have access to the Tamazight language and to the mastery of foreign languages that form part of the historical trajectory of Morocco and its tradition of openness to the world” [Translation is mine]
While referring to the languages that share a historical background with Morocco, we should understand that the CSE mainly means French and Spanish. In page 39 of the same document, foreign languages are French, in the first place, and English and Spanish as two international languages. It is within this framework, as we are going to learn in the next chapter, that (taking advantage of this legislative framework) the Spanish agencies try hard to forge a better place for the Spanish language and culture within the educational system of the country. The White Book, another official document, describes in detail the new configuration of Spanish in the Moroccan educational system.

4.3.3. Spanish in the White Book

While the Charter is conceptualized as a comprehensive reform of the Moroccan educational policy, the White Book is considered another official document, issued by MEN, with the purpose of developing the programs and structures of the educational system, based on the guidelines outlined in the Charter.

In structural terms, the White Book distinguishes between three independent cycles of education: Elementary Education, which lasts for 6 years (ages 6-11); Middle school, which lasts for three years (ages 12-14); and Secondary Education, which lasts for another three years (ages 15-17).

The teaching of languages in the Moroccan system is especially complex as a result of the difficult linguistic situation of the country. Students at the school learn the official language, which is classical Arabic, with a workload of eleven hours per week in the first two years of elementary school and six hours in the following four years. Since the academic year 2003-2004, the teaching of Tamazight language has been introduced in geographical areas where Amazigh live. In the second year of elementary school, the teaching of French is introduced, with eight
hours per week in each of the last four years of elementary education.

According to the White Book, the main objectives in elementary education are the acquisition and development of Arabic language and a first foreign language (French), and the oral familiarity with a second foreign language, which has not been defined or included yet. In the last year of Middle school, a new foreign language is introduced, with a load of two weekly hours, and students can choose between English, Spanish, German, Italian, and Portuguese. But the reality is that in most of the centers English - which is apparently the option preferred by families - is the only offered language. This forces the other languages to have a very limited presence.

During the year of Common Core (first year of Secondary Education), students may continue studying the language they learned in the previous year if it is taught in the chosen High School. If not, they have to study a new language. Three hours per week are devoted to the study of a second language in the course of Common Core. After Common Core, the hours devoted to the chosen language vary according to the type of High School Diploma targeted by the student. So, students majoring in Literature have five hours per week, for each year; those majoring in Humanities have four hours per week; finally, students majoring in Sciences have three hours per week.

Beginning the school year 2005-06, the teaching of Spanish has been introduced in the last year of Middle School. Until recently, its development was threatened by the absence of modern methodologies, qualified teachers, and the fact that students are not guaranteed the possibility of continuing their studies at High Schools where Spanish is offered. However, according to the 2012 Report of the Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports, in the school year 2010-2011, Spanish has been offered in 138 Middle Schools and 310 Secondary
Schools, with a total of 70,793 students and 716 instructors. The latest data of the 2012 Report show a slight increase compared with the previous figures: 495 Middle and High Schools offer Spanish, with a total of 814 teachers of Spanish and 82,343 students. In fact, it is the third foreign language, after French and English, albeit at considerable distance from the latter. But that situation is changing across the country, except in the Northwest where the presence of Spanish is still important.

4.3.4. Spanish in the General Orientations and Guidelines of MEN

In November 2007, MEN released an official document, entitled “The Educational Methods and the Programs of Teaching Spanish in Secondary Schools” (Al-manahij ata’limiyah wa baramij tadriss alughah al ispaniyah bi silk at’alim athanawi ata’hili”). Under the section entitled “Method of teaching Spanish” MEN describes the method that should be followed in teaching Spanish in Secondary Schools. MEN declares that this document should be used as a reference for the teaching of Spanish. The document revisits the principles outlined in the Charter, the White Book, the method of teaching Spanish in 1997, and the new methods of teaching foreign languages in order to design the method of teaching Spanish in Common Core and in the first and second years of high school (Ministère National de l'Education).

In 2009, a Committee made up of teachers, inspectors of MEN, and advisors of the Ministry of Education of the Spanish Embassy in Rabat, prepared another document, the “Program and Educational Guidelines related to the Teaching of Spanish in the Last Year of Middle School” (Al-Barnamaj wa Atawjihat Atarbawiyah al-khassah bi tadriss al-ispaniyah fi silk ata’lim athanawi-alidadi). In it, the Committee introduced the foundations, objectives, contents and methodology guidelines for the teaching of Spanish in Middle Schools.

The theoretical foundations that guide the curriculum of Spanish in Middle and High
School arise out of the recommendations of the Charter, which emphasizes the mastery of foreign languages as a top priority. Therefore, rather than the traditional grammatical approach and French methodology in the teaching of Spanish, the new guidelines pay special attention to communicative, methodological, strategic and technological skills.

4.3.5. Spanish in University Law 01-00 (2000)

As mentioned previously, the central structure of MEN is composed of one Department for Elementary, Middle and Secondary education and another one for Higher Education. Beginning in the academic year 2003-2004, higher education degrees have been adjusted, in agreement with the Charter’s guidelines and the European system of graduation. In today’s Morocco, students can pursue a Bachelor’s Degree (3 years), a Masters (2 years) or a Doctorate (3-4 years).

With regard to languages, from independence to the present, the Moroccan language policy at the university level has favored Franco-Arabic bilingualism, with the supremacy of French. However, recently some universities opted for English instead of French (the University Al-Akhawayn is a great example). Like the Charter, legislation applied to the Moroccan University does not adopt a language policy that clearly defines the status of foreign languages. Law 001 (2000) of MEN specifies that “the State works to further the development of education in Arabic in the different areas of training, mobilize the necessary resources for studies and research on the Tamazight culture and language, and improve the mastery of foreign languages, as part of a comprehensive plan to achieve these objectives”.

In this text, the notion of "foreign languages" is inaccurate, but it is understood that by the phrase refers mainly to French because it is the first foreign language used in university education. In reference to this, Salhi clarifies that official texts governing the teaching of foreign
languages, including Spanish, at Moroccan universities, do not contain clear objectives or strategies that may facilitate the opening of the University to professional life (Salhi 2004).

Currently, students can pursue studies of Language and Spanish literature in six Schools of Humanities of the following universities: Mohamed V in Rabat, Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah in Fez, Ain Chok in Casablanca, Abdelmalek Essaadi in Tetuan, Ibnou Zohr in Agadir and the School of Humanities in Nador, Nearly three thousand students majored in this area, during the academic year 2010-2011. In addition, eight other universities offer Spanish as an elective. English is in higher demand in technical and scientific higher education institutions, even though the law does not exclusively require it. This fact explains why Spanish is chosen by students of Humanities rather than by those in the schools of sciences. That is to say that despite enjoying a generally positive social value and certain vitality in the Moroccan society, Spanish still does not have a scientific value; proof of this is its absence in the schools of sciences.

In Professional Training Centers, nearly 700 students currently study Spanish; 170 of them in the “Instituto Superior Internacional de Turismo” in Tangier; 237 in the “Instituto Superior de Técnicas Turísticas” in Mohammedia, and 141 in the “Escuela de Biblioteconomía de Rabat.” As we can see, 407 students out of 700 are in schools of tourism; this is mainly due to the importance of tourism in the country's economy, the growing number of Spanish tourists who visit, and the fact that Spanish businessmen immediately hire many of the students graduating from these schools. In the private sector, Spanish is offered in institutions that prepare students who want to pursue their university studies in Spain for the selectivity exams (Informe 2012 del Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deportes).

Based on these observations, one can say that Spanish language has always been, but especially in the past twenty years, of great interest to both Spanish and Moroccan agencies.
However, Salhi emphasizes that while Spanish officials strive through an ideological-cultural action, to develop a Hispano-Moroccan cooperation that safeguards Spain’s interests in the region, the Moroccan side, made up of a group of Moroccan professors who had the opportunity to acquire training in this language in Morocco or abroad, especially in France, perceives Spanish in pragmatic terms. Therefore, he strongly believes that settling a more pragmatic methodology of teaching Spanish, instead of learning an inoperative pedagogy, has become an urgent priority. According to him, with the exception of the School of Sciences of Education and the ENS, which has greatly contributed to the training of Spanish high school teachers, the teaching of Spanish in the Moroccan University is facing great challenges.

Concerning content, the Spanish Departments do not have a clear vision of what they want to make of Spanish. They teach a literary and philosophical language rather than a practical one. Students complain of a psychological block when faced with real communicative situations. At the same time, such limited, shortsighted content has contributed to the production of useless degrees. As for structure, the timing and credit hours reserved for Spanish, its consideration as an elective, the lack of logistics, modern methodologies, technologies and well-trained instructors are all reasons for the lack of interest and absenteeism of students.

Salhi recommends some lines of action to make Spanish teaching more attractive, practical and useful. He proposes the introduction of computer science, comparative grammar (Spanish and Arabic), translation, Moroccan history and literature, and business management and communication in the curriculum. At the same time, he recommends the reduction of the volume of hours reserved for certain matters that occupy an unjustified space within the Spanish curriculum, such as the history of language, the history of Spain and the history of Spanish art. All these changes should be supported by the use of audiovisual materials and language
laboratories (Salhi 2004).

4.3.6. Spanish in Moroccan cultural conventions and treaties

Morocco has signed different cultural conventions with Spain in order to promote the Spanish language and culture within its boundaries. The first cultural convention was signed in 1957. However, its content was not activated until 1979, a year in which a new convention was signed. It was particularly focused on teaching and research. Article II is especially significant as it stipulates that each country should facilitate the printing of textbooks, especially those used in secondary schools, for the teaching of literary and historical subjects. For this purpose, technical committees composed of experts from both countries were formed to review and propose modifications that seem to be fair and relevant.

According to Benyaya, this legal framework was not enough to give a sufficient impulse to the Spanish-Moroccan cultural cooperation, or even overcome the various obstructions to the dissemination of Spanish. Problems such as the validation of qualifications, exchange of lecturers or lack of Spanish books and qualified teachers, remained (Benyaya 2007a, 172).

Claims of King Hassan II, in the Spanish newspaper, “EL PAIS,” Sept. 1989, on the eve of his visit to Spain, were especially significant and signaled a certain "reconciliation" with Spanish:

"It was a monumental error not to learn more of the Spanish language in Morocco" [translation is mine].

Consequently, the beginning of the 1990s witnessed the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighboring and Cooperation between Spain and Morocco. The Treaty reflects the completion of one stage and the beginning of a new one. It also reflects the Moroccan official interest in promoting the Spanish language and culture within its boundaries and represents a political and legislative framework designed to cushion any potential conflict and contribute to the improvement of relationship between the two peoples. More details about the 1980
convention and this Treaty will be introduced in chapter five of this dissertation.

5. Proposals for a Better Management of Moroccan de Facto Multilingualism

Despite its clear willingness to consider all the components of the Moroccan linguistic repertoire and articulate a language policy that brings balance to its linguistic market, the new language policy model, mainly embodied in the new Constitution and the Charter and its subsequent documents, has complicated the linguistic situation in Morocco. Ibn Farouk, for example, asserts that the coexistence of several languages within the same educational and administrative spheres of state necessarily gives rise to serious problems, and signs of a linguistic crisis are not only visible but also persist and worsen despite the measures taken by the state (Ibn Farouk 2004).

This dire situation has urged many intellectuals and sociolinguists to propose a variety of models and proposals with the hope of bringing back stability and balance to the Moroccan linguistic market. In the following, we are going to introduce these models and explore how each one of them relates to the status of Spanish. We should remember that in multilingual contexts like Morocco, it is almost impossible to define the status of a language without contrasting it against the status of the other languages existing in the country.

5.1. Open Monolingualism as Proposed by Al-Awrighi

For Al-Awrighi, until today, the language choices adopted by the Moroccan State in the educational system respond more to political exigencies than to cultural or functional ones. Such a politicization and ideologization of language is so pervasive that it is not possible to craft a coherent language policy. For example, despite the presence of many languages in the educational system (French, English, Spanish, German and Italian), the compulsory character of French in comparison with the optionality of those languages can only be explained by the
degree of political power that France has in the country. Also, the officialization of Tamazight and its inclusion in the educational system, despite its variability, local character and poor functionality came as a response to the political pressure exercised by the Tamazight movement. To him, opting for such a politicized multilingualism has a negative impact on the whole nation, but particularly on students who are unable to gain proficiency in any of these languages. He adds that in Morocco the majority of citizens are not fluent in any language and the mixing of codes is deeply rooted in the society (Al-Awraghi 2005).

After distinguishing between closed monolingualism (the exclusive use of a language, as is the case in France, United States, England, Spain, etc.), which is more suitable for the most advanced nations, and open monolingualism (the parallel use of a national language and other foreign languages, as is the case in Morocco), which is more suitable for developing nations, Al-Awraghi recommends the latter as an alternative to such a politicized and unplanned multilingualism. He further explains that open multilingualism consists of adopting Arabic as a national language and introducing foreign languages in the educational system based on their functionality and ability to connect the Moroccan student with the international community. To him, this is the only way to avoid social fragmentation and eliminate the code-mixing phenomenon, which leads to linguistic incapacity, intellectual perturbation and the extension of a very superficial culture. However, the following guidelines should be considered in the course of applying his model:

- *Learning the national language should be compulsory for all citizens, while linguistic openness should be optional.*
- *The selection of a language must be on the basis of its rich cultural content and not on the basis of political pressures.*
- *The introduction of a language in the educational system should be aimed at extracting the necessary expertise for the development of the country, not at achieving ideological ends.*
• *The relationship between Arabic and any other foreign language must be conceptualized as a complementary relationship, and not one of competition, conflict or struggle for power.*

For this model to be correctly implemented, language acquisition planning should be founded on two bases: The first of these is constantly (at all stages of education) exposing citizens to Arabic, for the purpose of weakening and eliminating what Al-Awraghi calls "Laghat and Lakat" (non-sense language mixing and borrowing), which characterizes Moroccan society and disturbs its identity and future. In parallel to this process, all those foreign languages that allow access to global cultures – not only those that are imposed by political force – should be offered through the educational system. If applied, this model may entitle Spanish – insofar as it is an international language of an immediate neighbor – to a better position within the Moroccan linguistic market.

Based on the above-mentioned guidelines, it seems that Al-Awraghi is for a pragmatic multilingual model instead of an unnecessary multilingualism that is prevalent in both the social and educational spheres and puts the ideal linguistic balance between national languages and foreign languages at risk. The latter is favored by the state and weakens both individual and national identity and all the values associated with them; proof of it is the current situation of Moroccan schools, where the learning of several languages in parallel to the national language and local varieties is not only time-consuming but also, and above all, very expensive and damaging to the psychology of students. Therefore, openness towards foreign languages should be guided by the desire to gain knowledge and expertise, not to weaken the national language.

**5.2. Supported Monolingualism as Proposed by Fassi Fihri**

According to Fassi Fihri, the current Moroccan state’s policy favors linguistic conflict between the varieties that make up the national identity (Arabic and Tamazight) and between these varieties and foreign languages, especially French. According to him, this conflict benefits
those who have political power at the expense of a harmonious multilingual environment that can benefit the entire society. He further notes that there is a financial interest behind the perpetuation of such a conflict, which goes a long way toward explaining the inconsistency in post-independence language policies and the changing attitudes of the elite towards them. This notion is supported by the fact that the same intellectuals who in the past were for Arabization are currently in favor of Francization, and those intellectual Amazigh who never had a negative attitude toward Arabic now see Arabophones as conquerors of the country (Fassi Fihri 2007). He concludes that in Morocco there is an increasing level of "language pollution," founded on an immature approach to multilingualism.

Since there is no country in the world that supports linguistic division within its boundaries, or takes a foreign language for a national one, Fassi Fihri recommends a supported monolingualism, which consists of a language policy that perceives Arabic as the only language that can fulfill the function of national language. In addition to Arabic, he proposes a purposeful multilingualism, where foreign languages should be incorporated in the Moroccan educational system with the purpose of allowing access to other cultures and enriching the structure of Arabic when necessary. To him, it is crucial to make a clear distinction between the use of a foreign language in domains where there is a need for it and its generalization in all aspects of life, including those where it is not needed. He further recommends a multilingualism that is aimed at transforming the linguistic reality from competitive juxtaposition to a purposeful diversity. Fassi Fihri proposes the following guidelines for his model:

• Establish an identity-rooted and continuously modernized national language. To him, Arabic is the best – if not the only – candidate for this function.

• Opt for a "cumulative and supported multilingualism" founded on the functions that each language can have in the society, and not based on political criteria. That will lead to the consideration of more than one foreign language, not only French.
• *Introduce foreign languages only at the high school and university stages, since introducing them as early as the national language disturbs not only the process of learning Arabic but also the learning of foreign languages.*

These guidelines should prevent foreign languages from taking over the functions that the national language has, and open the doors for them to contribute to the betterment of Morocco, in a prioritized way: French, for its historical, political, strategic and economic power in the region; English, for its scientific and technological value; and Spanish, for its geographical, historical and international values.

5.3. **Econo-Communicative Model as Proposed by Ibn El-Farouk**

To Ibn El-Farouk, the establishment of a unifying and rational linguistic policy in Morocco requires the consideration of both the communicative and the economic values that different languages can ensure for the Moroccan state. For that purpose, Moroccan language policy makers should consider three dimensions: the national dimension, the Panarab dimension, and the international dimension. The first dimension requires the consideration of Tamazight in addition to Arabic; the second one can be achieved only through Arabic, while the third one requires the consideration of French and English (Ibn El-Farouk 2004).

In reference to the international dimension, Ibn El-Farouk emphasizes the importance of foreign languages, not only because of the demands of technology, economics and science, but also because of the high degree of hospitality, tolerance and openness of the Moroccan citizen towards the other. He also asserts that, in a world where relations among states are becoming more globalized, it is absolutely imperative for Morocco to adopt one or two foreign languages that allow citizens to integrate into the global community. He believes that French should be prioritized for very obvious reasons and English should be promoted for its scientific value. However, while emphasizing the international dimension, Ibn El-Farouk did not consider the regional-Mediterranean dimension, which entitles Spanish to further enhance the relevance of his
5.4. Gravitational Model as Proposed by Messaoudi

Messaoudi proposes a gravitational model that theoretically rests on the Swaan Abraam model (2002). This model compares the relationship between languages to the hierarchical order of galaxies. For Messaoudi, in Morocco, there are few spoken Tamazight varieties that are organized around a central language used in national communication (Arabic with its Darija varieties). Arabophones are organized around a more extended foreign language, which is French. Finally, there is a supra-international language, which is English. She concludes that any planning meant to establish a balanced relationship between national diversity and international dimensions should be founded on this model.

The implications of this model for the Moroccan sociolinguistic context should contribute to the perception of Arabic and French as the most important languages. Darija should be perceived as a lingua franca that serves for communication between all social classes (Arabophones and Amazigophones). Tamazight, with all its varieties, should be perceived as a local language.

In reference to the educational system, Messaoudi wonders about the criteria used by the State at the time of including one or more languages in school. In other words, are languages introduced as subjects or as languages of instruction? To address this question, Messaoudi suggests a tripartite approach:

- **Strengthen the position of Arabic as an official language of the country, improve the quality of its teaching in school and rigorously develops its functionality within the modern society. To achieve this goal, she stresses the urgency of establishing the Academy of Arabic and a permanent body or institute in charge of the protection of this language.**

- **To have access to sciences and be well positioned in the international context, Morocco has to be open to international languages, particularly French, Spanish and English. In this context, Messaoudi recommends the establishment of an Institute of foreign languages, which should be responsible for the planning of these languages.**
The protection of the national linguistic heritage, embodied mainly in the Tamazight varieties, and the conviction of Tamazight leaders that, before being Arabs, Amazighs, or French-speaking, they are mainly Moroccans, and that the learning of Tamazight must, above all, facilitate the transition to standard Arabic, and not become a shell in which the Amazigh activists become enclosed. Furthermore, Messaoudi recommends that Tifinagh should be taught in college or in high school as a minority language. Finally, she sees that IRCAM mission must be limited to the protection of this heritage and should not feed linguistic conflicts, complicate the Moroccan linguistic reality, facilitate its Balkanization, or prevent the development of the country.

5.5. Glocalized Approach (Approche glocalisée) as Proposed by Boukous

In his glocalized model, Boukous proposes a multilingual policy that should take into account the Arabo-Amazigh cultural heritage and the socio-economic challenges imposed by globalization. In other words, it should balance the local, national, and global dimensions of Moroccan language policy.

Boukous asserts that the ideal model for an ex-colonized developing country like Morocco is one that combines the local-national dimension with the international one, which means that it is almost impossible to opt for a single language of instruction in the educational system. He further asserts that the decision to incorporate a language of instruction in the educational system must take into account the internal structure of that language, its symbolic value in the linguistic market and its ability to satisfy professional and social needs. It is based on these parameters that Boukous proposes the following guidelines for a more convenient language planning:

- **Arabic should be the language of teaching, from elementary school to university, of subjects relating to the Arabic-Islamic civilization (language, literature, culture, arts, history and religion). With reference to the national culture, Arabic can be used to teach literature, arts, culture, national education, history, environment, human, social, political and legal sciences.**

- **French should be the language of instruction from high school to university, specializing in technical, technological, scientific, economic and administrative fields.**

- **English should be the language of instruction in laboratories, scientific and doctoral studies centers, and in the domains of strategic, financial, and business planning.**

- **Tamazight should be the language of instruction of everything that is local, from elementary school to University. The meaning of ‘local’ in Boukous model is vague, knowing that Moroccan**
dialect is also local.

- Foreign languages that are taught in secondary schools should facilitate specialization in higher education and professional training, especially in the educational sector.

Boukous concludes that, contrary to the approach that conceptualizes Arabic as the only language of scientific education (Arabization), and those who prioritize French over Arabic in fulfilling this function (Francophones), the glocalized model seems to be the most qualified to improve the educational system. In addition, it should ensure a high level of functional complementarity between languages, put an end to the current conflict between the defenders of Arabization and Francization and open the doors for other foreign languages to contribute to the development of the country.

5.6. Distributional Model as Proposed by Esmili

Esmili classifies Morocco among the countries that did not have a very clear strategy of how to deal with the language of the colonizer. Morocco did not give a specific status to the language of the colonizer and proceeded by "le laissez-faire" policy, which has contributed to a chaotic and absolutely unbalanced linguistic situation. Therefore, Esmili advocates for a Moroccan language policy model where each of the languages is called to play a particular role. To him, considering the various factors that shape Moroccan society, multilingualism in Morocco must be accomplished according to a precise configuration or distribution.

"La mondialisation, la compétitivité, la qualité, l'enseignement, la formation, l'alphabetisation, la restructuration de l'entreprise, la modernisation, la démocratie, l'Islam, l'intégrisme, nos relations avec l'Europe, avec le Magreb, avec le Monde Arabe, avec la MENA, avec le reste du monde, notre propre identité, qui sommes-nous?, que voulons-nous être?, des Marocains ou des simples commerçants import-export?, de nos représentations de nous-mêmes?, de notre contribution au concert des nations? Tous ces thèmes de réflexion buteront sur un rocher monumental qui est le problème de la langue" (Esmili 2001, 50)

"Globalization, competitiveness, quality, education, training, literacy, the restructuring of economic enterprise, modernization, democracy, Islam, integration, our relations with Europe, the Maghreb, the Arab world, the MENA, and the rest of the world. Our own identity, who are we? What do we want to be? Are we Moroccans or simple import-export merchants? What is our contribution to the civilizations of the world? All of these themes of reflection are founded on a monumental rock which is the problem of language". [Translation is mine]
He further proposes the following guidelines for a well-balanced language policy:

- **Distinguish between foreign languages and community languages.** The latter should coexist, since each one of them has a specific function that does not contradict the others (i.e. Tamazight varieties have deeply rooted functions related to identity and community; spoken Arabic serves as a national lingua franca and fulfills, at the same time, the role of community language; written Arabic serves as a support for written expression and communication. In its classic form, it has heritage and liturgical functions. In its modern form, it also has an international communicative function within the Arabophone world).

- **Foreign languages should not take over the functions of community languages.** They should be incorporated in the educational system with the purpose of understanding the cultures of other peoples and nations and carrying out literary, scientific and technical translations.

- **Teaching, at all levels, must be offered in Arabic.** However, students should be exposed at an early age to the learning of foreign languages, in a way that does not harm their learning of the national language.

- **The State should not privilege French at the expense of other European or Anglo-American languages, mainly English, Spanish, German and Italian.** Rather, it should give citizens the right to choose one or two languages in a certain learning order.

### 5.7. Functional-Interventionist Multilingualism as Proposed by Bourqia

Bourqia who presented her model through the third magazine, “Madrasah Al-Maghribiya, insists that the officialization of Arabic requires the continuous development of its structure (corpus planning) and functions (status planning); the continuous work to reduce the differences between Darija and MSA through raising the popular awareness in reference to the value of the latter; the clear definition of the status of French in relation to the national languages and other foreign languages; the recognition that the ideologization of language policy is a very decisive factor in the escalation of language conflict; and that language policy should not be applied only to the educational system, but also to all domains of communication (administration, economy, technology, science, research, media, etc.) that ensure access to development and modernization.

It is based on these guidelines that Bourqia imagines an interventionist role for the State, which should be founded on the following principles:
• The right of each language to exist implies the recognition of multilingualism as the normal state of the society.

• The principle of functionality should ensure a relationship of complementarity between languages, not a relationship of conflict or competition.

• The need for state intervention in implementing language policy and putting an end to the distinction between de jure and de facto policies. In other words, the constitutionalization of a language does not mean anything if the state does not respect the requirements of the constitution.

• To fight linguistic militantism that results in the ghettoization of communities while the reality of globalization requires being open towards other languages and cultures.

• The elaboration of a linguistic convention or contract, which determines the status of each language within the educational system and the corresponding teaching methodology.

In support of this model, Kabli proposes the adoption of a plan that redefines the limits and functions of "identity tongues" (Arabic and Tamazight) and those that allow access to the modern world (foreign languages in general). Such a process should lead to the reconsideration of historical factors in redefining the status of French and Spanish. It should also lead to prioritizing identity languages in elementary education and languages of openness in higher education and scientific research (Kabli 2011).

6. Conclusion

These various proposals came as a response to the controversies generated by the new legislation, mainly embodied in the Charter. In each one of them, Arabic is perceived as the national language. However, there is no consensus about the role that foreign languages, particularly French, should play in the middle of the linguistic complexity that the Moroccan multilingualistic context represents. So, while most of these proposals conceive them as tools toward international openness and recommend not to place them in a competitive position with the national language, those Francophones believe that Arabization could not effectively respond to the increasing needs of science and modernity and wonder that insisting on it would condemn
the whole society to become ghettoed.

Where the disagreement about foreign languages spaces and functions is reflected the most is in the educational system, since French, and more recently English and Spanish, are all entitled to be languages of instruction. So, while national language supporters strongly insist on the State to assume its institutional and constitutional responsibility toward empowering Arabic in those domains that are reserved only for French, make an end to the incompatibility existing between legislation and practice and open the doors for other languages to be taught as foreign languages, beginning the high school level, the Francophones insist on fighting any advance of the national language toward those domains and prioritizing French over all the other foreign languages for its practicality, economic value and modern character.

Regardless of disagreement about this issue, the privileged status that French enjoys is not mostly welcomed and seen as damaging both the national language and other foreign languages, and continuing to insist on this state of affairs deprives the Moroccan citizen the right to have equal access to English, which is the language of technology par excellence, and Spanish, which is another language of great cultural and historical value and which has a promising future not only in this region, but in the entire world.

Giving that none of the mother tongues of Morocco (Darija or Tamazight) is a strong asset for the country, whether economically, professionally, scientifically or technologically and from a practical and pragmatic point of view, it follows that the re-definition of the criteria used in the decision to include a language in the educational system, should be based on functional criteria. That is to say that languages should be incorporated into the educational system based on their functionality, not based on political considerations. This will make the presence of languages a positive addition rather than a factor of conflict or a mere juxtaposition.
CHAPTER V

Spanish Cultural Action in Post-Independent Morocco

Relations between countries have existed since ancient times. However, the beginning of institutionalized international relations is found in the Treaty of Westphalia signed in 1648, the year in which the modern state appeared. With the arrival of imperialism in the 19th century and in the course of the 20th century, the traditional burden of politics and economy in international relations was complicated by culture, which has influenced the structure of foreign policy agendas (Escalonilla 2002). In the case of Spain, the first true step in foreign cultural policy was launched by Américo Castro; the founder of the Office of Cultural Affairs in 1921. According to Cano Jimenez, even though cultural dimension was incorporated to international relations, it was reduced to the teaching of language, the establishment of missions, cultural institutions, etc. In this context, France and Germany should be considered paradigmatic cases, followed by the United Kingdom and Italy. Like many other colonial powers, with the demise of colonization, Spain’s foreign policy has been re-oriented and prioritized (Jiménez 2009, 117).

The academic field, which usually favored the political, economic and technological aspects of international relations, was also impacted by this change and therefore completed by a fourth aspect: culture. In reference to Spanish cultural action, several studies have been developed for the purpose of configuring aspects of Spain’s educational and cultural influence in Morocco. Beladiéz 1985, Pons 1999, González 2007 and 2010 are only few of them. Most of these studies focus on the Protectorate and the few years after independence, and the language in them was conceptualized as an effective tool for cultural colonization.

The reaffirmation of the cultural component in State relations was the main reason for some scholars to define culture as another tool of domination. Some others conceptualized it as a by-product of economy, and a third group conceived it as a diplomatic tool (Jiménez 1989).
Nowadays, foreign cultural policy, cultural action abroad and cultural diplomacy are three euphemistic names that refer all those orderly actions in the field of culture, aimed at promoting the image of a country abroad.

Organizing its international presence, supporting its economic expansion, safeguarding its integrity, promoting its language, exporting its intellectual products, projecting a positive image about its cultural identity, preventing cultural assimilation of its community members in the colonized country, all are goals of Spain's cultural action abroad. These goals are achieved through educational institutions, cultural centers, religious institutions with cultural agendas, libraries, publications, cultural missions, university exchanges, scholarships, conferences, artistic exhibitions, language centers, movie-theatre festivals, music concerts, etc. They are all instrumentalized to convey directly or indirectly the cultural policy of the State (Escalonilla 2002).

For the purpose of this dissertation, we will not embark upon an exhaustive analysis of cultural policies; rather we will concentrate on the examination of their linguistic repercussions, especially on the status of Spanish language, the topic of this dissertation. How is language conceived in the Spanish cultural project? And what are the objectives, means, domains and actors of the Spanish cultural action in Morocco from independence until today?

5. Spanish-Moroccan Relations and the Oil Mill Analogy

Historians trace the history of the Spanish-Moroccan relations back to the beginning of the 8th century, when the army of Tarik Ibn Zayad departed from the Moroccan coast and settled for the first time on the coasts of the Iberian Peninsula, through an operation that has been known in history as the "Conquest of Al-Andalus". The evaluation of this period, which lasted for nearly eight centuries, is quite controversial. So, while Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, for example, asserts
that the Muslim presence in the Peninsula was a direct factor in the delay of Spain in joining the European civilization (del Pino 1994), the historian Mohamed Zniber says that the work of Yusuf Ibn Tashfin, the ruler of Almoravid Empire in North Africa and Al-Andalus, was another breath of history that revived the Muslim West (Zniber 1983).

Whatever the interpretations could be, a new era in Spanish-Moroccan relations had to start with the Reconquista, at the end of the 15th century. In fact, traumatic dates have marked the Spanish-Moroccan historical period. 1492 was not only a turning point in relations between both countries, but also for the general context of conflicts between Christianity and Islam in the Mediterranean. The successive expulsions of “Moors,” the occupation of Ceuta and Melilla in the 15th century, the battle of the Three Kings (1578), the Tetuan War (1860), the Rif War (1923-1926), the Spanish civil war (1936), the occupation of the North and sub-Saharan Africa (1912), the independence of Morocco (1956), the Green March (1975), and the incident of the islet of Leila-Perejil (2003) are all crucial moments which have mobilized and led to collective passions for both nations (Affaya and Guerraoui 2006).

The failure of the Spanish expansionist project in the New Continent, reflected in the successive independence of the American countries, reached its peak with the independence of Mexico, and gave rise to the image of a Spain without pulse, abandoned to its fate, and dictated the need for a new Spanish foreign policy. This new reality coincided with a new expansionist maritime adventure in the African continent. Apparently, Spain participated in such adventure for the sake of overcoming the pessimism that characterized, at that time, the entire Spanish nation (Escalonilla 2002).

The Conquest, the Reconquista and the Protectorate are then historical turning points in the life of both nations. Their impact is deeply rooted in the Spanish and Moroccan psyches and
constantly sours the current relations between the two countries. The fabricated conflict about the Islet of Leila, the Spanish position toward the Saharan conflict, the Moroccan migration, the fishing conflict, etc. are all cases that the media constantly instrumentalizes to give life to the old historical perceptions, which make the Spanish-Moroccan relations look like an old-fashioned oil mill: it revolves around in a way that the point from which it departs is the same towards which it travels. In fact, sometimes Spanish-Moroccan relations are so smooth that one thinks that the governments of the two countries are on honeymoon; but for the smallest incident (i.e. the islet of Perijil / Leila), their “marriage of convenience” becomes suspended, taking the relations back to the starting point. Despite the temporary suspensions of these relations, divorce has never been an option due to the immediate neighboring, common children (interests) and future of the two nations. It is this inevitable interdependence that really inspires the foreign policy of Spain toward Morocco and makes the focus of this chapter the linguistic-cultural dimension of special and unique value.

2. Spain’s Foreign Policy Toward Morocco

Numerous works have been published about Hispano-Maghreb relations. Most of these publications appeared after the 1990s and seem to correspond to a peak period of Spain’s international influence. García 1992, de Larramendi and Núñez 1996, Ruiz 2003, Molina-García 2003, Fibla 2005, Gillespie 2006 are all outstanding works in this regard. A very recent book, *La política exterior española hacia el Magreb*, by Miguel Hernando de Larramendi and Aurelia Mañé Estrada (2009) is more comprehensive. The authors tackle the different aspects, actors and interests of Spanish foreign policy in the region, and special attention is paid to the cultural aspect.

Despite the very rooted historical presence of Spain in Morocco, we can speak of a true
Spanish cultural action in the latter only after signing the Franco-Spanish Convention, in November 1912, which definitely set the area of the Spanish Protectorate. After Independence and before transition to democracy, stoking rivalries between Algeria and Morocco was considered the best political strategy for Spain to guarantee and defend its interests in the region. However, after the transition to democracy, in the early 1980s, Spain launched a process of redefinition of its interests in the Maghreb. Against a reactive policy, focused on the defense of interests, a new vision, founded on security and stability in the entire region, became the main objective of a new global policy towards the Mediterranean and Maghreb. Therefore, the Spanish diplomacy strove to maintain balanced relations with all the countries of the region, considering Morocco a top priority (de Larramendi et al. 2009).

This new vision was reflected at two levels: the involvement of more actors in Spain's foreign policy and the creation of a “mattress of interests” aimed at playing a preventive role during periods of tension between the two countries. Irene Fernández Molina asserts that, after several alarmist calls of politicians, who described Morocco as a time bomb that should be urgently defused, the Spanish government introduced its philosophy of mattress of interests, mainly applied in its bilateral relations with Morocco (Molina-García 2003). Gillespie defines this new vision as “the creation of a network of common interests, based on institutionalized and cooperative political dialogue, for the purpose of damping the cyclical conflictive relations caused by territorial disputes” (Gillespie 2006, 120-121).

To achieve this goal, the government involved its regional and non-government agents in cooperative efforts. The Averroes Committee and the Junta Andaluza stand out as two great examples, for the originality of their work and the novelty of their initiatives. Furthermore, the creation of Friendship Groups as a parliamentarian diplomatic tool falls within this new vision.
The “Grupo de amistad hispano-marroquí” should be conceived as a practical step toward forging a better place for those mattresses (Collado 2009). In the following, the linguistic-cultural contribution to the betterment of mutual relations is discussed and analyzed.

2.1. Historical Development of Spanish Cultural Action in Morocco

The first signs of a Spanish cultural action in Morocco can be traced back to the year 1492; a very significant date from several angles. First, it is the year in which Spain released two grandiose projects: the discovery and conquest of the Americas, and the Reconquista, after almost eight centuries of Muslim presence in the Iberian Peninsula. This same year, Antonio Nebrija wrote the first grammar. Juan Ramon Lodares believes that the famous phrase inserted in the introduction “the language as a companion of the Empire”, refers to Africa more than to America, and if the American adventure had not been undertaken, the nebrisense dream would have been materialized in African Lands (Lodares 2005). This is so interesting, as the nebrisense expression can be considered as the first indicator and attempt to devise a cultural project for Africa, with language as a solid foundation and most likely Morocco as a top priority.

Today, Spanish is a great component of the Moroccan sociolinguistic reality. Its expansion in the Moroccan land was a source of controversies; so while some analysts consider that Spanish could become a component of the Moroccan reality, mainly due to the daily contact between Moroccans and Spaniards (Ammadi 2002, Roldán 2005), others believe that, like any other colonial language, Spanish has also its black legend according to which its official arrival to North Africa, in 1912, was sweeping of all pre-existing Arabic and Tamazight substrates. Moustaoui, for example, asserts that for Spanish to reach the current status some language planning steps had to be taken: The conversion to Spanish as the official language of the colonizer; its introduction in the administration; the construction of the first Spanish-Moroccan
school in the city of Nador; the emergence of the first Spanish grammar in Arabic language, by Clemente Cerdeira in 1912; the creation of the *Alta Comisaria* and the *Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas* in Tetuan; the opening in Madrid of two institutes which were responsible for planning linguistic-cultural interventions in the region (the “*Instituto de Estudios Africanos*” and the “*Instituto de Estudios Políticos*”); the construction of libraries and cultural centers in Tangier, Larache, Asilah, Alcazarquivir, Alhucemas and Chauen; and the construction of the “*Biblioteca General Española de Tetuan*”, which is considered like a twin of the “*Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*.” These are all initiatives aimed at strengthening the status of Spanish and lowering the status of local languages (Moustaoui 2007b, 163).

In fact, the above-mentioned practical steps should not be regarded only as initiatives that sought to solve the immediate communicative problems imposed by the colonial reality, but also as attempts at establishing an operational body for a most effective linguistic-cultural action in Morocco.

During Franco’s dictatorship, a clear tendency towards the consolidation of the cultural component, not only in Morocco but also in all Arab countries, was confirmed. In fact, the arrival of the Franco regime to power caused a great international isolation for Spain, and the only way to overcome it was through cultural openness towards the Arab world, with Morocco as a showcase of this spirit. It was not a true cultural policy but a more politicized cultural pragmatism, imposed by the international context. Therefore, to some analysts, the construction of cultural centers and libraries was no more than an ornament; proof of this was the precarious situation in which these centers existed during and after the Protectorate (Escalonilla 2002, González-González 2007).

To confirm the planned character of Spain’s foreign action in Morocco, Galvéd and Gavari
distinguish between four phases in the evolution of Spanish (Galvèz and Gavari 2009). In the first phase, ranging from the "disaster" of 1898 to the beginning of the civil war (1936), the first administrative agencies in charge of promoting foreign educational action were created. Their main focus was the children of migrants and the promotion of Spanish language and culture. In Morocco, the efforts of those agencies gave birth, in 1913, to the Junta de Enseñanza de Marruecos, which was aimed at coordinating the efforts of the different agencies interested in promoting the Spanish culture and language among the Spaniards living in Morocco. The tasks assigned to its Board were: the education of the children of Spaniards living in Morocco, the development of educational institutions for Hebrews, the improvement of the Moroccan educational system, the preparation of staff and faculty, the creation of an Arabic official imprint and the promotion of publications in those languages and characters, together with efforts aimed at boosting studies concerning geography, history, literature and the rights of the Moroccan people.

The second phase (1936-1975), which corresponds to Franco’s leadership, was characterized by the creation of new structures meant to satisfy the desire of the regime to find some ways of international projection but, above all, as a response to the rise in migration between the decades of 1950 and 1970. It was the time of creation of libraries, institutes and cultural centers abroad. For being a showcase of Franco’s policy to the Arab World, Morocco got a great number of cultural centers and libraries.

The third phase (1975-1993) corresponded to the beginning of democracy in Spain. The first international challenge that Spain faced, after establishing a democratic system in 1979, was the need for full normalization of its relations with the international community. Access to NATO and the European Union, in 1986, symbolizes and crystallizes the end of isolation and the
beginning of Spain’s openness to the world, and reform of the educational system was done to
achieve the objectives imposed by the new reality. This stage, which is key to understanding the
configuration of the educational action of Spain abroad at present, began with the approval of the
Spanish Constitution of 1978, which asserts that the State is responsible for both international
cooperation in education and the ownership and management of public centers abroad. Culturally
speaking, the need to create a body specifically focused on promoting and disseminating the
Spanish language and culture became an urgent matter. The creation in 1991 of the Instituto
Cervantes represents, without doubt, the core of Spain's latest cultural policy. It was created with
the essential objective of promoting Spanish language and its adjacent culture (Jiménez 2009).
Since then, the Cervantes is playing a great role in the promotion of Spanish language and
culture in Morocco.

In the last stage (1993 - present), a comprehensive project of cultural action abroad was
completely established; the objective has been and continues to be expanding and modernizing
the different aspects of such action, especially those associated with the dissemination of Spanish
language and culture.

Summarizing, we can say that the arrival of democracy helped Spain boost the cultural
action abroad and expand it in a meaningful way. In Morocco, the impact of such an effort was
tremendous, as it was through education and media that Spanish culture could forge a better
place. In the following, the different cultural conventions signed between the two countries and
the way they could impact the current status of Spanish are analyzed. As such impact could be
felt more after issuing a more democratic constitution, emphasis is placed on the post-
constitutional period (1975 – today).

2.2. Spanish-Moroccan Cultural Conventions
No one can deny that Spanish cultural influence in Morocco has never ceased from the

time of Reconquest until our days, but its officialization can be found in the signing of the first

cultural agreement, one year after the independence of Morocco in 1956. Another one followed it

in 1980; however, it was nothing but the activation of the premises that the two countries agreed

upon in the first one. One can say that the signing of this second cultural convention was a

turning point in the cultural relations between the two countries, as it helped us distinguish

between two phases: the pre-constitutional and the post-constitutional. It is the objective of this

dissertation to thoroughly analyze the language content of the Cultural Convention of 1980 and

the most recent Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighborly and Cooperation, signed in 1991—a

year in which Spain launched its foreign cultural action through one of its main ambassadors: the

Institutos Cervantes.

2.3. El Convenio Cultural Hispano Marroquí (The Cultural Convention of 1980)

The Hispano-Moroccan Cultural Convention of July 7, 1957, was supposed to open a

new page in the history of Spain and Morocco. It would overcome the recent past of

subordination and begin a new stage of cooperation and true friendship. According to Ennaji,

post-independent time was a moment of apathy and weak Spanish presence, in volume and

distribution, which resulted in a total lack of motivation and interest in learning this language.

Larbi Messari, former Moroccan Minister of communication, asserts that when the government

encouraged students in 1978 to opt for Spanish, in addition to English and German, this initiative

was faced with true resistance (Ennaji 2000).

Cecilia Fernández-Suzor, Director of the Instituto Cervantes in Tangier (1992 – 1997),

asserts that the cultural convention of 1957 was an agreement intended to stimulate cultural

exchanges, in a broad sense, with visits by scholars and researchers, granting of scholarships,
educational outreach and promotion of the language and culture of each party. Some foundations for the academic recognition of diplomas were developed, and promises to facilitate the use of the Spanish language were given. It was also agreed to pay special attention to the radio and television as instruments of approximation and knowledge (Fernández-Suzor 1992).

In reference to that, Angel Moratinos considers that, in general, the educational and cultural institutions that Spain kept in the Maghreb were based on an agreement that was designed to articulate a presence of Spain in this area. Anyway, with them or without them, the Spanish educational and cultural action could hardly resist the Arab nationalists or the Francophone zeal of the new Maghreb leaders. Furthermore, Spain did not know about, nor it could counter this phenomenon, and it was a miracle that Spanish language and culture did not disappear altogether from the Maghreb. According to Molina-García, failure over 23 years was the characteristic feature of this Convention (Molina-García 2003).

As a result, Spanish usage considerably decreased during this period, especially in the North, and Spain’s role in establishing Moroccan universities and schools, and sponsoring professorships in the departments of Spanish was not of any importance. It is in these 23 years that Spain lost the opportunity of training a greater number of Moroccan intellectuals and instructors who could have served as a foundation for a Moroccan Hispanist elite (Fernández-Suzor 1992).

However, it was only after the democratic change in Spain that significant progress in the cultural cooperation between the two countries could be felt (Benyaya 2007a, 170). Spain had to renew its cultural agreements with many countries, and in this context she signed the 1980 cultural agreement with Morocco, which was not activated until 1985, by the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Its implementation was preceded by an examination that indicated the existence
of a poor presence of the Spanish language and culture in Morocco, both in the media and the educational system (Informe del 1991, por el Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deportes). The content of this agreement is still accurate and was used to draft the general guidelines of the Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighborliness and Cooperation, including those associated with the Spanish cultural action abroad, which are embodied in articles 7, 8 and 9 of chapter II.

Compared to the former one, the 1980’s agreement was a great platform to expand the fields of cooperation between the two countries, including those of education, culture, sciences, arts, youth and sports. In article I, the two governments agreed to promote the cultures of their respective countries and facilitate a fruitful cooperation between their officially recognized cultural institutions, as well as jointly publish literary, historical and scientific works that emphasize their common values.

**ARTICLE I:** Los dos gobiernos, conscientes de la importancia que reviste para cada uno de los dos países un mejor conocimiento de la cultura del otro, se comprometen a estimular, por todos los medios, su difusión en todas sus formas en sus territorios respectivos, facilitando a este efecto una fructífera cooperación entre sus instituciones culturales respectivas oficialmente reconocidas, así como la publicación conjunta de obras literarias, históricas y científicas que pongan en relieve los valores comunes de ambos pueblos.

The two Governments, aware of the importance that better knowledge of the culture of the other party has for both countries, shall encourage by all means its diffusion in their respective territories, facilitating to this effect a fruitful cooperation between their respective official cultural institutions, as well as the joint publication of literary, historical and scientific works that emphasize the common values of both peoples. [Translation is mine]

Article II marked the end of a period of time in which the Spanish language and culture were transmitted to the Moroccan citizens through the French manuals and textbooks. It emphasizes that each country should facilitate the printing of school textbooks, especially those used in secondary schools for the teaching of literary and historical subjects. Technical committees composed of experts from both countries should be formed for the purpose of reviewing and proposing modifications that are fair and relevant to the content of textbooks.

**ARTICLE II:** Cada país se esforzará en facilitar la impresión de los manuales o textos escolares, especialmente los que se utilizan en los establecimientos de enseñanza secundaria para la enseñanza de disciplinas literarias e históricas. A tal efecto, se constituirán comisiones técnicas integradas por expertos de ambos países que procederán a dicha revisión y propondrán modificaciones que estiman justas y pertinentes.
Each country shall facilitate the printing of manuals or textbooks, especially those used in secondary schools for the teaching of literary and historical subjects. Consequently, technical committees, composed of experts from both countries, should be formed with the purpose of reviewing and proposing modifications that estimate fair and relevant [Translation is mine]

Articles III and VIII assert the responsibility of both governments to promote the teaching of their respective languages through their educational systems and encourage the creation of summer courses for teachers, researchers, students and pupils of the other country who wish to develop their knowledge of language, literature and other cultural values of the hosting country. In order to achieve the objectives set in these two articles, Article XI states that both governments should facilitate the establishment and functioning, in their respective Schools of Arts, of departments and lecturers of the language and culture of the other country.

ARTICLE III:

A fin de asegurar el conocimiento y la difusión de la lengua, la historia y civilización de los dos países, cada parte estimulará la enseñanza de estas disciplinas en sus programas oficiales.

In order to ensure knowledge and diffusion of language, history and civilization of the two countries, each party shall stimulate the teaching of these disciplines in its official programs [Translation is mine].

ARTICULO VIII:

Cada uno de los dos gobiernos estimulará la creación de cursos de verano destinados a personal docente, investigadores, estudiantes y alumnos del otro país que quieran desarrollar sus conocimientos de la lengua, literatura y otros valores culturales del país organizador de dichos cursos.

Each of the two Governments shall encourage the creation of summer courses for teachers, researchers, students and pupils of the other country who wish to develop their knowledge of language, literature and other cultural values of the organizing country [Translation is mine]

ARTICULO XI:

A fin de alcanzar los objetivos previstos en el artículo precedente, ambos gobiernos facilitarán el establecimiento y el funcionamiento en sus facultades de letras de cátedras y puestos de lectores de la lengua y cultura del otro país.

In order to achieve the objectives set in the preceding article, both Governments shall facilitate the establishment and functioning, in their respective schools of Arts, of departments and lecturers of language and culture of the other country [Translation is mine]

From the previous articles, one can easily conclude that promoting the teaching of Spanish language and culture, through Spanish collaboration with Moroccan official agencies, was one of the main objectives of the 1980 agreement. However, despite its clear terms to foster
more cooperation between the two countries in this area, this legal framework was not enough to
give a refreshing impulse to the Moroccan cultural cooperation. It also hardly contributed to
alleviating the various difficulties that were constantly facing the dissemination of Spanish.
Issues such as the recognition of academic degrees, the exchange of lecturers and the lack of
Spanish textbooks, remained on hold. Also, the teaching of Spanish language could not be freed
from the French domination, and Moroccan Spanish teachers were in a situation of isolation and
helplessness that tremendously impacted the quality of teaching. There was no material or
methodologies suitable to the needs of both students and teachers. In this situation of
helplessness, it was so hard to convince Moroccan students of the importance of learning
Spanish language and culture (Benyaya 2007a, 172-173). This situation lasted until 1990s
without any improvements to mention.

2.4. The Tratado de Amistad, Buena Vecindad y Cooperación (The Treaty 1991)

The beginning of the 1990s coincided with the beginning of Spain’s great international
rise, especially at the European and Mediterranean levels. Both Moroccan and Spanish
intellectuals conceived the signing of the Treaty as a new beginning for Hispano-Moroccan
relations. Some saw it as a political and legal scheme to cushion any potential conflict, foster a
greater and more realistic cooperation, and launch a new era of good neighboring and
coexistence (Molina-García 2003, Roldán 2006). Others believe that it helped consolidate and
diversify mutual cooperation between the two countries and announced the end of unequal
relations between them (Affaya and Guerraoui 2006).

Of the three articles, which deal with the cultural question in the Treaty, the seventh and
the ninth articles pay special attention to education and the teaching of language, in a way that
helps us predict some expectations about the priorities of the Spanish cultural action in Morocco,
over the last two decades, knowing that Cervantes and Cultural Centers are its main actors.

Chapter 2: Article 7

Las Altas Partes Contratantes, conscientes del importante legado histórico y cultural que comparten, se comprometen a promover su cooperación en los campos de la Educación y la Enseñanza por medio del intercambio de estudiantes, profesores e investigadores Universitarios así como del intercambio de documentación científica y pedagógica.

The Supreme Contracting Parties, aware of the important historical and cultural heritage they share, shall promote their cooperation in the fields of education and teaching through two mechanisms: university exchange of students, teachers and researchers, and the exchange of scientific and pedagogical documentation [Translation is mine]

Chapter 2: Article 9

Las dos Partes acuerdan brindar una particular atención a la enseñanza del idioma y de la civilización árabes en España y de la lengua y de la civilización españolas en Marruecos, así como a la instalación y funcionamiento de Centros Culturales en sus respectivos territorios.

The two Parties agree to pay particular attention to the teaching of Arabic language and civilization in Spain, and to the teaching of Spanish language and civilization in Morocco, as well as to the establishment and functioning of cultural centers in their respective countries [Translation is mine]

The degree of Spanish cultural action that the Treaty could generate was reflected in the fact that Morocco was the first country in the world receiving Spanish scholarships for studies and research, the first one in the number of Spanish teachers and students studying in Spanish schools, and the country where the Instituto Cervantes and Spanish schools enjoyed a greater presence. No matter how clear is the content and how strong is the language of the Treaty, commitment of both parties to implement and enact it is what should matters the most, knowing that at least on the Spanish side, there is a tendency to complain about the negligence, bureaucracy and irresponsibility of Moroccan agency in putting the terms of the Treaty in practice.

2.5. The Convenio de Asociación Estratégica (October 2012)

From the content and the name given to this new official agreement “Aplicación provisional del Convenio de Asociación Estratégica en materia de Desarrollo y de Cooperación Cultural, Educativa y Deportiva entre el Reino de España y el Reino de Marruecos”, it becomes
evident that it is not the lock of a legal framework of cooperation that is hindering the Spanish-Moroccan cooperation in the fields of education and culture; rather it is the difficulties that face its implementation. In fact, the signing parties confirmed that the content of the Treaty of 1991 is still valid and this new document is nothing but a commitment of both parties to facilitate the implementation of its provisions.

The Convenio de Asociación Estratégica, which was firmed in October 2012 and published in July 2013, and which content became valid for the next eight years, with the possibility of its extension unless one of the parties objects on that, is a renewed legal framework adapted to the cultural, social and economic needs of both countries. It confirmed and emphasized the importance of institutional and oficial commitment of both States to reach not only a more advanced but also, and especially, a more practical level of cooperation in the educational and cultural fields. The word “Aplicación” has a lot of significance in this context.

Bearing in mind the principles of independence, respect and non-interference in internal affairs, which should govern relations between any sovereign nations, the signing parties insisted on the importance of mutual understanding, cooperation and the dissemination of their respective languages and cultural heritage to achieve the objectives of progress and development that their peoples look forward.

In reference to educational cooperation, Article 10 confirms the commitment of both Parties to strengthen their cooperation in the field of primary and secondary education and in the field of professional training:

Artículo 10: Las Partes reforzarán su cooperación en el ámbito de la enseñanza primaria, secundaria y de formación profesional según las modalidades acordadas a dichos efectos, e intercambiaron visitas de responsables educativos para facilitar el conocimiento de sus respectivos sistemas educativos y la transferencia de experiencias exitosas.

In Article 11.1, each party recognizes the importance of the presence of schools and
professional centers in the territory of the other party.

Artículo 11.1: Cada Parte reconoce la importancia de la presencia en su territorio de centros escolares y de formación profesional de la otra Parte, en los cuales se impartirá la enseñanza conforme a su sistema educativo.

Article 12 pays special attention to the linguistic issue. It confirms the commitment of both parties to continuously train teachers of Arabic and Spanish, based on the resources and needs of each of the two countries. It also clarifies that each party shall encourage the teaching and dissemination of language, history and civilization of the other country in its official educational programs, by developing language curricula and basic material and by preparing qualified teachers.

**Article 12**

1. Cada Parte fomentará la enseñanza y la difusión de la lengua, la historia y la civilización del país de la otra Parte en sus programas educativos oficiales, con el fin de reforzar la presencia de su lengua en los estudios escolares de cada Parte, la preparación de docentes, y la elaboración de material didáctico.

2. Las Partes intercambiarán información y conocimientos sobre los manuales utilizados en la materia.

3. Las Partes apoyarán los programas dirigidos a la formación y a la formación continua de profesores de lenguas árabe y española, según las posibilidades y necesidades de cada uno de dos los países.

Appealing to the spirit of the Moroccan Charter, which expressed a high level of openness toward foreign languages and opened the doors for them to optionally be introduced in instruction, beginning elementary school, Article 13 confirms the commitment of the Kingdom of Morocco to offer Spanish language as an optional subject for students of primary and secondary schools in the regions in which it is more practiced (in the North), with the purpose of achieving its progressive expansion in the Moroccan educational system. If this article becomes effectively enacted, the status of Spanish would definitely improve in Moroccan schools.

**Article 13**

Las Partes cooperarán a través de programas de cooperación que decidan desarrollar en aplicación del presente Convenio, en apoyo de la decisión del Gobierno del Reino de Marruecos, para que se ofrezca la lengua española como asignatura optativa para los alumnos de los centros de enseñanza primaria y secundaria en las regiones de Marruecos en que más se practica, así como para su extensión progresiva a todo el sistema educativo marroquí.
Article 15 pays special attention to higher education cooperation, the training of administrative staff and scientific research by the means it deems appropriate. In this context, Sub-Articles 1-5 respectively confirm the commitment of both parties to promote the exchange of professors, lecturers and researchers; the opening of more language and literature departments of the other country and entrusting their teaching to qualified Spanish teachers. The article also envisions the granting of scholarships and research grants for students of both countries.

In Article 19 (1-12) and Article 20 the parties confirmed their commitment to strengthen cooperation in the various fields of culture. To achieve this objective, they insisted on the importance of promoting cultural diversity, exchanging artists and exhibitions, participating in festivals, promoting Reading, Archiving, Translation, Publication and dissemination of books of common interest, training professionals of culture, supporting channels of radio and television as pathways to transmit the cultural content of both parties, and promoting and implementing the existing bilateral agreements of cooperation in the field of film industry.

In Article 21, Parties recognized the importance of the presence of institutes aimed to promote the language and culture of the other country in their respective territories. This explains to a great extent the multiplication of Cervantes headquarters and satellites in many parts of Morocco as well as the super activation of Spanish schools, especially in the northern strip.

Article 21.1: Cada Parte reconoce la importancia de la presencia de institutos de difusión de la lengua y la cultura del otro país en su territorio, sometidos a la autoridad de sus Embajadas, de las que dependen. Para ello, darán las facilidades necesarias, en el ámbito de las leyes y reglamentos vigentes, sobre una base de reciprocidad.

Finally, the Parties recognized the importance of the Diploma of Spanish as a Foreign Language (DELE), and confirmed their commitment to continue facilitating the proper development of DELE tests and its recognition as a Spanish official diploma.
In summary, one can say that, in terms of content, the Convenio de Asociación Estratégica did nothing but insist on the commitment of both parties to enact and implement the Treaty’s content. However, Article 13 can be conceived as a more advanced step toward articulating Spanish in the Moroccan educational system. In the following paragraphs, we are going to focus on the analysis of the linguistic outcomes of the Spanish post-constitutional cultural action in Morocco, but more precisely after the signing of the Treaty and the Convenio de Asociación Estratégica.

3. Language Promotion as a Central Part of Post-Constitutional Spanish Cultural Action

The objectives of cultural action abroad depend much on the socio-political environment where the latter has developed. So, for those countries that had a colonial past, culture has always been a companion of their colonial operations, exactly as Nebrija recommended language to be a companion of the Spanish adventure in the Americas. After decolonization, the ex-colonial powers sought to improve their image in order to continue exercising influence and ensuring economic and political interests in their ex-colonies. In the current globalized world, cultural action responds, grosso modo, to the zeal of such powers to forge a prestigious position and a more attractive image in formerly colonized nations. Therefore, internationalization of language and culture became a priority and a great tool to promote the Spanish Brand and fight the preconceived imperial clichés. In this context, Martínez Muñoz asserts that Spanish cultural policy, with regard to language, should combine two things: promoting the Spanish cultural heritage through language but away from preconceived clichés, and elevating Spanish to a prestigious position where it can be conceived as an old and rich European language with a
unique literary tradition. But the dissemination of Spanish is founded on contemporary reasons, as a vehicle of communication and a key for access to the job market, etc.

In Spain, in addition to the impact of globalization, modernization and Europeanization, two other factors have favored the elaboration of a more sophisticated constitution beginning 1975: the consolidation of the democratic experience and the great expansion of Spanish in the world. This new reality opened the eyes of officials to prioritize, in their foreign cultural policy, the dissemination of Spanish. This ambitious project would not neglect Morocco, a great market for the Spanish culture. It became imperative to explore the strategies used by Spain to internationalize language. For this purpose, we are going to investigate the types, domains, objectives and the actors involved in the promotion of Spanish in Morocco, as a part of this grandiose cultural project.

3.1. Types of Spanish Language Policy Implemented in Morocco

Sociolinguists distinguish between three types of language planning, with more than thirty goals, depending on the chosen approach: corpus planning, status planning and acquisition planning. While corpus planning is aimed at developing and updating the internal structure of language, status planning is aimed at expanding its spaces and domains of use, and acquisition planning is aimed at promoting and organizing the teaching of language through educational systems. Cooper defines the later as the organized efforts to promote the learning of a language (Cooper 1989). However, Phillipson considers acquisition planning as an important subarea of status planning (Phillipson 2003). It is from this theoretical perspective that we are going to investigate the linguistic efforts of Spain to promote Spanish in Morocco.

The observation of the Moroccan linguistic reality allows us to distinguish two types of planning for Spanish. So, while status planning is instrumentalized to improve the image of
Spain, resist the different stereotypes existing in the Moroccan society, consolidate the Spanish Brand “Marca España,” forge a more privileged position vis-a-vis French and English and contribute to the great project of internationalization of language, acquisition planning is instrumentalized to put in practice, through both the public and private educational institutions, all the initiatives that can serve the above-mentioned goals.

3.2. Status Planning

The image of countries has become a priority in State policies and a major concern to ex-colonial powers. In our times, culture has become as important as the economic interests in improving the image of a country, especially when culture can be a great differentiator within an inexorable global world. Such an image is increasingly associated with certain products, and language is one of them. Some analysts are already talking about the birth of a new type of global state, the “Brand State” (Van Ham 2001).

In fact, the evolution of the image of Spain has been impacted by several historical factors, starting with the imperial Spain, romantic Spain, the pessimism of the 1898 colonization of North Africa, Francoism, transition, and ending with consolidated democracy. Like any colonial power, Spain has its own black legend in Morocco, which coincided with the pessimism of the 1898 and Francoism, and could generate a very negative image in the memory of Moroccan citizens. After independence, Francophony took advantage of Spain’s internal crisis and neglect of its colonial legacy in the region to promote and crystallize the image of a retarded, broken, desperate and impotent Spain. This image was conveyed through cultural action (the construction of very modern French cultural centers, the development of textbooks - including Spanish ones - the organization of administration and the unconditional official support offered to the French-speaking elite (Barquin-Ruiz 2006, Al-Fathi 2007). The immediate result of this
action was the consolidation of the status of French and its conversion into a symbol of modernity and prosperity at the expense of Spanish and other national languages. Since then, the concern of Spain for its external image became a priority and ended up launching the “Spanish Brand” project (Noya 2002).

Knowing the source of the images that Moroccans and Spaniards have of each other is fundamental to establishing policies and strategies aimed at correcting, improving, enhancing or changing them. According to del Pino, when Spain was still a colonizing country living in poverty, Moroccans saw Spanish men as conquerors. This stereotype was maintained for a long time after the independence of Morocco in 1956, and even today the image of the arrogant, intolerant, irritating and provocative Spanish settler and exploiter is activated particularly in moments of crisis and confrontation. The media plays a critical role in activating such an image. Affaya and Guerraoui assert that lack of information, conditioning, reaction and reproduction of the same clichés, are some typical elements of the images produced by Moroccan media about Spain. But when such tension is neutralized, media speaks of warm, deep, sympathetic, friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries (Affaya and Guerraoui 2006).

A positive change in the image of Spain started with the democratization of the country and the joining of the European Union and NATO, and reached its summit at the international EXPO in Seville and the ‘Olympic Games’ in Barcelona in 1992 (Noya 2002). Since then, Spaniards have been progressively portrayed as peaceful and wealthy friends and neighbors. As stated in the Proyecto Marca España 2003, the exemplary political transition to democracy, taken later on as a reference in many countries, has contributed to this new image in very special way.

Almost sixty years after the independence of Morocco, one should wonder what the
current image of Spain in Morocco is. The perception of Spanish as a key component of the “Spanish Brand” project has been confirmed not only by sociolinguists but also by politicians and economic leaders, who conceive language as a main component of State’s policy. Therefore, it becomes imperative to investigate how Spanish language is instrumentalized to promote the “Spanish Brand.” Is Spanish one of the values that distinguish Spain in the Moroccan context and contribute to the betterment of its image?

Based on very recent surveys, completed by Affaya and Guerraoui and published in their outstanding book, *The Image of Spain in Morocco*, 69.4% of Moroccans have a positive image of Spain, 25.5% have a negative one and 5.1% answered positively and negatively at the same time. In terms of culture, the surveys clearly convey that, despite the unstable relations between the two countries, 92.1% of people interviewed believe that cultural cooperation can play a driving role in mutual understanding between Morocco and Spain, even though they believe that culture by itself is insufficient to overcome the problems accumulated since the independence of Morocco.

While those who expressed a negative attitude toward Spain justify their attitude by the hostile position of Spain toward the internal affairs of Morocco, particularly those concerning its territorial unity, the Spanish chauvinism, especially because Spain is the necessary transit area for the majority of Moroccans who travel abroad, the bad treatment of Moroccans by Spanish Customs and the efforts of Spaniards to only use Spanish as a language of communication, those who marked a positive attitude attribute it to the Europeanization and democratization of Spain and the evolution of Spanish football.

In reference to language, for many years after independence, Spanish has been viewed first as a language of the re-conqueror, colonizer and profit maker; then as a language of the
poor, unsuccessful and miserable. This image was constantly reinforced through the Moroccan media. The poor reality of Latin-American countries was another factor that made Moroccans consider Spanish as a language of the poor. Roberto Guarechi, the director of the Argentine newspaper *Clarin*, was absolutely right when he said during the Second International Congress of the Spanish Language, held in Valladolid, Spain, that instead of the great number of Spanish speakers in the world, poverty remains the main enemy of language (Guarechi 2001).

Facing such a negative attitude, it was imperative for Spain to overcome a phase of carelessness, improvisation and ambiguity and rethink its presence and cultural action in Morocco. The renovation of its cultural centers and the signing of different cultural conventions and treaties with Morocco, in parallel to the progressive expansion of Spanish infrastructure in Morocco (schools, cultural centers, factories, etc.), the dynamic role of the Spanish media and many other civil agencies and independent entities (the *Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores*, the *Ministerio de Educación y Cultura*, the *Junta Andaluza*, the *Comité Averroes*, the *Institutos Cervantes*, etc.) were all instrumentalized to improve the image of Spain, internationalize Spanish and improve its economic value.

The Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe, of 2010, specifies that currently, Spain is promoting its language through its diplomatic agents such as *SEACEX*, the *Agencia Espanola de Cooperacion Internacional (AECI)*, embassies, but above all through its best ambassador: *Instituto Cervantes*. According to Muñoz Sanchez-Brunete, the Cervantes played a great role in this respect. Its work has been to promote the brand image of Spanish wherever there was a Hispanic community, and be the point of reference for Hispanist, a role that was accomplished through the cultural centers and which continued to be performed in Morocco with better coordination and more opportunities (Muñoz 2008). Indeed, in Morocco, football and
tourism are two of the best ambassadors of the Spanish language. In recent years, the Hispano-American influence has begun to be felt through the introduction of a Mexican drama series on Moroccan TV.

It looks like it is time for Spanish cultural diplomacy and the use of soft power. Spanish is progressively introduced into the Moroccan society as a tool aimed at consolidating the presence of Spain in the previously occupied areas and reaching those that she failed to reach. This desire of internationalizing the language and expanding its presence in the southern neighboring country is motivated by an essentially pragmatic view that sees Spanish as an economic resource and can be achieved through presenting it to Moroccan citizens as a key to success and access to modernity.

These efforts have tremendously contributed to a progressive change in the attitude of Moroccans toward the language. According to Affaya and Guerraoui, currently 63.1% of Moroccans believe that Morocco has made a historical mistake by neglecting the teaching of Spanish, since they consider it the second foreign language of the country, and 81.3% of the Moroccan elite supports this attitude. The other 36.9% believe that the predominance of English in international exchanges should be highly considered in the moment of making language decisions.

One can say that, the despite the great boom of English in the last two decades, Spanish was able to forge a prominent position within the Moroccan linguistic market and awaken the interest of wide sectors of Moroccans. However, as Juan Ramón Lodares asserted through an interview with Victoriano Colodron Denis, published in *Cuaderno de lengua: crónicas personales del idioma español 34*, December 2004, for Spanish to compete with international languages and not only open new markets for its teaching as a second language, but also
maintain them, it must continue working on improving its image. In the following, we are going to learn how the teaching of Spanish language and culture is instrumentalized to achieve that goal.

3.3. Acquisition Planning

The strategies for international dissemination of culture are many. Asunción Ansorena asserts that the educational collaboration, the establishment of Spanish Centers and Institutos Cervantes, the launching of exchange programs, television and media are all considered crucial in assessing the Spanish cultural action in Morocco (Ansorena 2006). In the following, the different strategies used to promote the teaching of Spanish are discussed.

3.3.1. Educational collaboration at the official level

In the previous chapter, I have addressed the status of Spanish in the educational system in light of the Moroccan official efforts, assuming that the Moroccan classrooms are, most of the time, the first contact of Moroccan students with Spanish, and of course the first connection to a potential career in Spanish. Inquiring about the forms of Spanish cooperation and collaboration to ensure continued progress and development of this sector constitutes one of the main objectives of this chapter.

In fact, cultural and educational cooperation is the main instrument of Spain’s foreign policy in Morocco. It has an extra value, as it serves to reduce the effects of enmity, rivalry and clashes, and promote effects of complementarity, solidarity and intimacy between both countries. It also helps overcome mistrust of the past and stereotypical views, as well as, deepen mutual understanding and facilitate communication between both societies.

The renovation and reactivation of Spanish cultural legacy in Morocco was a necessary step for Spain to launch a more organized cultural plan in Morocco. In a primary stage, the goal
was to convey to its citizens in Morocco the image of a Spain in full development. Benyahya curiously noticed that, in 1975, the year in which Spain undertook a technocratic reform, the regime adopted a new cultural policy. The objective was not to attract Moroccan students nor to preserve the Spanish cultural influence, but to capture the children of the former Spanish colony and transmit to them the image of a Spain in gradual development (Benyaya 2007a, 170). It is during this first stage that a vibrant feeling of ethnicity was developed among Spaniards living in Morocco, which made them conceptualize Spanish as a value that distances them from the “Moors” and joins them to the modern Europe (Sayahi 2005a). However, the major developments that Spain knew in the 1980s prompted many of them to return to their homeland, so Spanish cultural policies had to be reoriented to match the requirements of a new stage of international projection.

The Spanish State policy of promoting culture abroad is implemented through a program entitled “Cooperation, Promotion and Cultural Dissemination Abroad,” led by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education and Culture. However, in 2008, the management of foreign cultural policy was the subject of dispute between these two Ministries. The conflict ended in July 2009, when they both agreed to create a National Plan of Cultural Action Abroad, which sets priorities and lines of action in a joint annual strategic plan. It was expected that the consensus between the two institutions in relation to international promotion of Spanish culture would increase the level of coordination between them, as it is clearly stated in the 2010 Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe. Since then, the Ministry of Education and Culture has managed the Spanish cultural centers and libraries and coordinates with the MEN, while the management of the Institutos Cervantes was passed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Appealing to the spirit of the 1980 Convention and the 1991 Treaty, the Ministry of Education and Culture coordinates with the MEN and thanks to their efforts, Morocco has become one of the countries in which Spain has a greater educational presence. Spanish is taught in the 16 regional districts of education, distributed throughout the Kingdom; it is offered at the middle school, but only in certain educational institutions. It is a project that began in the course of the school year 2005-2006. More than 600 teachers and some 50,000 pupils learn Spanish in a total of 240 secondary schools. At the University level, there are five Spanish departments at national universities in Rabat, Fez, Casablanca, Tetuan and Agadir, in addition to two other departments in Fahd’s Institute of Translation and the School of Journalism. There is a total of 3,200 Moroccans who are enrolled in philology, including 600 students each year in Spain, especially at the University of Granada. Finally, it is very important to emphasize the existence of departments specializing in teachers training, like the Ecoles Normales Superieur (ENS) of Fez and Tetuan (Roldán 2006, Fathi 2007).

Cooperation between the MEN and the Spanish Ministry of Education and Culture takes place through Linguistic Counseling Agencies (Asesorías Lingüísticas), which are instrumentalized to spread the teaching and use of Spanish language in Moroccan schools, universities and other institutions. They consist of 17 technical counselors, distributed in different cities such as Rabat, Fez and Tetuan, who carry out tasks of planning, execution and management of all cooperative activities with MEN. According to the 2012 Report, issued by the Spanish Ministry of Education, the most outstanding work of these counselors is done at the university level with the training of Spanish instructors among many other fields.

3.3.2. At the university level

The Linguistic Counseling Agencies serve as support to the Spanish departments that
exist in the universities of Fez, Tetuan, Agadir, Casablanca and Rabat, by implementing programs of lecturers. Currently there is one Spanish lecturer in each of these universities, in addition to one in the School of Translators, in Tangier. They also sponsor seminars, scientific meetings, publications, symposia and roundtables about cultural topics.

One of the most successful initiatives is the Scholarship Program, which assists those Moroccan students who are seeking Bachelor, Doctorate or Post-Doctorate Degrees in Spanish Universities. During 1999-2000, 90 scholarships were granted for undergraduate and postgraduate students, amounting to nearly 160 billion pesetas. In addition, the Ministry of Education and Culture channels the grants offered by the universities of Castilla La Mancha, Granada, Malaga, Salamanca and Valencia, to students who have obtained good grades in the exams of selectivity and who would like to continue their university studies in Spain. It also takes care of processing the validation and recognition of degrees for those students who are interested in continuing their university studies in Spain and supports research in Spain, especially in the field of teaching methodology of Spanish language.

Despite the great efforts invested to improve the status of Spanish in the Moroccan universities, there is a lot more to do: increase the number of lecturers of Spanish since there are only four in all over Morocco; encourage the exchange of teachers and students between Moroccan and Spanish universities through bilateral agreements; encourage the publication of doctoral theses that highlight the historical, linguistic and cultural relations between the two countries and reinforce the policy of scholarships; increase support to the different departments of Spanish, by introducing degree courses in Spanish Philology at universities that still do not have a Department of Spanish; carry out a series of common projects with the Institutos Cervantes, which would foster the cultural aspect; provide support to associations of Hispanists
and Moroccan writers; promote an editing policy that allows the effective presence of Spanish books in the Moroccan libraries; support any initiative that is aimed at the creation of radio, television, publications and sections in Spanish press, etc.

3.3.3. Teachers' training

The continuous training of Moroccan Middle and High School Spanish teachers is implemented through courses of methodology of teaching Spanish as a foreign language. In this context, the Linguistic Counseling Agency has continuously collaborated with MEN for the training of future teachers of Spanish in the Centre Pedagogic Regional (CPR) of Tangier and with the Ecole Normal Superieur (ENS) of Tetuan, which are the only ones that provide the training of Middle and High School Spanish teachers. These agencies also take care of training the new Moroccan Spanish inspectors.

3.3.4. Centers of Spanish teaching resources

Morocco has several centers of Spanish teaching resources, which are supervised by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Culture. They are located in Agadir, Rabat, Nador, Tetuan, Tangier and Casablanca. These centers develop the curriculum of Spanish as a foreign language (ELE) within the Moroccan formal education, as well as the teaching material for all levels. They also share modern pedagogical advice with teachers and carry out activities and projects with the purpose of experimenting with new pedagogical views.

These centers promote and disseminate the Spanish language and culture through the organization and animation of prizes and awards for different areas of the educational sector (i.e. García Lorca’s Award is intended to encourage students; María Zambrano’s Award is intended to appreciate educational innovation by faculty; the Awards of Rafael Alberti and Eduardo Mendoza are intended to inspire those talented in literature and poetry). Calls for such awards as
well as advertising materials, brochures etc. are diffused through all the educational institutions of the country. They also publish books and magazines that contain innovative educational experiences, such as the magazine *Aljamía*, which displays institutional and cultural content, and *Cuadernos de Rabat*, which share didactic and educational content.

In addition to the above-mentioned strategies, the Ministry of Education and Culture has implemented a variety of initiatives to strengthen the position of Spanish in the Moroccan educational system, such as the publishing of new textbooks of Spanish teaching with a more recent teaching methodology that corresponds to the professional, industrial and academic needs of the Moroccan citizens; the coordination with the Moroccan authorities in the training of new Moroccan Spanish inspectors; and the offering of Bachelor and Doctorate studies, methodology of teaching Spanish courses, and Spanish language and culture courses.

3.3.4. Cultural Centers

The Spanish cultural centers were established in Morocco as part of Franco’s policy to overcome the international political and diplomatic embargo. They were created by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which instrumentalized them as agents of Spanish foreign policy. However, as soon as the international embargo was abandoned, the condition of these centers became very critical.

The Instituto Cervantes, beginning 1991, took responsibility for these centers and their condition improved significantly in terms of budget, human resources and materials (video equipment, funds for film, artistic activities or support of libraries). Also the institutes/centers excelled in their capacity as managers of cultural cooperation and promotion of the Spanish language and culture in Morocco. The pedagogical work, cooperation with the departments of Spanish language (which were created by then), the training and collaboration with local
Hispanists, and the creation of the necessary material was the daily work of these centers (Fernández-Suzor 1992). Grimau says that these centers had, from the beginning, the almost exclusive purpose of teaching Spanish and Hispanic culture to foreigners. Their work in Morocco was meritorious and effective, because it filled the huge gap created by an improvisational cultural policy. They also served as the basis of the State project, which began in the 1990s under the name of Instituto Cervantes (Gil Grimau 2003, 40).

Currently, the management of the network of these centers is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Culture. There are ten centers, of which four (Al Hoceima, Casablanca, Nador and Rabat) are integrated and follow the Spanish educational system from pre-school to high school. Two other centers offer only secondary education in Tangier and Tetuan, where there is also a center for professional training, while three others offer elementary education in Tangier, Tetuan and Larache. They are accredited centers of great demand: Around 75% of the students are of Moroccan nationality, 23% have Spanish nationality, and the rest is of other nationalities. There is a total of 4,769 students and 347 teachers. They are also actively involved in the dissemination of Spanish language and culture (Informe 2012 del Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deportes).

3.3.6. The Instituto Cervantes

The Instituto Cervantes is a public cultural institution created on May 11, 1990, by the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Its mission is the promotion and teaching of Spanish, as well as the dissemination of the Spanish language and Hispano-American culture. For that purpose, 73 Institutos Cervantes have been created in non-Spanish-speaking countries. According to Article III, of Law 7/1991, by which it was created, the objectives of the Cervantes are the universal promotion of the teaching, study, and use of Spanish and the promotion of
measures and actions that contribute to the dissemination and improvement of the quality of these activities. The Cervantes also contributes to the dissemination of culture abroad in coordination with other competent bodies of the State administration. The explanatory statement of the Law asserts that the main reasons for creating the Cervantes are:

- *The permanent and active foreign presence is a strategic objective of the more advanced countries.*

- *The dissemination of the language and the expansion and influence of culture are instruments that allow coherence and significance to the external action of the State.*

- *The efforts dedicated to disseminate culture and language and improve the quality of the latter sharpen and project the country's image in the world and promote exchanges, including economic and business exchanges.*

- *Spain has one of the most widespread languages in the world, which boasts a unique cultural heritage that is shared by a great cultural and linguistic community: the Hispanic community.*

By creating the Cervantes, Spain finally had a cultural referent abroad that old States like France, Italy, and the United Kingdom had had for decades, with Germany as the pioneer (Jiménez 2009, 123). In fact, in 2009, the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dedicated more than 147,360,000 euros to promote Spanish culture abroad, mainly through the activities of the Cervantes.

El-Fathi notes that the educational infrastructure of the Instituto Cervantes and the Ministry of education is the main reference for the promotion of Spanish language and culture in Morocco (El Fathi 2007). Furthermore, Morocco is the country where the Cervantes has more centers. The teaching of language, the maintenance of libraries and the management of a wide variety of cultural activities are the three major fields of action of the Cervantes, which is located in Casablanca, Rabat, Fez, Tangier and Marrakech. In addition, the cities of Nador, Chauen, Larache, Meknes, Essaouira and Agadir all have a satellite of the Cervantes and more than eleven thousand students have been registered in the year 2012 (Informe 2012 del Ministerio de
The curriculum, aside from the general content plan, has a series of particularities, including the development of material suited to the Spanish-Moroccan socio-cultural context, the creation of commercial Spanish courses, selectivity courses, courses of Latin spelling and courses of Spanish for the Faculty of Science and Technology of the University of Tangier.

Unlike the formal education that is taught through the Moroccan schools system, the Instituto Cervantes teaches Spanish as a foreign language, usually for adults, and its curriculum is divided into four levels: initial, intermediate, advanced and superior. Its methodology aims to introduce and develop both oral and written skills in a short time, taking into account that students have different ages, different social backgrounds, and disparate interests. The Cervantes also organizes examinations and grants its students Diplomas of Spanish as a foreign language (DELE).

In addition to promoting Spanish language and culture and projecting the image of a modern and democratic Spain, the Instituto Cervantes in Morocco plays a great role in promoting and supporting all cultural initiatives aimed at bringing more harmony and mutual understanding to relations between the two countries. These two lines of action enable the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language to achieve a true practical complementation so that the learning of language is not detached from the knowledge of culture (Fernández-Suzor 1992).

The reasons for Moroccans to learn Spanish through the Cervantes are so different. Xavier Markiegi, current director of the Instituto Cervantes in Rabat, says that 17% of students learn the language for the purpose of pursuing other studies in Spain; 16% because they have taken Spanish as a foreign language in the Moroccan high school; 12% have family members who speak Spanish or live in Spain; 11% are interested in getting a job in Spain; 9% are
interested in literature and Spanish culture; 4% work for Spanish companies; 3% have institutional relations with Spain (officials); 7% have children enrolled in a Spanish teaching center; 3% want to spend the summer in Spain; and 22% for other reasons (Markiegi 2004).

In fact, I visited one of the Cervantes satellites in Meknes, at the beginning of 2010, and was really impressed that it was located in Ancient Medina, next to Bab Mansur - one of the landmarks of all Morocco. The location of the Cervantes in this very active and historical place is very significant and confirms the willingness of its leaders to expose it to more varied levels of Moroccan citizens and let them see it as part of their cultural heritage. On the wall, a banner that reads, "Your future is written in Spanish" was an emblem full of significance and a good example of the modernist and futurist image of the language that the Institute is trying to promote within the Moroccan society.

Observers and analysts disagree in assessing the quality of instruction at the Cervantes. So, while Zineb Benyaya asserts that the teaching of Spanish in those institutes is excellent, since it has been able to benefit from the most current research in the educational field (Benyaya 2007a, 178), Ahmed Mgara, in his interesting article “Desde el feddán”, diverts attention to the financial issue as an obstacle to study Spanish in Morocco, when he says:

"Es mas, un marroquí que quiera aprender el español en un Instituto Cervantes debe pagar ‘un ojo de la cara y parte del otro’, lo que supera los medios económicos del ciudadano medio en nuestro país. Tampoco nos podemos olvidar de las altísimas tasas y prohibitivas matriculaciones en los colegios e institutos españoles abiertos en nuestro país que están al alcance solo de una minoría, básicamente de hijos de familias adineradas y que no resultan ser siempre ‘futuros hispanistas.’"

"In addition, a Moroccan who wants to learn Spanish at the Instituto Cervantes must pay high tuitions, which exceeds the financial means of the average citizens of our country. Also, we should not forget the high rates and enrollment fees, in schools and Spanish institutions available in our country, which are affordable by only a minority; mainly the children of wealthy families who are not always the future hispanists" [Translation is mine]

Gil Grimau also asserts that it is very dangerous for the future of the Cervantes to polarize its attention and even its desire by self-financing, while substantially neglecting the main objectives and needs of cultural action abroad. To him, getting more students and giving
more classes to increase income leads to a network of language centers instead of a worthy State Project. The true success of these Institutes would be in transferring Spanish into a profitable business for Moroccans, not in increasing their own income as corporate entities (Gil Grimau 2003).

3.4. Promotion of Cultural Action Through Non-Official Bodies

Morocco is the country in North Africa to which the ONGDs have channeled more funds, with more than 99 million euros in the period 1998-2006 (Thieux and Oliver 2009). Law 23/1998, concerning international cooperation for development, recognizes the legitimacy of what is called official decentralized cooperation. It states that the autonomous communities and local entities can carry out activities in this area, with the purpose of reinforcing the principle of unity of external action (Desrues and Nieto 2009). Finally, the Treaty and the Asociación Estratégica de Cooperación opened interesting prospects for cultural exchange, by giving birth to three local Non-Profit Organizations, with a prominent role in cultural action: the “Junta de Andalucía,” the “Fundación Tres Culturas del Mediterráneo,” and the “Comité Averroes.”

3.4.1. The Junta de Andalucía

Morocco has become one of the countries in which the Junta has acquired more prominence. Cultural cooperation occupies an important place in the foreign policy of the Junta towards Morocco. The program of international cooperation indicates that the Junta has invested some 540,000 euros in Morocco, with the purpose of promoting the project of training, computerization and research on cultural heritage, facilitating the meeting between Andalusian and Moroccan professionals, and exchanging cultural experiences.

3.4.2. The Fundación Tres Culturas del Mediterráneo

The Fundación Tres Culturas del Mediterráneo is the actor with greater visibility, in
terms of cultural cooperation with Morocco. This is mainly due to the relevance and the international character of its Board of Trustees, to its functionality and non-governmental nature, and to the considerable funds that its regional administration receives.

The Foundation, which presents itself as a space for dialogue between cultures, was co-founded by the Junta de Andalucía and the Kingdom of Morocco in 1998. It is based on the premise that "culture is the best vehicle for dialogue in a complex political context." The Foundation aims to be a reflection of the Euro-Mediterranean Conference of Barcelona, held in November 1995, which proposed a new horizon for the whole Mediterranean basin: “the establishment of a zone of peace, stability and progress on both sides of a sea that has been the cradle of civilizations.”

The activities developed with Morocco occupy a central place in the Foundation and include inter-university cooperation, organization of seminars and debates, and the promotion of meetings between professionals and sharing of cultural practices.

3.4.3. The Comité Averroes

The creation, in 1996, of the Comité Averroes was the best mechanism to feed the cultural dialogue. Its founder, López García, asserts that the mission that was entrusted to it was the study of the best ways to eliminate prejudices and promote mutual understanding between both countries (Molina-García 2003). To Noya, the image of Spain improves day after day due to the Spanish investment abroad and due to the efforts of the non-governmental and civil society efforts (Noya 2002). Of course, this would never happen without positively impacting the image of the Spanish language and facilitating its dissemination.

4. Conclusion

Through the analysis of the Spanish cultural action in Morocco, it becomes evident that,
by appealing to the spirit of 1980 Convention and 1991 Treaty, the Spanish official and civil agencies have been very active in promoting language and culture. Proof of it is the increasing number of Cervantes, the renovation and activation of Spanish schools, cultural centers and libraries, especially in the North, and the organization of joint cultural activities aimed at fighting historical stereotypes and projecting a better image of the Spanish reality in Morocco.

It also became evident that such an action is taking place at two levels: the educational level, both public and private; and the societal level, through the establishment of a common mattress of interests. At both levels, Spanish is instrumentalized at promoting the image of a powerful, modern and European Spain, and its internationalization is a top priority in maintaining such an image.

With Cervantes being the engine of cultural action, the question that arises is: how does the Cervantes market Spanish in the Moroccan context? In other words, if French were marketed as a symbol of modernity and English is marketed as a key to gain access to business, science and technology, how would Spanish be promoted? Current data projects the image of a very young and considerably promising language. However, the lucrative mentality of Cervantes agents compared against the deteriorating economic reality of many Moroccan citizens forms a controversial duality that surely impacts the status of the language.

The establishment of a “mattress of interests” in Morocco with the purpose of reducing the side effects of the past and current conflicts and promoting a sense of interdependence of the two nations is a top priority in the Spanish foreign policy. The Hispano-Moroccan friendship groups and civil organizations (the Junta de Andalucía, the Fundación Tres Culturas del Mediterráneo and the Comité Averroes) play a great role in the revitalization of cultural diplomacy, and language is a great tool to achieve this objective. In addition, at the media level,
the dissemination of more TV channels, radio, press, and Internet floods the Moroccan market with cultural products via language.

In addition to the several strategies used to promote Spanish in the Moroccan context, the Spanish official agencies are currently engaged in a series of campaigns to raise the awareness of faculty and staff of the different Moroccan educational districts about the importance of teaching Spanish as a Foreign Language (ELE). It is in this context that the counselor of the Spanish Embassy in Rabat, Antonio Feliz Cotado, said during a conference, organized jointly by the University of Abdelmalek Saadi, the Instituto Cervantes and the Spanish Ministry of Education, in March 2012, that it is in the benefit of Moroccans to learn Spanish: a clear invitation not only to learn the language but to own it.
CHAPTER VI

Conclusions

Many factors have combined to make the current sociolinguistic situation as complex as never before in the history of Morocco. France, as a colonial power in the area, did not abandon Morocco without empowering a Francophone elite, which could play a great role in manipulating the internal affairs of Post-Independent Morocco. The Nationalist Movement (with all its ideological backgrounds: Communists, Panarabists and Islamists) perceived such empowerment, at the expense of other components of the civic society, as a new colonization aimed at guarantying the French economic and political interests in the region. Linguistically speaking, such elite could become the most decisive power in distributing domains and functions for both national and foreign languages. The immediate reaction of Nationalist Movement to this new reality was the call for Arabization, which was intellectually and popularly conceived as a way to protect the Moroccan identity against a very possible Francophone second colonization.

As a response to this new reality, the Moroccan authority – significantly influenced by the francophone elite – opted for a double standard policy: officially, it adopted Arabic as the only national language, while it kept French as a de facto language of administration and education. The first option was aimed at absorbing the nationalist-populist anger; while the second one was a response to the pressures exercised from above to keep the Francophone elite as the only manipulator of the Moroccan internal affairs.

These two linguistic choices impacted the Moroccan sociolinguistic map in many ways: it gave birth to an unclear, envisioned and improvised implementation of Arabization; a true and practical empowerment of French in the field of education and administration; the relegation of all foreign languages, including Spanish, to a lower status, and the instrumentalization of the Amazigh, through the activation of the International Congress of Tamazight (in Paris), to exercise
institutional pressure from above, with the purpose of countering and challenging any nationalist intents to empower Arabic or advance its status to those spaces occupied by French.

Such a policy ended up introducing the country in a status-quo condition, where Arabic suffers from a stagnant situation, local varieties (Tamazight and recently Darija) are activated and engaged in challenging the national linguistic unity, while French stands as the only powerful language, giving that it enjoys a de facto undefined status that none of the other foreign languages can enjoy. However, with the current expansion of globalization and the very active Spanish cultural diplomacy, both English and Spanish could improve their status and are now challenging the very unique status that French has in the area.

It could also gave birth to a de facto multilingualism that some sociolinguistics classify as chaotic and unnecessary, some others conceive it as elitist and not serving the interest of the majority of Moroccan citizens, while a third group believe that, by officially recognizing such an undefined multilingualism and against its willingness to bring balance to the Moroccan linguistic market, the State has greatly contributed to more balkanization of the linguistic map, to the intensification of language conflict and linguistic militantism among indigenous communities.

Where the impact of such a de facto multilingualism could be felt the most is in education, which is today an absolute failure. The hesitation of which language to use for school’s instruction has ended up generating a feeling of fear, concern and insecurity among students, teachers and parents. In fact, it could produce many generations of students who cannot excel in any of the languages. It is this complex situation that urged the Moroccan authority to engage in a series of educational and linguistic reforms, hoping to bring balance to its linguistic market, and it is in this complex situation that this dissertation strove hard to figure out the status of Spanish.
Being aware of all the factors that incremented the complexity of the Moroccan sociolinguistic reality, we should realize that the hierarchization of languages and the clear definition of their status in Morocco would be impossible without considering a variety of dimensions: The social status of a linguistic community, the existence or not of a writing system, the ability of a language to produce knowledge and facilitate access to the professional and labor market, the functionality of language and its economic value, the position of language in power domains, the role of globalization, the expansion of mass media, and the ability of language to express the realities of modernity. From all these dimensions, this dissertation paid special attention to the explicit and implicit institutional support that Spanish has been receiving or lacking of since independence. In other words, it could assess the status of Spanish in post-independent Morocco from two different perspectives: the Moroccan national policies (Arabization, Francization and the New Multilingual Model) and the post-constitutional Spanish cultural action.

1. Post-Independent LPP Model and Spanish

In reference to the Moroccan national policies, the following conclusions could be extracted:

After being the official language of the Spanish Protectorate in Northern and Southern Morocco for almost 44 years, Spanish has considerably lost importance in post-independent Morocco, its use has been reduced, and its status has been lowered to a simple foreign language. This was mainly due to the activation of Arabization and Francization by Moroccan authorities and the absolute disinterest of Spain in protecting its cultural heritage or providing any kind of educational support to the Moroccan government in this regard.

The unsupported *de jure* Arabization and undeclared *de facto* Francization could produce
hierarchical relations, which made of Moroccan Arabic (Darija) and Tamazight vehicular varieties without political power or social prestige, while it made of MSA and French two institutional languages, with a clear supremacy of the latter. In this unbalanced context, Spanish lost its official status in the Northern and Southern zones and its use became restricted to a very small Spanish population and a Moroccan population in constant decline.

Despite the above-mentioned factors and against any expectations of extinction, Spanish not only could survive but also could forge a considerable site within the Moroccan linguistic landscape and be considered by large Moroccan sectors as a main component of the Moroccan identity. Today, in addition to the common history that the peoples of both countries share; the unavoidable geographical proximity of Morocco to mainland Spain, which has always imposed on the governments of both countries the necessity of exchanging political and socioeconomic interests; the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Spanish minority and the inner aptitude and acceptability of the majority to abandon its roots and join the more powerful culture; and the growing human flow between the two countries, especially in the last twenty years, the strong commitment of both Spanish and Moroccan officials to promote this language is the most decisive factor in defining the current status of Spanish language.

In reference to Arabization, interestingly, after analyzing its different conceptualizations, we concluded that none of them has pointed to the need of replacing Spanish in the zones in which it was enjoying an official status during the Protectorate. In fact, Arabization was mainly meant to prioritize Arabic over French, because Nationalists conceived the latter as a threat to the Moroccan-Arabic identity.

As for Francization, there is no definition for the concept. Most of the time, it is purposely replaced by another neutral term “bilingualism,” which is meant to give a better
impression about French. Also, in the Moroccan legislation such a term is not mentioned, even though in reality it marks a deeply rooted process. One of the contributions of this dissertation is the clear and comprehensive definition of this concept, giving that its conceptualization is a necessary step to assess the status of Spanish.

In reference to the impact of Francization on Spanish, the dissertation argues that the latter impacted the status of Spanish more than Arabization itself. Such impact is felt at two levels: status and acquisition: French replaced Spanish in the educational and administrative institutions of the Northern Strip of Morocco, and made its presence very reduced in some social spheres. The dissertation also makes it clear and evident that French was – and still is – the most decisive factor in defining linguistic-cultural spaces and that, against any logic, the French elite succeeded in presenting Arabization as divisive and imposed bilingualism as the only option for Moroccans.

It seems that French was granted the status of first foreign language through an undeclared contract between the Francophone elite and the State. Giving that, there is no doubt that it will continue enjoying an ambivalent status. However, Anglophones and Hispanophones who could attract wide sectors of Moroccans to the learning of their respective languages increasingly challenge such a status. So, even though French is entitled to consolidate its position at the official level, in the populist level there is a progressive shifting toward the Anglophone culture because of its practicality and toward the Hispanophone one because of its vicinity, historicity and its increasing global character.

In addition, despite the exclusive efforts of advocates of Francization, Moroccan intellectuals work hard to direct officials’ attention to the importance of supporting the national language and facilitating its normalization, as well as to the urgent need of considering other
foreign languages for openness, scientific and technological purposes. For many of them, it's true that French gives access to modernity, but it's neither the only one nor the best one in this time of globalization.

Overall, post-independence Moroccan policy has deepened the diglossic situation that characterizes the Moroccan linguistic landscape, making of French a very functional language in the school system, administration and business, restricting the use of Arabic to certain domains of education, and relegating the other foreign languages, especially Spanish, to a lower and dysfunctional status.

2. The Moroccan New Model of LPP and Spanish

Where Moroccan national policies have had more impact was in education: Arabization and Francization were not implemented without having immediate consequences on the status of all languages in this vital sector. However, one can truly speak of a more comprehensive educational language planning in Morocco only after decreeing the Charter in 1999. The New Model of LPP, embodied in it is a clear departure from improvisation and a move toward a more effective planning; however it contains many controversies that have been a source of criticism for policy makers.

First, none of the official documents released after the Charter, including the Urgent Plan, the White Book, the General Guidelines of MEN, and the 2011 Constitution grant any foreign language a clear status. However, for the first time, both the Charter and the Constitution recognize the linguistic and cultural diversity existing in the country, and opt for cultural openness toward other civilizations via language.

When the Charter refers to the first foreign language, it does not specify which one. However, in reality, it is French that gains that status through an assumed and undeclared
contract between the elite and the State. Apparently, both policy makers and francophone intellectuals avoid any direct declaration of French as an official language for two reasons: the social resistance that this decision could spark among many Moroccan classes, and the willingness of the Francophone policy makers to progressively normalize the use of French in all domains of Moroccan life.

Second, against the declaration of Arabic as the first official language of the country, and against the very explicit statements insisting on the urgency of encompassing it and widening its domains of use, the Charter clearly advocates for multilingualism through the introduction of French from the second year of elementary school instead of the third year, the recognition of Tamazight as a second official language and its gradual generalization in all schools, and the introduction of a second foreign language in the fifth year of elementary school. All these choices have contributed to the weakening of Arabic and to more balkanization and hierarchization of the Moroccan sociolinguistic map. I strongly believe that this choice is nothing but a demagogic way aimed at absorbing and diffusing the popular and intellectual resistance that its implementation might provoke. I also believe that adopting such multilingualism has a tremendous psychological and socio-economic cost on both the Moroccan citizens and the State, which should make us wonder if the State has the necessary human and financial resources for such a vast multilingual project. It also confirms that in Morocco the discrepancy between legislation and practice is a longstanding fact.

Third, against its willingness to keep balance between what is local and what is universal, the Charter has intensified conflict between national and foreign languages and created a fierce competitive environment between Arabophones, Amazigophones and more recently Darijaphones, between Arabophones and Francophones, and between Francophones,
Hispanophones and Anglophones. The very vague attitude of openness toward foreign languages on the part of the legislative powers and the official recognition of multilingualism are then factors that could generate more conflict of interest between all these parties, instead of bringing more balance and harmony to the linguistic market.

Such conflict about defining spaces may entitle each of the respective languages of these parties to a change at the level of usage and social status. However, the actual support that French currently receives proves its prioritization by the State. Also, giving French an ambivalent status that none of the other foreign languages can reach leaves the doors open to an unbalanced process of linguistic auto-regulation and a fierce competition between Spanish and English, and of course due to the global and scientific character that the latter enjoys, Spanish is automatically relegated to a lower status.

The Charter has also complicated the issue of language of instruction. The officialization of Tamazight, prioritization of French in the educational system and opening the doors for other languages (practically English) to be used as a language of instruction in the private sector, are all choices that further complicate the linguistic situation in Morocco and help undermine Arabic as an official language.

Given that none of the mother tongues of Morocco (Darija or Tamazight) seems to be a strong asset economically, professionally, scientifically or technologically, and given that MSA suffers from the rough competition of foreign languages present in Morocco, especially French – it follows that the re-definition of the criteria used in incorporating a language in the educational system should be based on functionality; not on political considerations. This will make the presence of languages a positive addition rather than a factor of conflict or nonsense juxtaposition.
In summary, against all the expectations, the New Language Policy Model, embodied in the Charter and the 2011 Constitution, has given back to Arabization and opted for a multilingual approach to the Moroccan linguistic reality. This reflects to a great extent that the linguistic issue in Morocco is highly manipulated by a Francophone minority that has tremendous access to the circles of political power. One can also say that the new Moroccan language policy is a good example of language politics since every linguistic choice has been incorporated in the Charter for political reasons and reflects, to a great extent, the power relations and conflicts that exist at very high levels: Arabic, the so-called “first official language”, is not welcomed anymore by the political elite and therefore is kept at a status-quo and stagnant condition that does not allow its access to higher education and technological spaces; Tamazight is instrumentalized by the Francophone elite to block any progress that the Arabophone advocates may aspire for Arabic; French is the de facto official language par excellence, as it is supported by a politically and economically powerful Francophone elite; English is progressively forging a more powerful position in harmony with the technical, scientific and communicative power that it enjoys in our days; and Spanish has to struggle against both the great competitiveness of French and English in the educational system and the Francophone realpolitik exercised in the Saharawi lands. In fact, it is in the latter instance that politicization of language is a common practice: Spain uses language to counter the Moroccan presence in the area, and Morocco does the same to counter the Spanish presence and perceives any support or effort of Spain to spread its language in the Sahara as an effort that favors the separatists.

The controversies generated by the New Model of LPP have been a good reason for many sociolinguists and intellectuals to assume their responsibility in criticizing and recommending to policy makers to approach the current chaotic linguistic situation in a more comprehensive way.
They all perceive the type of multilingualism promoted by the Moroccan official agency not as a sign of cultural prosperity but as a sociolinguistic disease. They also agree that in the absence of true political willingness to overcome this chaotic situation, the learning of foreign languages will continue to work for replacing the national language and hampering its development and normalization – not for enriching it or allowing access to science and technology. This dissertation has considered all the above-mentioned criticisms and recommendations before proposing a new approach to the current situation.

3. The Spanish Language and the Spanish Cultural Action

This dissertation argues that the socio-economic and political post-constitutional developments that Spain went through have also echoed through cultural action. Particularly in Morocco, their implications could be strongly felt, since Spain could overcome a period of improvisation and neglect, appeal to the new legislative framework, mainly embodied in the 1980 Convention, the 1991 Treaty and the Convenio de Asociación Estratégica of 2013, and incorporate a variety of strategies and initiatives aimed at promoting its language and culture.

In reference to language, the goals of the Spanish cultural action could be achieved through the activation of two distinct levels of planning: while acquisition planning was concretized through the renovation and reactivation of Spanish schools, cultural centers and libraries, especially in the North, the multiplication of Institutos Cervantes and the organization of joint cultural activities, status planning was achieved through the establishment of a common mattress of interests (businesses, companies, tourism, etc.), supported by the media (TV channels, newspapers, etc.). At both levels, the objective was to fight historical stereotypes, project a better image of the Spanish reality in Morocco and articulate a solid foundation for the Spanish Brand. In all the stages of this process, language was efficiently instrumentalized and its
internationalization was perceived as a top priority.

As a result of acquisition and status planning, Spanish could experience a great deal of appreciation within the Moroccan linguistic market. Proof of it is the increasing demand of Spanish language in Spanish cultural centers and Institutos Cervantes. This appreciation goes hand in hand with the socio-economic and democratic development of Spain, the increasing economic and professional value that Spanish gains every day, and its European character. However, we should notice that this value is threatened by the international crisis currently affecting the Spanish economy. The recent return of Moroccan immigrants to their homeland, especially in the last three years, due mainly to the increasing rate of unemployment in Spain, is further evidence of that. One should wonder how this crisis would affect the status of Spanish in Morocco.

Spanish post-constitutional efforts could help Spanish language progressively recover the spaces that were occupied by French, especially in the North, consolidate its position vis-à-vis other foreign languages, especially English, and catch the attention of Moroccans who, not only appreciate its learning, but also conceive it as a main component of their multicultural identity. Spanish has already begun to be relatively useful for many Moroccans, and its teaching and diffusion constitute today a growing cultural capital that is closely linked to its promising future.

The teaching of Spanish has also quantitatively developed, especially in the last two decades, thanks to the promotion of its teaching through both public and private Moroccan educational institutions, and the cooperation of the Moroccan and Spanish governments, aimed at developing more appropriate methodologies and programs, contributing to the professionalization of teachers and meeting the demand for Spanish as a second language. It is expected that the presence of Spanish in Morocco to be increasingly consolidated in the public as
well as in the private sectors.

4. Toward a New Model of Language Policy

After thoroughly analyzing the post-independent Moroccan language policy models and considering the different components of the Moroccan society, the complexity that their coexistence impose, and the different cultural agendas that are activated and implemented, this dissertation proposes the guidelines of a multidimensional model designed to better deal with the de facto multilingual face that the Moroccan context represents today. The following platform or plan of action should be considered for the success of such a multidimensional approach:

For a more comprehensive definition of the domains and functions of all the languages incorporated in the Moroccan linguistic repertoire, diagnostic studies in the field of dialectology, sociology, ethnography, etc. are urgently needed. In the last few years, there is a great interest in developing studies that can respond to this need but a lot more has to be done. This descriptive and synthetic study hopes to partially fill this gap.

A true reform of the linguistic affair can be achieved only through a more comprehensive reform of the political system. That is to say, unless the Moroccan regime truly adopts more comprehensive socio-political changes, including consistency between de jure and de facto policies, then any reforms – including educational ones – will not be at all relevant or significant. In fact, without filling the huge gap currently existing between the “de jure” and “de facto” policy, an overloaded militantism that instrumentalizes language as a weapon of political struggle will continue to be a very common practice among Moroccan linguist activists; and the balance that is hoped to be brought to the Moroccan linguistic market will never be achieved.

There is an absolute consensus among all sectors of the society that education in Morocco was always a failure mainly due to the very ideologized and politicized linguistic choices that
have been made since independence. It follows that for a positive change to happen in this field, it is necessary that the State give up those unpopular politicized choices and embrace ones that correspond to the real needs of the majority of Moroccans.

Arabic is the most qualified language in the country to respond to the needs of identity, education, modernity, science and diplomacy. Therefore, it should be adopted as the only national and official language of the country, and should be progressively and steadily incorporated as the only language of instruction in school. Insisting on practically weakening it and empowering French will continue to generate tension and linguistic interference of spaces. Recognize that the Arabization of the educational system failed mainly due to the high illiteracy rate (approximately 48% of Moroccans are illiterates according to official sources), not because of internal problems in the structure of Arabic language.

The improvement of the corpus and status of Arabic should be a priority. That should encompass the language in the fields of science and technology. Giving other languages the same functions as Arabic will continue to generate language conflict and unbalanced competition for the same spaces. Also, the current diglossic condition of Arabic is not due to the inability of the language to unite its different varieties, but to the unnecessary and unneeded bilingualism promoted by the State.

The elite and intellectuals should assume their responsibility in correcting the current linguistic situation by doing their best to raise the status of Arabic to that of a national and universal language, exactly as the Spanish intellectuals could do for the Spanish language. They should stand firm against any attempt to secularize the language, which means restricting its use to religious functions and isolating it from the daily life of Moroccan citizens.

The Tamazight should be conceptualized as a national heritage that every Moroccan can
have access to. The Tamazight movement should stop placing Tamazight in conflict or competition with Arabic, since neither its corpus nor its status qualifies it to face the challenges of globalization.

Foreign languages (especially those that had a colonial past in the country: French and Spanish) should not enter into struggle or competition with Arabic, and must admit it as the national language of the country par excellence. Any conflict with it disturbs and hinders not only its development but also the development of those foreign languages.

Introduce in the educational system all those languages that facilitate access to technology, science and cultural values of other nations. That implies removing the ambivalent and privileged status accorded to French and opening the door to other languages, including English and Spanish. These languages should be introduced in the school system beginning in High School, and they should be equally offered to Moroccan citizens as Second Foreign Languages. This should entitle students to pursue their college studies in Arabic or in any of these languages, if they choose too.

These guidelines should be a strong foundation for a more balanced model that takes into account the Arab-Islamic, the Tamazight, the Euro-Mediterranean and the universal or international dimensions. They should also accurately, precisely and fairly define the linguistic spaces, the subject of language conflict. That is to say that in this multidimensional model, Arabic should be perceived as the only official national language; Tamazight as a national legacy that enriches the Moroccan identity and that every Moroccan has the right to embrace, not only the members of Tamazight movement; French, Spanish, English and maybe other important languages as foreign languages that facilitate access and openness toward the other civilizations of the world. This approach should bring peace to the Moroccan linguistic market and make
contact an opportunity for languages to complement one another; not to compete with or fight each other.

5. Recommendations for Future Research

I believe that this humble effort has helped, in many ways, in configuring the status of Spanish in Morocco from a sociolinguistic perspective:

Firstly, it was able to organize and synthetize all the research efforts that have been developed so far about Spanish in Morocco, and which were split in many previous articles and papers. It also provided a detailed description of the condition of Spanish in the various Moroccan contexts (educational system, the Spanish cultural institutions, the media, the field of translation, the Saharawi lands, etc.), which can serve as a road map for policy makers, intellectuals and researchers who may pursue future investigations on the status of Spanish in Morocco.

Secondly, it was successful in tracking the latest theoretical, topical and methodological developments in the Moroccan sociolinguistic context and how such developments could impact the status of Spanish:

Theoretically, it enriched the field of LPP as it gathered new data, examined a new scenario where several languages are in contact and various agendas are implemented and helped identify the factors contributing to or impeding the improvement of Spanish as a foreign language, in the Moroccan sociolinguistic context.

Topically, it surely could track the progressive shifting of the national policies from Arabization and Francization as two exclusive options to the openness toward the other international languages, especially English and Spanish. In addition, it could track all the historical, geographical, political, and socio-economic factors involved in this process.
By approaching the status of Spanish from a sociolinguistic perspective, the dissertation could move forward the study of this language in the Moroccan context from a general scope to a more specialized one. It was especially successful in putting together and analyzing the different Moroccan educational reforms and demonstrating how Arabization, Francization, and recently Anglophonization and the Spanish cultural action are all engaged in shaping the current status of Spanish.

Thirdly, it could offer a very detailed description of the Moroccan multilingualism and the different subsequent sociolinguistic processes resulting from it (diglossia, linguistic competition, linguistic conflict, linguistic militantism, ethnolinguistic vitality, linguistic borrowing, code-switching and language selection), and explain how these processes interfere directly or indirectly to define the functionality and spaces of Spanish.

It could also gather a variety of authentic texts that can be a great foundation for investigating other aspects of the Spanish language. The reading of these texts could answer many of my initial questions; but many others remain unanswered (i.e. How to identify de facto policies?). Therefore, while this study represents a good beginning, it is my hope that it is only a springboard for further dialogue and research about the factors that shape the status of Spanish in this very unique context. The following recommendations can serve as a foundation for future research:

The implementation of the New Moroccan model of language policies has complicated the linguistic situation in Morocco and gave birth to a variety of sociolinguistic processes, which are in plenty development and are expected to continuously influence the different languages and communities of Morocco (i.e. linguistic militantism, linguistic selection, linguistic competition, etc.). Therefore, investigators should continue observing these developments and analyze their
impact on the status of Spanish.

Also, the Moroccan sociolinguistic context represents a particular case, in terms of the incompatibility between legislation and practice or what we defined in this dissertation as de jure versus de facto policies. It’s a very complicated and challenging phenomenon that makes the clear definition of language status almost always incomplete. Researchers are to find strategies on how to locate this phenomenon, quantify it and submit it for analysis. In fact, this was one of the shortcoming of this dissertation, as I could not have access to any official files that could document it; however, I could explore one strategy that can help in achieving such objective: interviewing officials and language agents who, directly or indirectly, can facilitate this access.

Interestingly, this model has generated a wide and very controversial debate in the Moroccan mass media. Most of these debates evolve around the place of the national language within the Moroccan educational system and its relationship with the other local varieties and foreign languages. Another aspect of these debates is associated with the functions of the foreign languages and which language should be prioritized in the educational system and to what extent. Therefore, investigators are invited now more than any previous time to observe these debates, collect data about them, and analyze how they may impact language attitudes, planning, policymaking and the status of the different languages of the Moroccan linguistic repertoire, knowing that Spanish is one of the languages that is, directly or indirectly, mentioned in these debates.
Appendix

ADERMA: The Asociación de Españoles Residentes en Marruecos
AECI: Agencia Española para la Cooperación Internacional
CND: Centre National de Documentation
COSEF: Committee Special de l'Education et Formation
CPR: Centre Pedagogic Regional
CSE: Conseil Supérieur de l'Enseignement
DELE: Diploma de Español Lengua Extranjera
ENS: Ecole National Superieur
ESA: Educated Spoken Arabic
ICMA: Instituto de Cooperación con el Mundo Árabe
IEHL: Instituto de Estudios Hispano-Luzofonos
IERA: Institute des Etudes et des Recherches pour l’Arabisation
IRCAM: Institut Royal de la Culture Amazigh
LPP: Language Policy and Planning
MEN: Ministère de l’Education National
MSA: Modern Standard Arabic
ONGDs: Organizaciones No-Gubernamentales de Desarrollo
SEACEX: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior


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