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International Journal of Applied Language Studies and Culture

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Content

THE STATUS OF MOTHER TONGUES AND LANGUAGE POLICY IN MOROCCO

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Abstract. The linguistic market in Morocco has been characterized by its richness and complexity, in that a number of local as well as foreign languages co-exist. Given this multiplicity and diversity in its linguistic landscape, Morocco has opted for Arabization as a language policy in education, its ultimate goal being, as it were, to safeguard and maintain its national identity (Ennaji, 2003). Achieving this goal, however, is far from being without glaring shortcomings. Arabization has, inter alia, marginalized mother tongues, the latter being relegated to daily communication only with a devalued and denigrated status. On this view, the present paper brings to the fore the status of languages in use in Morocco and, more precisely, brings into focus the impact of Arabization on the status of mother tongues. What is more, the study attempts to shed light on Moroccans' attitudes towards their mother tongues. In pursuance of this aim, the study addresses the following research questions, principally (i) What is the status of Arabic in Morocco? (ii) What is the nature of Moroccans' attitudes towards their mother tongues, namely Moroccan Arabic and Moroccan Amazigh? (iii) What is the impact of Arabization on the status of mother tongues in Morocco?

Keywords: Arabization; mother tongues; attitudes; language policy; education; multilingualism; linguistic human rights.

1. The Functions of the Languages in Use in Morocco

Morocco is a multilingual society par excellence, in the sense that different local as well as foreign languages co-exist. There are two mother tongues, namely Moroccan Arabic (MA) and Amazigh, Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), the latter being the official language; other foreign languages are particularly French, Spanish, and English (see for example Ennaji, 1991, 2003, 2005; Youssi, 1989a). Rich though the situation may seem, this multilingual diversity is replete with controversies (Bensoukas, 2010). To ensure clarity of presentation and to make clear any claim made herein, it is deemed convenient to give a description of the multilingual context of Morocco.

The co-existence of these languages results in a linguistic situation called Triglossia[1]

(Youssi, 1995); it is, broadly defined, as a situation where three languages exhibit a functional, usually hierarchical, relationship between each other. These languages are MA, MSA, and Classical Arabic[2]. To begin with, Classical Arabic is the language of Quran and revelation. Besides, a number of religious and literary texts are written in it. Given this fact, it enjoys a prestigious status in the Arab world in general and in Morocco in particular (Grandguillaume, 1990; Ennaji, 1991, 2003, 2005). Hence, it serves as the high variety. In actual fact, Classical Arabic is used by Muslims in prayers and many other Islamic liturgies, irrespective of what their mother tongue is. However, this language is never employed in everyday communication and it is nobody's mother tongues (Grandguillaume, 1990: 151). MSA, on the other hand, enjoys a middle status. Indeed, it is used particularly in formal spheres like media and administration and it is considered as the official language of Morocco. Similar to Classical Arabic, this variety has no native speakers either. As opposed to Classical Arabic, MSA is characterized by its phonological, morphological, and syntactic flexibility (for more details see Ennaji, 1988, 2005). Another aspect from which MSA departs from Classical Arabic is the fact that the former has heavily borrowed new lexical

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[1] There are also other linguistic phenomena such as borrowing and code-switching (Bensoukas, 2010: 138).

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[2] Youssi (1995: 30) labeled it Literary Arabic. For ease of reference, however, the term Classic Arabic will be used throughout.

item, namely from French (see Ennaji, 2005: 53 for examples).

MA has a low status and it is the mostly used spoken language in Morocco, or, for that matter, the lingua franca in Moroccan. However, the language is neither codified nor standardized and it is exclusively spoken. As a matter of fact, MA may be said to be as a blanket term that encompasses different varieties. These are 'urban', 'Bedouin', 'Jebli' and 'Hassania' varieties; the latter is conceived of as a quite different dialect, if not a different language (Bensoukas, 2010: 137). As a dominant language, MA is also used in formal domains like media[3] and education (see section 5).

The second mother tongue in Morocco is Amazigh (Berber). Like MA, Amazigh has various varieties, each of which is spoken in different areas in Morocco. To start with, Tarifit is generally spoken in the Rife Mountains. In particular, the major cities where Tarifit is spoken are Houceima, Nadour and Imzourn. The second variety is Tamazight which is widely spoken in the Atlas Mountains, a vast area that includes cities such as Khenifra and Khemissat. The third variety is Taslhit. This language is spoken in the south, more precisely, in the region of Souss Massa Daràa, its major cities being Agadir and Tata. More recently, Amazigh has been constitutionalized; hence, it has become an official language. Given this fact, a number of studies have been conducted in order to codify and standardize the language (see Boukhris et al. 2008 for example). For all this, however, the fact remains which variety, among the three major varieties of Amazigh, is the one to be codified and standardized and integrated into the educational system.

In addition, there are other foreign languages that are in use in Morocco, most important of which are French, English, and Spanish. To begin with, French is ostensibly the dominant language in that it is used both in formal and informal spheres; it is an essential element in private schools and economics. In this regard, French is argued to be a crucial means of social promotion (Ennaji, 1991: 17). In fact, French is the key to access to the job market. Equally obviously, French is conceived of, particularly by the ruling elite and the Moroccans, as a prestigious valued language (Ennaji, 1991, 2003). Along with French, English has been introduced into the Moroccan linguistic market on the grounds of its being an international language. In other terms, with the advent of technology, English has become almost a prerequisite to adapt to the high demands of contemporary life. In much the same way, Sadiqi (1991: 106) states that:

Policy makers in Morocco have certainly realized that international communication between Morocco and the rest of the world could not be achieved by French alone; they know that English is the key to communication in a very tangible sense.

In contrast, the status of Spanish in Morocco cannot be said to be on a par with French and English. Its domains of use are restricted to areas formerly occupied by Spain, example of which is the north (Ennaji, 2003: 39).

2. The Arabization Policy

After its independence, Morocco has opted for Arabization as a language policy in education. Its ultimate goal is to safeguard and maintain its national identity (Ennaji, 2003). As Grandguillaume (1990: 153) states:

Following their independence, each of the three states[4] planned their Arabization. Their ultimate goal was to advance the Arabic language as the official and national language. They conceived of this enterprise as a restoration of the national personality in opposition to the cultural alienation associated with colonizing during which Arabic has been pushed aside by French in important domains.

The view expressed in the quote above clearly stresses the fact that Arabization is meant to give recognition to the Arabic language as a reaction against the ostensibly predominant language at that time, i.e. French. The policy also aims at preserving authenticity and Arab-Muslim values and beliefs (Ennaji, 2003: 40). This being the case, however, Arabization has denied any interest to mother tongues in Morocco. They are, so to speak, relegated to everyday use only with a devalued and denigrated status. In a similar vein, Ennaji (2005) maintains that this language policy has been set in motion by the people in power and by ideologist as a cultural fact of independence.

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[3] Various newspapers are published in MA, among which one may particularly mention: "Nishan" and "Lalla Fatima".

[4] These states, the author refers, are Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria.

Besides, Arabization remarkably overlooks the multicultural nature of Morocco, particularly Amazigh monolingual speakers.

Noteworthy along these lines is the fact that the job market does not value the Arabic language; rather it favors other foreign languages, most important of which is French. This language, it appears, dominates virtually all private sectors, including administration, business, the media and more importantly, education (Ennaji, 2005). In addition, Arabization, as the present argues, affects the status of mother tongues in Morocco, resulting in creating negative attitudes towards them.

From a Linguistic Human Rights (HLRs) perspective, the language policy marginalizes the status of mother tongues, as the latter do not enjoy their rights to be learnt and, hence, not being able to be passed down to the next generation. Undeniably, education plays a vital role in the development and maintenance of language. Besides, educational human rights are the most linguistic human rights as they maintain linguistic and cultural diversity. They preserve the transmission of the language. As it stands, a number of inalienable rights are violated, most important of which are the rights to use one's mother tongue as a language of instruction and to preserve one's own culture (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1998). In the Moroccan educational system, for instance, children at a very early stage are introduced to MSA. This might be considered as an untoward move from a child's mother tongue, the language to which s/he is first exposed, to a foreign language, MSA. A question of considerable interest at this point should be raised: What about students whose mother tongue is Amazigh and who have never been exposed to Arabic and are taught by non-Amazigh speakers?

As has been pointed out above, this language policy overlooks the multicultural nature of Morocco. This suggests a blatant violation of educational human rights, principally the right to be taught by your mother tongue. The perplexing issue at this point is that even native speakers of both Moroccan Arabic (MA) and Amazigh have a negative attitude towards their mother tongues (see El Kirat et al. 2010 and Errihani, 2008 for Amazigh). The nature of this negative attitude may be said to be motivated by the fact these mother tongues, namely MA, are not officially recognized by the state.

Another conceivable assumption, yet dubious on linguistic grounds, is that people tend to claim that MSA and MA are not considered to be two different languages. This follows from the fact that some Moroccans wrongly claim that MSA is their mother tongue. As such, Moroccan speakers feel reluctant to learn their mother tongues even if the LHRs are granted (Bensoukas, 2010: 145). In fact, the current unequal distribution of the languages in Morocco has resulted in language loss and endangerment of indigenous and small language communities (El Kirat, 2009; ECh-Charfi, 2004). This state of affairs stems from the negligent attitude the state is adopting.

3. Language Attitudes towards Mother Tongues in Morocco

A number of studies have reported that the majority of Moroccans have negative attitudes towards their mother tongues (see among others Errihani, 2008 and El Kirat et al. 2010). El Kirat et al. (2010), for instance, seek to investigate language attitudes towards the mother tongues and the languages used in Morocco among the students of Mohammed V University, Rabat- Agdal. The findings revealed that language choice and attitudes are determined by the students' language instruction. Equally importantly, the study demonstrated that a number of respondents have expressed an instrumental attachment to some languages through the use of social promotion, as is the case with French and English, and for communication in informal domains through the use of mother tongues (2010: 348).

4. Methodology

For validity and accuracy of the findings, the present study makes use of a triangulated approach that relies on both qualitative and quantitative research instruments with a representative population sample, the aim being to gain a deeper insight into the topic. These instruments are non-participatory observation and a survey. Noteworthy is the fact that the survey, formulated in English and Arabic (see Appendix), is divided into two parts: the first part contains open-ended questions. The other part, on the other hand, consists of close-ended questions where participants are provided with a set of a limited set of response options.

As far as the population sample is concerned, the number of the participants

having taken part in the present study totaled 100. They were divided into two groups. The first group comprises students from different departments (English, Science, and Islamic studies). The participants in the second group are people who do not belong to the university. The choice of these two groups is justified by the fact that the main focus of the study is to get a panoramic view of how Moroccans view their mother tongues, be they educated or non-educated people.

5. Non-participatory Classroom Observation

The classroom observation took place over the last week of April 2013, its main objectives being to see which language is being used as the language of instruction. This state of affairs enabled me to reveal afterwards both the teachers and the students' attitudes towards the use of mother tongues as the language of instruction. To meet this end, two schools were chosen, namely a primary school and a high school, both of which are located in the city of Salé. The first classroom observation was held on Friday the 19th of April 2017 in a primary school named "Abdurrahman El Kattani". As a matter of fact, no arrangements for the meetings had been made in both schools; all the teachers, both in the primary and the high school, were requested to attend their sessions on the grounds that I wanted to observe how the course was handled. In fact, I did not mention the real objectives of the observation, lest the teachers should pay more attention not to speak MA.

The first class I attended was an Arabic class. The students were supposed to read a text in Arabic. I sat in the back of the class with the understanding that my presence in the classroom would probably have bearings on the behavior of both the teacher and the students. The teacher, a female whose age ranges from 39 to 41, asked the students to open their books. The language she used, at that time, was Arabic. Then, she started asking the students to read one after the other and correcting their mistakes when necessary. After that, she asked what the main idea of the text was. Not surprisingly, her requests were performed in MA. Four students responded to her question; again, in MA; only one female little girl who did her best to speak in Arabic but in vain. No sooner had the course finished than I went to the teacher. As curious as I was, I asked her why she used MA instead of Arabic which is the main language of the course. She replied, though in an apparently angry voice, that nobody would understand. She also said that even in classes of French, most of the teachers explain in MA.

The next classroom observation, which was held on Monday the 29th and Tuesday the 30th, took place in a high school named "Mohammed Allama Sbihi" which, too, is located in Salé. Three classes were observed, principally History and Geography, Philosophy, and Mathematics. The observation revealed that MA was overwhelmingly used in all these subjects. For instance, in History and Geography, the teacher spoke only MA, except when she wanted to mention a major event, she would switch to Arabic. Students, too, were interacting and responding in MA. In Mathematics, only rules were reported in Arabic; explanation and questions were performed in MA. When the classes were finished, I went to the teachers and gave them the same question I had given to the primary school teacher: There seemed to be a unanimous answer, for they all said that students felt at ease and understood well when they were taught in their mother tongue. I simultaneously asked the students about their feedback about being taught in MA. Not surprisingly, all their answers went hand in hand with their teachers' reply. A question of considerable interest at this point should be raised: What about students whose mother tongue is Amazigh and who have never been exposed to Arabic and are taught by non-Amazigh speakers? As has been pointed out above, this language policy overlooks the multicultural nature of Morocco. This state of affairs, in my view, may push students to drop out.

6. Results: Discussion and Analysis

The data collected through the use of questionnaire which in turn has been analyzed via the use of the Software Package for Social Science (SPSS). In particular, the statistical measure adopted is frequency distribution. This first section is concerned with presenting the results of the first part of the questionnaire that includes four open-ended questions. Each of these questions is discussed separately. To be statistically measured, the study divided the respondents' responses into four categories. The first category involves the ones who favor this policy. The second includes those who do not. The third one includes those who are

neutral. The last category is devoted to those who do not understand the question.

1. How do you feel about Arabization as a language policy in education?

Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Don't understand
50%	45.5%	0%	4.5%

As the table indicates, (50%) of the respondents express their agreement towards this language policy, while (45.5%) disagree with it. the following responses are cases in point.

Respondent1: *It is a very important process which gives some priority to Arabic. Arabic is the language of the holy Quran and literature. Therefore, it is a must to make it the language of education.*

Respondent2: *I think it is necessary as a language policy. We live in an Arab country and we cannot do without Arabic.*

Respondent3: *It is a good policy because we are obliged to protect our language, so there is no need to study subjects in French while we could translate into Arabic. Besides, the language reflects our culture and our tradition.*

Respondent4: *Arabization subtracted the maternal languages such as Amazigh and Moroccan Arabic. These varieties are so important, especially if they are to be used as languages of instruction.*

Respondent5: *I agree with this language policy to the extent in which it reflects our identity, but at the same time I don't agree with it in that it is useless in the job market.*

Respondent6: *This language policy doesn't take into account other minorities such as Amazigh people who have never been introduced to Moroccan Arabic.*

These statements reveal the respondents' attitudes towards Arabization. These attitudes are characterized by some degree of ambivalence, in the sense that some of the respondents conceive of Arabic as their mother tongue within which they identify themselves. Therefore, it should be protected and used as the language of education. For them, mother tongues should be used only in everyday communication with the impression that these languages, if they thought of them as languages, are fruitless if they are to be used in formal spheres, especially in education. The results appear to go in conformity with Edward (1994). For him, the nature of attitudes is conditioned by two major factors, principally "standardization" and "vitality. The former

factor, as the name indicates, refers to the fact that if a given language is codified and recognized by the state as an official language, it will be more valued. Vitality is described as the set of functions served by the language. The coming questions validate this claim.

2.How do you feel about introducing mother tongues in primary schools as the language of instruction?

Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Don't understand
45.5%	45.5%	0%	9%

This table shows that the respondents' responses are equally distributed between who agree to introduce mother tongues in primary schools and those who do not. The following statements illustrate this state of affairs.

Respondent1: *The introduction of mother tongues in primary schools is not a good idea because mother tongues are not languages that have the same power as Arabic.*

Respondent2: *This is a silly policy that will create problems for students.*

Respondent3: *I think it is a wrong choice since mother tongues are not yet standardized and they don't have any formal structure such as grammar.*

Respondent4: *I personally disagree because they're just dialects and we use them in our daily life.*

Respondent5: *It will be useful and helpful especially for kids of different mother tongues. It will enable them to have access to knowledge in a straightforward way.*

Respondent6: *I agree because mother tongues are the only languages that may help a child achieve high cognitive skills.*

As should be obvious, the respondents' answers range from those who firmly believe that introducing mother tongues will have positive effects on students' academic performance. Yet, others believe that to be introduced, the mother tongues in question must be standardized first. Others, however, think that mother tongues are the only way to facilitate pupils' exposure to knowledge, in the very sense that they are the languages with which kids are much familiar.

3. In your opinion, what is the expected outcome of teaching mother tongues in Moroccan schools?

For clarity of analysis, respondents' responses are divided into three categories. The first category includes those who are 'optimistic'. The second category involves those who are 'pessimistic'. The third one is devoted to those who are 'neutral'.

Optimistic	Pessimistic	Neutral
40%	50%	9.1%

The results of this table suggest that (50%) are pessimistic about the outcome of teaching mother tongues in Moroccan schools. (40%), on the other hand, are optimistic. The following statements provide interesting illustration to this dilemma.

Respondent1: *This will harm Arabic which should be promoted more in Morocco. I think Arabic must be the language of education in general and primary schools in particular.*

Respondent2: *The outcome will not be satisfactory.*

Respondent3: *Low proficiency in other languages.*

Respondent4: *I think it will improve the quality of education not to mention that it is going to improve the process of teaching.*

Respondent5: *1. Ease of understanding. 2. Illiteracy rate will diminish.*

4. What can be done to incorporate mother tongues in Education?

A scanty number of the respondents were able to respond to this question. First, the majority of those who do not favor using mother tongues in education left a blank space. Those who responded maintain that the language should be standardized first. Yet, others believe that Moroccans' attitudes towards their mother tongues should, of necessity, change. As an illustration, these statements were provided.

Respondent1: *I think it is the task of the state to take this decision. However, the incorporation involves many steps, namely standardization, officialization and implementation.*

Respondent2: *Moroccans need to change their attitudes first.*

The second part of this section is concerned with presenting the second part of the questionnaire that contains close-ended questions. In fact, this part includes twelve questions. Each is analyzed and discussed separately.

Graph (1)
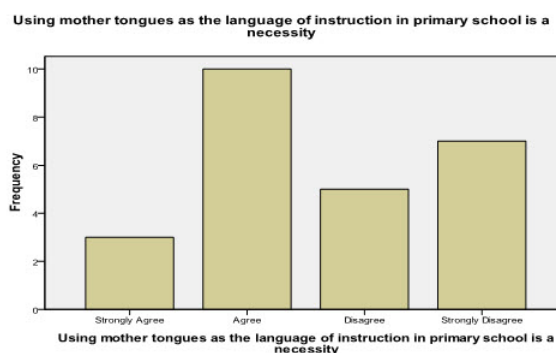
The first item in the questionnaire seeks to see whether Moroccans are in favor of using the mother tongues as the language of instruction in schools. The results show that (40%) of the respondents agree with this idea, followed by other respondents who strongly disagree and disagree, their percentages being (28%) and (20%), respectively. Besides, graph (1) also suggests that the Moroccans are aware of the importance of introducing mother tongues in primary schools.

Graph (2)
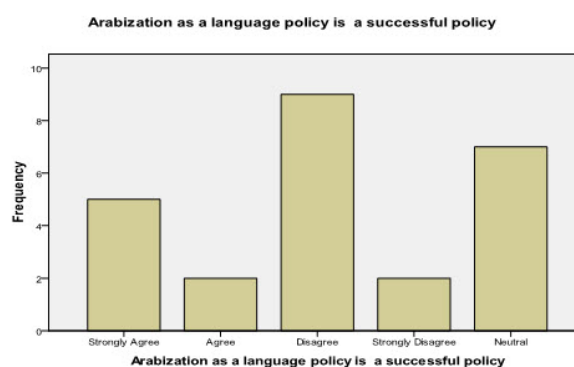
Graph (2) shows respondents' attitudes towards Arabization as a language policy in education. Not surprisingly, the majority disagree with this policy with a percentage of (36%), followed by those who choose to be neutral with a percentage of (28%). The other percentage is (8%) for both 'Agree' and 'Strongly Disagree'.

Graph (3)

Using foreign languages as the language of instruction other than Arabic is a necessity
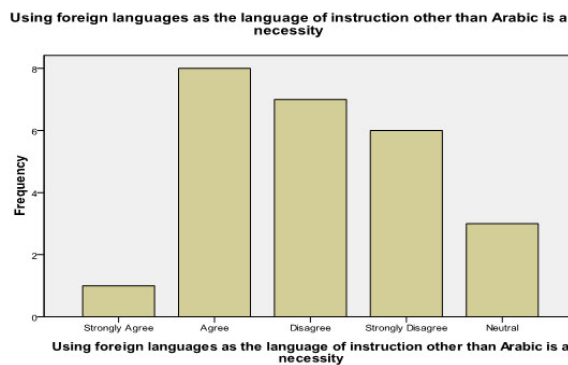
The third item attempts to see Moroccans' attitudes towards the use of foreign languages as the language of instruction other than Arabic. The results reveal that the majority opted for 'Agree' with a percentage of (32%), followed by those who disagree (28%), Strongly Disagree (24%), Neutral (12%), and Strongly Agree (4%). As should be obvious, the results are not significant, namely when one moves from 'Agree' to 'Disagree' and 'Strongly Agree'. This state of affairs may be justified, I assume, by the fact although Moroccans welcome other languages to be incorporated, the existence of Arabic in their educational system is inescapable.

Graph (4)

I could have done better if my courses in primary school had been being taught in my mother tongue

The purpose of this item has been to find out whether the respondents regret not having being taught in their mother tongues or not. The results reveal that the degree of disag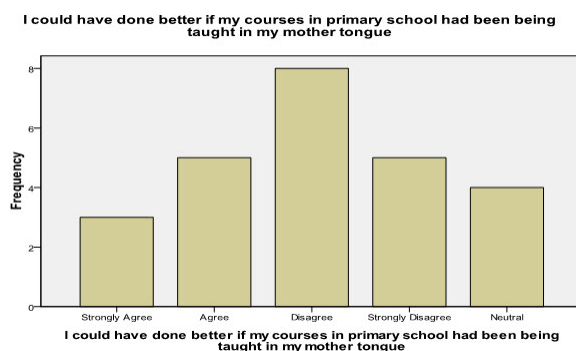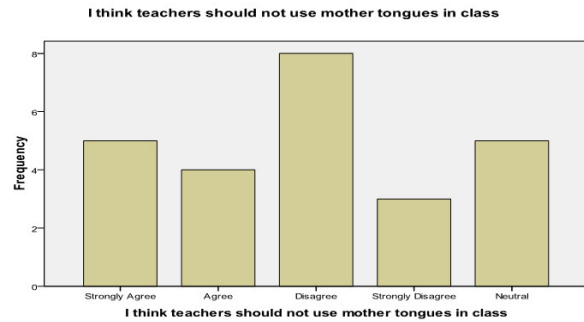reement is high with a percentage of (32%). Equally distributed options among the respondents are 'Strongly Disagree' and 'Agree', their percentages being (20%).

Graph (5)

I think teachers should not use mother tongues in class

Concerning the statement that teachers should not use mother tongues in class, a considerable number of the participants disagree with this idea. A fair number of the participants either Strongly Agree (20%), Agree (16%), Strongly Disagree (12%) or are Neutral (20%).

Graph (6)

Arabization denigrates the status of Mother tongues in Morocco
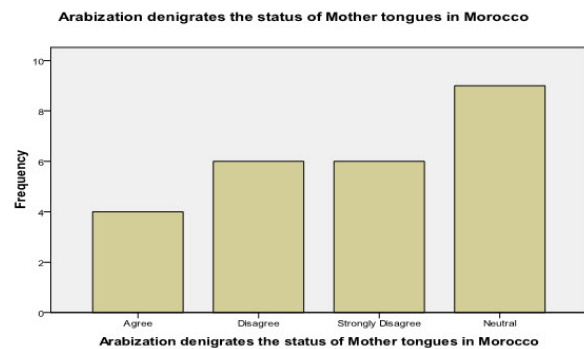
As it is shown in the chart above, the degree of neutrality is higher among the respondents. (24%) of the respondents either strongly agree and disagree. None of the respondents, it appears, opted for 'strongly agree' with this idea. If anything is to be inferred from this will be the fact that Moroccans believe that Arabization does not affect the status of their mother tongues.

Graph (7)

Moroccan government should pay more attention to the development of its mother tongues
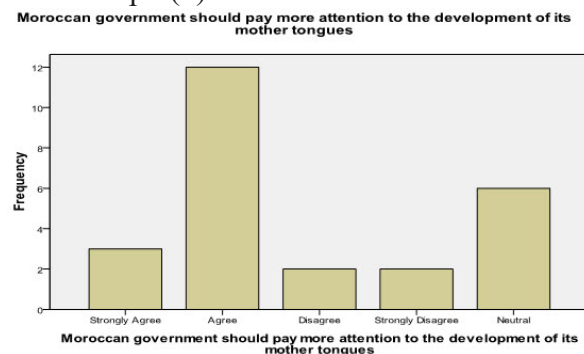
The aim underlying this question has been to see not only whether Moroccans are

aware of the fact that their mother tongues have a devalued status as compared with other languages, of which Arabic and French are only ones, but also, and most importantly, that the government should pay more attention to the development of mother tongues. The results demonstrate that (48%) of the respondents agree with this idea, followed by (24%) who are neutral; others either strongly agree, disagree, or strongly agree, their percentages being (12%), (8%) and (8%), respectively.

To push the lines of this research further, this study attempts also to shed some light on Moroccans' attitudes towards the languages in use, most important of which are Moroccan Arabic, Amazigh, Arabic, English, and Spanish.

Graph (8)
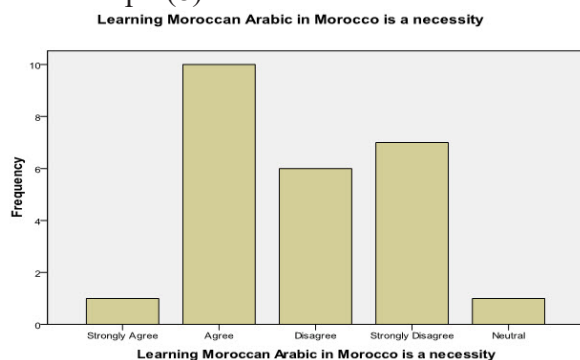
The majority of the respondents show a positive answer to this statement, about (40%) for 'Agree', (28%) for 'Strongly Agree', (24%) for 'Disagree', (4%) for both 'Strongly Agree' and 'Neutral'.

Graph (9)
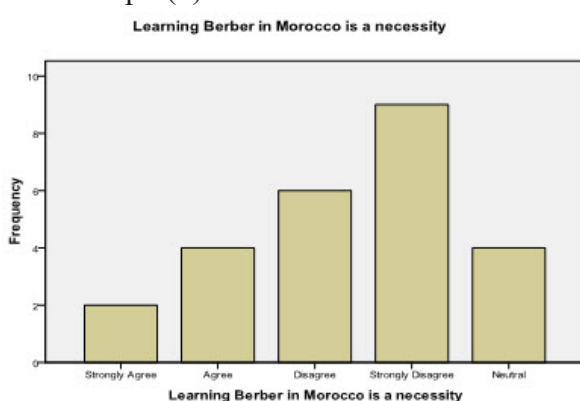
As opposed to MA, Amazigh has not been favored by the majority of the respondents. (36%) are 'Strongly Agree'. Only (16%) of the respondents agree with this idea (see Errihani, 2008; El Kirat et al. 2010 for similar results).

Graph (10)
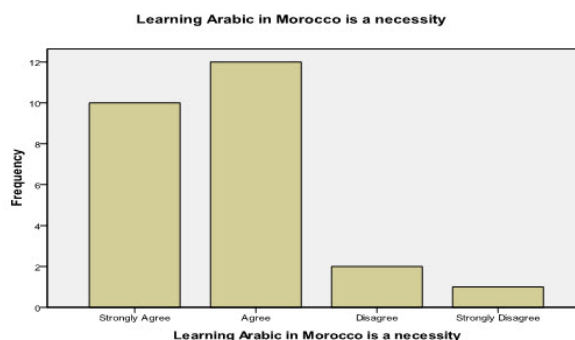
A close examination of the chart reveals that virtually all the respondents have a strong positive attitude towards Arabic, although it is not their mother language. (48%) and (40%) both 'Agree' and 'Strongly Agree' with the idea that learning Arabic is a necessity in Morocco. (8%) and (4%), though a scanty number, 'Disagree' or 'Strongly Disagree' with this. None of the respondents opts for 'Neutral'.

Graph (11)
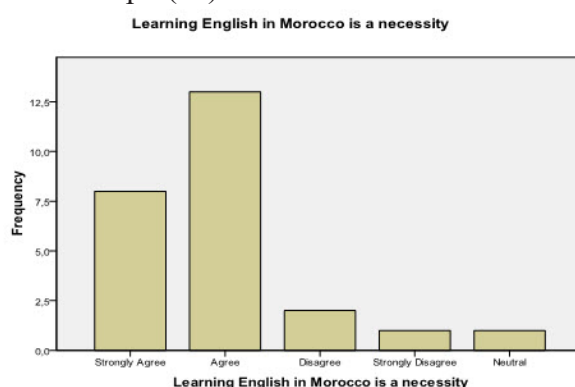
A cursory look at this item reveals that almost all the participants favor the idea that learning English in Morocco is very important. (52%) and (32%) both 'Agree' and 'Strongly Agree' with this idea. This implies that English enjoys a prestigious status in Morocco, for the evident it is the world *lingua franca*.

Graph (12)
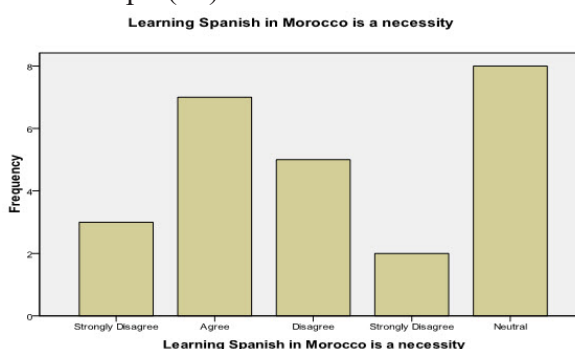
The chart demonstrates the fact that the majority of the respondents are 'Neutral' with this statement. This can be justified, in my view, by the fact that Spanish is more favored in the North. Besides, Spanish is used there for economical purposes, in the sense that Moroccans in the ex-Spanish zones interact daily in Spanish, as much of their trade is with Spain (Ennaji, 2003: 40).

7. Attitudes and How to Change Them?

As Hohenthal (2003, cited in Ouakrime, 2010: 128) elucidates, attitudes are crucial in language growth or decay, restoration or destruction. Attitudes, furthermore, determines the fate of the language, its status, maintenance and revitalization. As has been pointed out, Moroccans have a negative attitude towards their mother tongues. A question of interest at this point is how to change this attitude? As a matter fact, there are numerous ways of achieving that goal, challenging though it may seem. One way is to use the language, as stated above, as a subject not as a medium of instruction on a par with other foreign languages (As Bensoukas (2010: 148) rightly points out, the LHRs are granted as far as the enrichment-oriented LHRs are concerned. Yet the more fundamental and inalienable rights are not granted). Another important way to achieve this goal is introduce mother tongues as a perquisite in the job market. Another strategy to implement is for the state to incorporate the element of prestige planning into any language planning efforts. This is motivated mainly by the fact that the success of any language policy is crucially contingent upon the state's efforts in implementing an image or prestige planning. This involves socio-economic incentives in language policy, which are meant to bridge the gap between the educative role of mother tongues and the economic returns it guarantees (Loutfi and Noamane, forthcoming).

For a language, along with its culture, to be preserved, that language needs to be able to be passed down to the next generation. One way to achieve this is via using it in education, not as a medium of instruction but as a subject on its own, for the evident reason that education plays a vital role in the development and maintenance of language. Moreover, educational human rights are the most linguistic human rights as they maintain linguistic and cultural diversity. Indeed, they preserve the transmission of the language, let alone the remarkable positive repercussions on the students' educational as well as personal development (Another over-arching advantage is the promotion of one's sense of belonging and culture. See Ouakrime (2010) for more details about the advantages of using one's mother tongues in teaching) (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1998; Ouakrime, 2010). Teaching a language distinct from one's mother tongues, then, may constitute a challenge to the learner. This will, in most cases, affect the learners' academic performance.

8. Conclusion

The aim of the paper has been to investigate the status of language in use in Morocco the status and, more precisely, the impact of Arabization on the status of mother tongues. The study attempted to shed light on Moroccans' attitudes towards their mother tongues. The findings in the present paper reveal that Moroccan's attitudes towards their mother tongues are not that strong, if not negative. The majority of the respondents appear to disfavor the idea of introducing mother tongues in education on the grounds that these languages might devalue the status of Arabic. For them, Arabic is the language which represents them and with which they project their identity in the world. This being the case, however, reality shows the reverse. As the classroom observation indicated, MA is overwhelmingly used as the language of instruction, both in the primary school and high school. Teachers, in this respect, believe that students feel at ease and have access to the information being delivered easily. The nature of this negative attitude is motivated by the fact these mother tongues, namely MA, are neither officially recognized by the state nor the language guarantees economic returns.

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THE ROLE OF FACEBOOK IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN MOROCCO

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Abstract. The study investigates the factors that inspire Moroccans to engage in both online and offline civic efforts. The inquiry targeted demographics, frequency of Facebook use, the influence of online engagement on participation in real life and the main motivations behind Moroccan civic engagement online. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were adopted to collect and analyze both primary and secondary data. An online survey was administered to (n=277) participants through Facebook targeting the general public of Moroccan Facebook users to collect primary data. Secondary data was collected via semi-structured interviews with (n=3) social activists to provide a comprehensive view of both normal citizens and people who can be considered specialists in the field. The findings revealed the extent to which Moroccans' usage of Facebook influences their engagement both online and offline, indicating that social media use for civic purposes is significantly related to offline participation. Despite that, higher levels of the so-called "slacktivism" behaviors dominate Moroccans' civic activities performed on Facebook. Findings in general support the fact that Facebook plays a significant role in the development of civic engagement in Morocco.

Keywords: engagement, civic engagement, online engagement, slacktivism, social media

1. Introduction

With more than 6 million users, Facebook is classified number one in the top ten most visited websites in Morocco (Alexa). It is the most active social network in Morocco and holds the third rank in the Arab world after Egypt and Saudi Arabia (Facebakers). Facebook has become an alternative, independent space whereby Moroccans can raise a plethora of issues such as democracy, human rights, and social change. The Platform transcends its primary function to become a margin where people's need for action and involvement is enticed. This ascending usage of Facebook in Morocco has drawn the interest of researchers and has been inquired from a wide range of perspectives namely how it is used Euler (2013), the influence of Facebook on religion (Al-Rawi, 2016), the community motivation in using Facebook (El Haouta & Idelhadj, 2018), and the role digital spaces play in shaping the youth' civic identities and engagement (Cho, 2020).

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Although Facebook was originally conceived for communication purposes, many academic inquiries in Morocco demonstrate that this social networking website is also utilized for social purposes, such as community building tasks and political engagement. Past research has revealed that Facebook has played a major role in political engagement during the Arab spring and the 20th of February movement in Morocco (Rahman, 2012). Almost all available research studies link civic engagement with political engagement in Morocco (Harraki, 2017; Haitani, 2017).

While these last examples constitute promising evidence that people are adopting social media for social causes, research on purely social engagement per se remains absent in the Moroccan context. Civic engagement and social media as a domain in the Moroccan context need to be further explored because of the opportunities it offers with respect to fostering civic engagement. This study aims to increase the understanding of the role of Facebook in the development of civic engagement and participation in Morocco as a response to the gaps identified earlier and the need for further research in this area.

Investigating the role of Facebook in mobilizing people and in developing their sense of social engagement and participation is still in its infancy. So, the importance of the study derives itself from the fact that no similar studies (at least to our knowledge) have

been conducted in the field in Morocco. Such inquiry will pave the way for further studies that will add other variables to the inquiry and thus contribute to the accumulation of more research on civic engagement in particular and its relationship with social media in general. Also, this inquiry can be helpful for activists, researchers, and organizations that are interested in knowing how Facebook can be leveraged to promote civic engagement, raise pro-social awareness, build social capital, and promote collaboration within society.

The major rationale behind this study is to develop a deeper understanding of online civic engagement. Civic engagement has developed from a traditional one to a virtual one, yet there are minimal attempts to examine the new occurring form of civic activism, particularly from a non-political point of view.

Due to the scarcity of research aiming at understanding the link between civic engagement and social media in general and Facebook in particular from a non-political standpoint, this study is interested in both "normal" citizens and "social activists" to build a rather comprehensive understanding of the modes that govern online civic engagement in Morocco as well as the different factors and relationships that govern this civic engagement transition in order to expand the understanding of this online phenomenon.

This article reports the findings of the study which tries to answer the main question:
To what extent does Facebook contribute to the development of Moroccan civic engagement?

The study uses both quantitative and qualitative methods to address the objectives and research questions. The study adopts 'Positivism' and 'Interpretivism', the two basic approaches to research methods in social research. The research consists of two different data collection methods: an online questionnaire to detect Moroccans online and offline civic engagement patterns, and face-to-face interviews to further explore the phenomenon from other perspectives.

The major results were the identification of the main social issues and the modes of civic engagement for the social activists both online and offline and the three ubiquitous social problems in Morocco are education, poverty and unemployment in addition to the three main civic modes of activism on Facebook mainly Publication of civic information, civic dialogue and coordination of civic action. The results also revealed an increasing interest and usage of online activism that is eventually translated to offline participation in the case of social activists.

The article is organized as follows: in Section II, the review of the literature addresses Social media and civic engagement. In Section III, the conceptual framework is presented in terms of Social capital, individual social responsibility and social exchange theory. In Section IV, the present study and its results are discussed; finally, in Section V the results of the study are viewed in terms of implications, limitations and future research.

2. Review of the literature

The review of the literature is divided into two parts. The first part begins by reviewing the literature of major concepts related to social media and civic engagement, namely: social media, Facebook, online and offline civic engagement. It also presents offline and online formats of civic engagement as measured in the different trends especially the utopian and the dystopian point of view concerning the relationship between social media or Internet use and civic engagement with a short reference to slacktivism and clicktivism.

The second part examines the theories covering prosocial behavior, namely social capital, individual social responsibility and social exchange theory. The interest in covering such theories is to understand and identify the major motivations of civic engagement. It focuses on examining the existing studies, conceptual frameworks and motivations of online civic engagement such as: trust, reciprocity, social networks, responsibility, reputation, satisfaction, etc.

2.1. Social Media

Social media is considered a social instrument with which users can communicate, create and exchange information at different levels (Merriam-webster.com), it is "... a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allows the creation and exchange of User Generated Content" (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010, p. 61). With the advent of Web 2.0, social media transformed the static nature of media into a very dynamic one. Social media today can be described as a dual channel that allows its users to interact and share information with other social media users.

Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) highlighted six distinct categories of social media, including: Blogs, Social Networking Sites, Collaboration Projects, Content Communities, Virtual Social Worlds, and Virtual Game Worlds.

2.2. Facebook

Facebook is the largest social networking site in the world today and the most popular site overall in Morocco (Alexa, 2019). Facebook has had a gigantic success since its establishment in 2004. Many statistics about the platform show that it has collected more than 2.32 billion monthly users in 2018, 1.49 billion daily active users, 47% of them access the platform through mobile devices and the average number of friends is 338 (Brandwatch, 2019).

Facebook offers tools and possibilities that make it not only the perfect tool for online communication, but also a platform for a wide range of other possibilities. The platform hosts more than 900 features; an average Facebook user joins 80 groups, events, communities. This colossal number of features, in a way or another, supports the creation of new social networks and generates discussions based on social issues. The Facebook users interact and share their social or political information and points of view with ease and speed. This exchange of opinions builds ties and provides a common space for people to engage civically in the virtual realm. In civic engagement literature, several studies have supported the claim that Facebook is predominately used for civic purposes (Ellison et al. 2007; Valenzuela et al. 2009).

2.3. Civic Engagement
2.3.1. Offline Civic Engagement

There are many definitions of civic engagement to the extent that the term is described as an "elusive concept" (Boland, 2011, p. 103). Civic engagement refers to individuals' involvement in addressing social issues, the individual or collective behaviors aimed at resolving social problems in the community (Zukin et. al., 2006, p. 7). It is linked with promoting the quality of life in a given community. In other words, a civic citizen is a morally and civically responsible individual who recognizes himself as part of a larger social fabric and thus considers social issues to be partly his and such an individual is ready to make an effort and take action when appropriate.

Civic engagement comprises a myriad of forms of both political and non-political activities. Since this study is interested in the social dimension, the most commonly known forms of civic engagement are: donating, Fundraising, boycotting, participating in community meetings, cleaning the environment, contributing ideas and resources for social causes, contacting officials, attending protests, signing petitions, serving or joining local organization or associations, writing articles concerning community issues, etc. In fact, Putnam (1993) stated that in order to be a good citizen, one should take part in community activities, either political or non-political. From another perspective, some scholars consider the previous definitions as outdated, traditional and unrepresentative of new ranges and means of action and behaviors that emerged in the wake of Internet and social media.

Thus, there is evidence in the literature that highlights the huge role that the Internet and social media play in providing new avenues for social participation, and the potential it has to resuscitate civic engagement among those who are marginalized from the mainstream civic sphere such as the less-educated or minorities. In their study, Wellman and Gulia (1999) concluded that the Internet is increasing social capital, civic engagement, and developing a sense of belonging to online communities and that the new social media websites are becoming the new vanguards for social engagement because of their potential in creating communities of similar interests which results in galvanizing people around common causes (Wellman & Gulia, 1999).

2.3.2. Online Civic Engagement

Online platforms offer users new opportunities to express their views and insights, consider others' views, and encourage engagement on political and social issues. New platforms such as Blogs, online forums and social networking sites have created a sphere for and through which individuals can engage in raising social issues. Online civic participation has been recognized by many scholars as an important form of civic life (Banaji & Buckingham, 2010; Livingstone et al., 2007; Mossberger et al., 2007).

Scholars are divided into three main

streams in the study of the relationship between Internet/social media use and civic engagement. The first stream considers this relationship as a positive one and that any increase in Internet or social media use will be translated into an increase in civic engagement (Shah et al., 2002, Charman, 2010). The second stream considers that this relationship will relate to a decrease in social participation (Quanhasse et al., 2002). The third stream asserts that social media offer a possibility for symbolic civic engagement or "slacktivism" that has no real impact on social change and might even ruin future civic action (Lee, 2013, McCafferty, 2011).

2.4. Conceptual Framework
2.4.1. Social Capital

The concept of social capital was initially used to describe those benefits of personal ties and their role in the development of interaction and relationships as resources for social engagement. Social capital is a collective asset shared by members of a certain network (Bourdieu,1986) and it "... consists of some aspect of social structure, that facilitates certain actions of actors, whether persons or corporate actors-within the structure" (Coleman, 1988, p. 98). Social capital emanates from serious and genuine investment in social relations with expected returns and implies that the benefits will arise from such investment, referring to the enormous access to and use of such resources embedded in social networks (Lin,1999)

In order for social capital to be productive as any other type of capital, the latter should be developed through three processes. First, "Obligations and expectations" where trust is very necessary to build social resources (Coleman, 1988). Trust plays an enormous role in maintaining expectations within a community highlighting that the level of trust greatly affects the economic success of any community (Fokuyama,1995). Second, "information-flow" with information flow, if individuals in a community have accurate information, they will act accordingly (Coleman (1988). Even in cases where community members are not interested in current events happening in their communities, information flow is still important because there is a possibility that these disinterested individuals could still pass on the information to other friends and family who might choose to attend civic or political events (Dasgupta

& Serageldin, 2014). Third, "Norms of reciprocity accompanied by sanctions", Norms are necessary in a society because they serve to encourage positive behavior and limit negative behaviors, and effective norms can only be implemented because individuals know that sanctions may be imposed if norms are violated (Coleman, 1988).

Social capital is "…features of social organizations, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" (Putnam, 1993, p. 67), and "…features of social life—networks, norms, and trust that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives" (Putnam, 1995, p. 664), and "…connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam, 2000, p. 19). Social capital is closely related to "civic virtue." that allows people to socialize, work together and create networks in which they live together as communities.

2.4.2. Individual Social Responsibility

Individual social responsibility is the responsible behavior of the individual in society (Ecimovic et al., 2008). Individual social responsibility characterizes a society in which individuals know their rights and their responsibilities and act for the benefit of their own and of others and in a spirit of personal independence (Păceșilă, 2018). It is an act of an activist or volunteer who is always connected to and preoccupied with community problems and concerned with their solving. ISR also refers to each person's commitment to the community they live in, an interest in what is happening in the community as well as in the form of active participation in finding solutions to the local issues (Isrworld.org, 2008).

Social responsibility takes many forms such organizing an event related to the history or culture of the city, supporting causes such as animal mistreatment, child mistreatment, social inclusion, discrimination, migration, human rights, addiction, elderly care, education, environmental protection, family violence, urban rubbish, suicide prevention, clean energy, citizen security, recycling, illiteracy, cancer, etc. (Omoto & Snyder, 1995)

Other forms of social responsibility include making donations in money or goods

for social, cultural, or environmental causes (Păceşilă, 2017), as well as through the consumption of organic products (Benabou & Tirole, 2010). However, these behaviors are not always the result of intrinsic altruism, many studies suggest that such actions are hugely motivated by social pressure and image concerns (Ellingsen & Johannesson, 2011; Dellavigna et al., 2012).

2.4.3. Social Exchange Theory: Reputation

The theory of social exchange is a major theory that covered the concept of reputation and its relationship with social interaction (Blau, 1968). This theory holds that individuals engage in social matters based on an expectation that will somehow lead to some social rewards referred to as individualistic benefits such as social approval, reputation, respect, satisfaction, honor and relationships which can be referred to as "the currencies of civic engagement."

In order to arrive to some form of online engagement, individuals must think that their contributions will be worth the time and effort and that some form of value is created for them too. In this respect, the results from prior research in participatory behavior provide evidence that building reputation is a strong motivator for active participation (Donath, 1999). In organizational electronic networks, the chance for improving one's reputation provided a major motivation for offering advice to others. Moreover, there is some evidence that an individual's reputation in online settings extends to one's profession. As stated by Wasko (2005), "the perception that contributing knowledge will enhance one's reputation and status in the profession may motivate individuals to contribute their valuable, personal knowledge to others in the network" (p. 40). This emphasizes the importance of individual motivations and stresses the fact that reputation plays an important role in motivating individuals to leverage and maintain their status within a community.

Based on the aforementioned discussion, the following subordinate research questions and hypotheses are thus stated:

Is there a relationship between demographic variables (Gender/ age/ education) and civic engagement?

Hypothesis 1: One of the sexes is associated with higher levels of both online and offline civic engagement.

Hypothesis 2: Higher levels of education are associated with higher levels of both online and offline civic engagement.

Hypothesis 3: Older age groups are associated with higher levels of both online and offline civic engagement.

How does Moroccans' Facebook usage relate to their online civic engagement?

Hypothesis 4: Higher frequencies of Facebook use are associated with higher levels of online civic engagement.

Is there a relationship between online civic engagement and offline civic engagement?

Hypothesis 5: The higher the level of online civic engagement, the higher the level of offline civic engagement

What are the main motivations behind Moroccans' civic engagement online?

Hypothesis 6: Moroccans' online civic engagement is motivated by trust.

Hypothesis 7: Moroccans' online civic engagement is motivated by reciprocity.

Hypothesis 8: Moroccans' online civic engagement is motivated by social networks.

Hypothesis 9: Moroccans' online civic engagement is motivated by reputation.

Hypothesis 10: Moroccans' online civic engagement is motivated by social responsibility.

3. Methodology
3.1. Research Design

Based on the nature of the data, this study uses both quantitative and qualitative methods because of the advantage that plurality of methodology offers. The study adopts 'Positivism' and 'Interpretivism' which are the two basic approaches to research methods in social research. Following this design, the research consists of two different data collection methods: an online questionnaire and face-to-face interviews.

The questionnaire design was created following the twelve guidelines for developing a questionnaire suggested by Leedy & Ormrod (2013).

3.2. The Questionnaire

A pilot test was run and questions were tested and a thorough revision of the questionnaire was applied. The final instrument was designed in Google Forms

which is a professional platform; it is based on an attractive layout and what makes it perfect for this study is its availability for different electronic devices (Leedy & Ormrod, 2013).

The study uses an online survey even though it is known by lower response rates (Bryman, 2011) for a number of reasons. First, it is cost and time effective and the existence of logic jumps make it easy to handle. Second, respondents are directed to other questions based on their answers. Third, the online survey option of making the question mandatory prevented a large amount of missing data to occur because the respondents cannot move to the next question without answering the previous one. Thus, the questions were made mandatory so that the respondent can submit only if they answer all the questions. Ethical standards when using the Internet-based questionnaire should be as rigorous as face-to-face surveys. Hence, participants were assured that their contribution will remain completely confidential. The use of an online survey is, therefore, relevant to this study because it is mainly investigating Moroccan Facebook users both online and offline civic engagement.

3.3. The Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used in collecting the social activists' data. It is a qualitative method that grants the respondents enough time to freely discuss their opinions on a particular subject (Alshenqeeti, 2014). The advantage of semi-structured interviews is that they enable the respondents to "speak in their own voice and express their own thoughts and feelings" (Berg, 2007, p. 96). One of the strengths of semi-structured interviews is that it can generate a large amount of detail. It is reliable and easy to analyze. This qualitative research method involved using a set of already prepared questions to guide the interview, yet it allowed flexibility for the interviewees to guide the conversation. Open-ended questions were used to seek responses that were descriptive in nature.

The social activists were digitally recorded using a smartphone. It is worth mentioning that the interviews were conducted in Darija (Moroccan dialect) and translated to English. The participants were chosen on a voluntary basis and were offered an extensive explanation of the nature of the research. The participants were interviewed once over two afternoons. The interviews took place in public places, mainly in coffee shops. The

participants who took part in these interviews were informed beforehand orally and by a consent form, of their ability to stop the recording or withdraw from the interview at any time.

3.4. Sampling
3.4.1. Questionnaire

This study adopts a purposive sampling strategy (criterion-based sampling) as stated by Palys (2008). The questionnaire is the best strategy that responds to the research objective which is to understand the role of Facebook in the development of civic engagement in Morocco, it is highly relevant to opt for online questionnaires distributed via Facebook. The online survey specifically targeted a sample of Moroccan Facebook users, aged (13+) , 13 being the minimum age allowed for users to create a Facebook account.

3.4.2. Interviews

Criterion sampling is used to make sure that the interviews will meet the criteria of experts in social engagement. Snowball sampling is used to identify activists that other activists know, since there is no available list of all Facebook activists in Morocco.

3.4.3. Reliability

The reliability and internal consistency of the questionnaire are calculated utilizing Cronbach's Alpha's reliability test to assess the internal consistency reliability of several items (Morgan et al.,2004). The data were also checked for consistency.

3.4.4. Data Analysis

The Google sheet was coded in Microsoft Excel and imported to SPSS for analysis. The majority of the data is analyzed using an ordinal scale because of the categorical nature of the questions.

A series of univariate analysis procedures were used to examine the frequency and distribution of the study variables. Cross tabulations and correlations were used to examine the relationships between variables of interest to the study.

Thematic content analysis was adopted to analyze the data of the semi structured

interviews. Regularities and patterns were highlighted and particularly relevant ideas were extracted and compared to each other.

3.4.5. Participants
3.4.5.1. Interviews

Three social activists between the ages of 24 and 36 from the city of Fkih Ben Salah were interviewed for this study: two members of the association (ريغن يديب) and a social activist member of the association (ةيعمج قولب ريخلا لامعألل لا تاماعية).

3.4.5.2. Questionnaire

The sample consisted of 277 Moroccan Facebook users, 69.3% (n= 192) males 30.7% and (n= 85) females from more than 50 Moroccan cities with few from foreign countries as well. Respondents aged between 13-21 represent the smallest category with 4.3% (n= 12), while respondents aged between 21 and 31 represent the most dominant category with a percentage of 71.8% (n= 199). The age category between 32 and 42 years old represents 17.3% (n= 48). Respondents older than 43 years old represent 6.5% (n= 18) of the totality of the sample. The majority of the respondents, 88.4% (n= 245) have a university level while 9.3% (n= 26) have a high school degree and 1.8% (n= 5) of the respondents hold a secondary education degree and only one respondent 0.4% (n= 1) has a primary school degree.

Table 3.1: Socio - demographic characteristics

		Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	192	69.3
	Female	85	30.7
Age	13 – 20	12	4.3
	21 – 31	199	71.8
	32 – 42	48	17.3
	43 +	18	6.5
Education level	Primary	1	.4
	Secondary	5	1.8
	High school	26	9.4
	University	245	88.4

4. Results

The reliability and internal consistency of the questionnaire are calculated utilizing Cronbach's Alpha's reliability test. As Table 4.1 shows, the Alpha Coefficient for the entire questionnaire is at 0.913, which is regarded as a high level of reliability.

Table 4.1: Reliability test

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.913	.901	49

4.1. Univariate Analysis

The analysis divulged a high frequency of usage of Facebook among the respondents: checking their account (83%; n= 230), commenting on posts and videos (42%; n= 118), sharing or liking content created by others (46.2%; n= 128), talking to friends or family using video chat or instant messaging (36.8%; n= 102).

The respondents mostly engaged in posting links/ images/videos surrounding social issues, with 39.4% (n= 104). Similarly, a majority of 32.5% (n= 90) use Facebook to "like" or "share" someone else's link, photo, or status dealing with a social issue. Respondents "Sometimes" join a Facebook group dedicated to social issues (26.4%; n= 73) while 23.5% (n= 65) exchange opinions on social issues with others on Facebook, and (31%; n= 86) friend or follow social activists on Facebook.

As for sharing experiences on social issues, 33.9% (n= 94) "Rarely," do. The majority 35.7% (n= 99) "Never" used Facebook for an activist hashtag. The major part of the respondents, 45.1% (n= 125) "Never" signed an online petition or encouraged friends to sign one. The majority of respondents, 37.9% (n=105) reported that they never shared their experiences about participating or supporting a social cause on Facebook. Almost identically, 38.3% (n= 106) of the respondents indicated that they never changed their profile picture surrounding social causes. Also, 32.1% (n=89) of the respondents claimed that they never planned any activities on social issues with others via Facebook.

The least frequent online civic engagement activity in this section was "creating social issue related event invitations" 54.2% (n= 150) of the respondents reported "Never," and 3.6% reported "often" and "Very often."

The respondents were also asked about their attitudes towards the reasons that motivate people to participate civically on Facebook.

4.2. Bivariate Analysis

Since the data involves nominal and ordinal data various tests and statistical measures are adopted. Descriptive statistics, mainly Crosstabs are used to analyze the relationships between nominal and ordinal data of interest to the study. Correlations, mainly non-parametric, are used to analyze ordinal by ordinal data relationships of interest to the study because the majority of the data is gathered using Likert-type items. Chi square, Cramer's V, Spearman Rho and Kendall's tau-b are used to analyze the relationships of interest to the study.

Results show that there is no significant difference between males and female online engagement. (Table 4.1)

Table 4.2: Crosstabs Analysis: Gender / online civic engagement

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Online civic engagement	Never	39	31	70
		20.3%	36.5%	25.3%
	Rarely	66	25	91
		34.4%	29.4%	32.9%
	Sometimes	58	22	80
		30.2%	25.9%	28.9%
	Often	19	3	22
		9.9%	3.5%	7.9%
	Very often	10	4	14
		5.2%	4.7%	5.1%
Total		192	85	277
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
a. Chi(df)= 9.947(4), p = 0.041, Cramer's V = 0.18				

The Pearson chi-square results indicate a weak correlation between gender and offline civic engagement ($\chi2 = 6.06$, df = 4, N = 277, p =0.19).

To investigate the relationship between age and online civic engagement, Kendall's tau-b was used because it is more suitable for larger cross tabulation like (3 × 3) or more. Moreover, since we deal with both ordinal and nominal data, the best measure remains Kendall's tau-b because its primary assumption is that data are at least ordinal (Morgan et al., 2004).

The Kendall's tau-b correlation indicated a weak positive association (to no association) between age and online civic engagement, $\tau = .104$, n = 277, p = .051. To a very small scale, the older people, (32-42) are slightly more involved socially yet this doesn't change the weak relationship between the two variables.

Similar results are highlighted in offline engagement where Kendall's tau-b correlation indicated a weak positive association between age and online civic engagement, $\tau = .113$, n = 277, p = .033.

Results also show that people with higher education levels are not likely to be more civically engaged online which rejects the predicted hypothesis.

Analogous to online engagement, the correlation indicates a very weak positive (or no) association between educational level and offline civic engagement. The Spearman rho statistic reports, rs = .048, n = 277, p = .429.

A Spearman's correlation was run to determine the relationship between Facebook frequency of usage and online civic engagement.

There was a strong monotonic positive correlation between the two variables, rs = 0.522, n = 277, p = 0.001. A scatter plot summarizes the results Overall; this positive correlation means that increases in online civic participation were correlated with increases in offline civic participation.

4.3. Findings – Qualitative research

Interviews with social activists were conducted to: 1)identify the prevalent social problems, according to the social activists, 2) identify how social activists are using social media to address social issues, and 3) identify the influence of Facebook on offline civic engagement. Two of the respondents are members of 'بيدي نغير', an association that started as a Facebook page. It was founded by young people from the city to mobilize the youth of Fkih Ben Salah to act for the benefit of their city. It started with activities such as volunteering for cleaning mosques, cemeteries, painting public schools, organizing reading clubs in open air for the youth.

It became an association, developed its field of work, reached a considerable number of members and provided new civic actions such as charity in Ramadan and Eid al Adha and also providing help for people in distant places such as the mountains during winter. The second is الخير قلوب جمعية, a young association in Fkih Ben Salah. Its main field of action is taking care of people in difficulty : the homeless, abandoned, poor, beggars, etc., their activities include providing food, blankets, shelter and also basic services such as bathing, cleaning, hair cutting, nursing for those people in need. The interviewees are: Hicham, 28 years old, member in the association (بيدي نغير), employee in a company, Imane, 25

years old, university student and member in the association (بيدي نغير), and Youssef 36 years old, co-founded the association (الخير قلوب جمعية) with a group of friends in 2018.

Three main themes emerged from the interview data on social problems, mainly: education, corruption, and poverty. The three social activists expressed their disappointment with the decreasing quality of education in Morocco, narrated their beliefs that corruption is a plague that prevents this nation from moving forward, and agreed upon unemployment to be the major social problem in Fkih Ben Salah, a small city where job opportunities are very rare.

Facebook activities are important to their work because they generate awareness and contribute to spread their word. Their interaction on Facebook pages is mostly with videos and sometimes photos, less with written material. The frequency of posting content is related most of the time to their civic activities.

Their Facebook pages were fostered to post messages asking for all sorts of donations (money, food, clothes, wheel chairs, medicine, etc.). They assert that Facebook has been very effective in reaching out to the public for contributions that eventually fuel their civic efforts on the ground. Activists especially from the association (بيدي نغير) stated that they get back to Facebook to launch volunteers recruiting posts which most of the time are successful.

They also interact and converse with their Facebook members as potential association members/ "Virtual members." The creation of this dialogue aims to keep the community informed and involved in the work of the association, and to strengthen the ties with the online community by involving them in discussions that foster diversity of views and generate new ideas.

The arrangements for their events and work are mostly coordinated using Facebook instant messaging and posts on the wall. They also referred to using the "Tag" option in Facebook, so that "… the post could be visible to the audience … selected plus friends of the tagged person" (Facebook.com, 2019).

5. Discussion

The study investigated the factors that inspire Moroccans to engage in online civic effort and the potential role of Facebook in developing civic engagement in the Moroccan context. To our knowledge, it is the first study

that demonstrates the relationship between online and offline engagement from a non-political standpoint.

With respect to the relationship between the variables of gender, age, the analyses of the data did not, on the whole, reveal statistically significant differences regarding online and offline civic engagement. In fact, percentages highlight low levels of engagement among both sexes. The slight difference between participants' age groups, on the other hand, might be due to the unequal distribution of each age group which is mainly caused by the online survey, since the researchers do not control the representativeness of each age group.

Consistent with recent research (Kavanaugh et al., 2014), our findings indicate that people who use Facebook or who are engaged civically in real life do not necessarily need to have a high level of education.

Quantitative results reveal a moderate relationship between higher frequencies of Facebook use and higher levels of online civic engagement, since not every frequent Facebook user is automatically civically engaged. Social media is known for its reduced costs (time, effort) of accessing social information and the convenient ways of engaging in civic life it offers, which can be attractive to people who are interested, knowledgeable, and can be easily activated in civic efforts.

Our findings are also congruent with Valenzuela's (2013) findings that Facebook usage helps activate those predisposed or interested in social work. Our findings are also aligned with Norris' (2000) virtuous circle theory, which posits that media use will serve to activate the engaged rather than mobilize new participants to become involved in social issues. However, our findings cannot conclude that Facebook activates every user but only those who are concerned by social issues.

The results of this study also highlight a strong positive relationship between online and offline civic engagement. This relationship does not necessarily mean that Moroccans are strongly involved in social issues both online and offline. In fact, this means that similar low levels of engagement are highlighted in both online and offline stances. The respondents show very low levels of tangible online activism especially activities that require substantial effort and ownership from the individual. The level of participation varies depending on the activity, most of the time leaning towards lower levels of participation. This finding is consistent with recent studies

showing that online civic engagement has more appeal than offline activism and that an increased awareness of issues occurs on social media but not as much actual action. (Auger, 2013; Meyer & Bray, 2013).

This study provides strong empirical support that Moroccans engage in slacktivist activities that are mainly "clicktivist", impulsive gestures which are characterized by spontaneity and non-commitment (Halupka, 2014). This tendency to opt for low-risk activities as clicktivism arises from the fact that it is an easy way for Moroccans to engage in a form of participation that does not require any prior knowledge about the social issue at hand, while it allows them to show symbolic online support. This result is congruent with findings of research that show that such slacker activities may show support of a social issue online, yet they may occur only one time and do not affect or guarantee further engagement in future. When important social issues become salient to social media users, it becomes easy for them to replicate what their social media friends do (sharing, liking or commenting on a social issue and that's enough) (Halupka, 2014).

The strong positive association between offline and online civic engagement might signify that Moroccans are highly involved in civic activities on the ground, the findings, unfortunately, reveal that Moroccans are characterized by low levels of engagement in the real world as well, which doesn't exceed what we can label traditional philanthropic behavior, similar to their inclination to engage in clicktivism-based activities. The example of the 2018 boycott is a clear indication that Moroccans are not familiar with advanced forms of civic engagement and confirms that it is their first time engaging in such form of civic engagement. Their low level of engagement in other activities indicates they have never or have very rarely engaged in much elaborated forms of activism.

Overall results reveal that Moroccans are motivated by a multitude of factors to varying degrees. The ease of use represents the highest motivation with almost 90% and even qualitative research supports this motive, "Because Facebook is easy to use and inexpensive". This can be explained by the technology acceptance model (TAM) which suggests that the user's motivation is considered to be influenced by two beliefs, perceived usefulness and perceived ease of use and that these beliefs act as mediators between external variables and intention to use. TAM observes that an individual's intention to use a system is determined by PU (perceived usefulness) and PEOU (perceived ease of use) (Amadu et al., 2019). In our case, the perceived ease of use or the extent to which a user believes that using a given system (Facebook) would be free of effort is an important factor for civic participation.

The results regarding trust and social networks are congruent with findings of a recent study (Păceşilă, 2018) about the responsible behavior of the individual in his society where individuals know their rights and their responsibilities and act for the benefit of their own and of others and in a spirit of personal independence. Our results clearly show that Moroccans trust media as a means for change and that social networks are major motivations for online civic engagement. Moroccans engage in online prosocial behavior because they want to feel a sense of belonging to a certain social network, connect with people who share the same points of view and exchange opinions and ideas on social matters.

Our results also indicate that social responsibility is indeed a real motivation for people to engage online. It is worth noting that when the respondents were asked if they think people engage in social causes on Facebook because it is their religious responsibility, more than half the respondents disagreed with the statement, and a quarter chose the "I don't know" option indicating that religion is not necessarily associated with social work.

Reputation, on the other hand, received low levels of agreement, which supports the literature reviewed on the role of reputation in encouraging social participation.

The table below shows the order of the major motivations covered in the third section of the questionnaire according to the percentages:

Table 5.1: Summary of the major online civic engagement motivations

Order	Motivation	Item in the questionnaire	Percentages		
			Agree	Disagree	I don't know
1	Ease of use	• Facebook is easy to use.	89.9	8.3	1.8
2	Social networks	• they want to exchange ideas on social issues.	88.4	9.7	1.8
		• they want to connect with people who share the same views.	81.9	12.6	5.4
		• they want to feel a sense of belonging	77.3	15.2	7.6
3	Trust	• they trust social media as a means for change.	71.5	20.6	7.9
		• they don't trust politicians anymore	81.6	13	5.4
4	Social responsibility	• it is a must if we want to find solutions to social problems in our country	56.3	36.8	6.9
		• it is their social responsibility.	48.4	40.1	11.6
5	Reputation	• they want to earn respect of their Facebook friends	55.2	33.6	11
		• they want to have a good reputation among their Facebook friends.	48.7	38.3	13
6	"Herd mentality"	• others do the same things.	51.3	37.2	11.6
7	Religious responsibility	• it is their religious responsibility	32.9	50.9	16.2

Note: The percentages displayed in this table were created through the recoding into different variables option in SPSS transforming the 5 Likert scale items into 3 Likert scale items and then calculated frequency and percentage for ease of interpretation

Moreover, our study provides strong empirical support for Maslow's (1943) Hierarchy of needs, which stresses the strong need for people to belong. Our results highlight the 'herd mentality' governing Moroccans' civic engagement on Facebook. This means that people engage when their friends, siblings, people they respect engage. We cannot deny that this sort of behavior is very recurrent, especially supported from a slacktivist point of view. When someone shares or posts a socially related content, the majority of his or her friends on Facebook do the same as a form of solidarity and goodwill or just for the sake of showing that they care about the same issues, which really proves and supports the "Herd Mentality."

While Facebook is a potential tool for civic engagement, normal individuals are using it extensively for such purposes. These findings also suggest that while Facebook offers many promising features and possibilities that can be harnessed for social interaction and civic purposes, the majority of Facebook users in Morocco are just passers-by, lacking interest, motivation or just engaging in the easiest symbolic ways possible.

This lack of online engagement among Moroccans can be rooted in their lack of social participation in real life. The findings already discussed, reveal that Moroccans are mostly engaged in traditional civic activities (altruism) and meagerly engaged in complicated tangible civic activities. Facebook must not be viewed as a force that will charm people to engage, but a tool that can be exploited for the well-being of society by people who are engaged, interested and preoccupied by the issues of society, "Just as a box of tools and a pile of lumber do not inspire passers-by to build a house, yet when put into the hands of a motivated carpenter there is no limit as to what those tools can be

used to construct." (Purdy, 2013, p. 95).

The social activist, from the interviews, displayed a great awareness and mastery of the potentials of Facebook as a tool, and they managed to exploit it. They leveraged the platform for the publication of information, maintaining civic dialogue, recruiting volunteers and members, and coordinating civic action that is ultimately translated to offline civic action. There are people who don't just pass by, instead they stop and adopt the tool to their best civic interests which supports the Utopian point of view which maintains that the Internet allows for access to vast amounts of information, and tools with which to communicate and organize with others; thus increasing the potential for organized and informed democratic participation (Shah et al., 2002).

5.1. Limitations

As with any research study, the current study has its limitations. The first limitation is concerned with the scarcity of literature that investigates civic engagement from a purely social standpoint, especially when comparing the study findings to previous or similar ones. Another potential shortcoming is the choice of an online survey as a method of data collection. Given the relevant nature of this study to the experiences of online users, the low response rates presented a problem that was hard to overcome, especially that a much higher response rate and a larger sample were expected.

5.2. Recommendations for future research

Delving deeper in understanding the factors that encourage Slacktivist behavior instead of real online civic engagement is very relevant in the future since social media is gaining more popularity each day. In fact, providing insight into the intricacies that encourage social media users to engage symbolically can offer a major contribution to the field especially in Morocco. Moreover, future research into online and offline civic engagement in Morocco may also benefit from narrowing down the scope of study by comparing different populations with different demographic backgrounds, including socioeconomic or even cultural differences. Such comparative inquiry may help increase

our understanding of the social factors that may play a role in influencing civic engagement. Research covering other social media platforms can, without doubt, add more insight and provide a valuable contribution to the accumulation of literature on civic participation in Morocco. Last, the utilization of other methods of data collection (case studies, web analysis, focus groups, etc.) can clearly provide new perspectives that weren't already covered with more classical data collection methods.

6. Conclusion

Considering the fact that Facebook and social media in general continue to become an integrated part of our contemporary society, researchers also continue to examine the field from various standpoints, and this particular study aimed to investigate the role of Facebook in sustaining civic engagement in Morocco and add a step further to the accumulation of research in this direction. Overall, the lack of scientific inquiry exploring the relationship between social media and civic participation, together with the focus on the political aspect of engagement within the amount of studies available represented the main motivation on which this study resolved to explore this topic in depth.

The study highlights both interesting and surprising findings. First, the findings suggest that there is no significant difference in online/offline civic engagement among age, gender and education. Second, although the findings are consistent with the utopian claim that internet use increases the potential of civic engagement, this study delivered a contrasting, yet not necessarily a conflicting conclusion. The general perception conveyed is that online tangible civic activities lag behind symbolic civic activities, suggesting that these symbolic civic attempts are considered incapable of furthering real civic engagement effectively as they are considered mere Slacktivism. In fact, the majority of the respondents from the online survey tend to prefer not to engage in tangible online activism which is supported by a lack of offline engagement in real life as well. By way of comparison, social activists displayed high levels of engagement and full understanding of Facebook's potential in developing and sustaining civic participation by exploiting this online tool to its maximum.

All things considered, the findings of this study show that indeed Facebook has

a significant impact on the development of civic engagement in Morocco, and despite the limitations of this research, the results bring a contribution to existing research in social media and civic engagement. Still, Facebook and social media remains a relatively new unexplored domain in Morocco, there is an unmet need for more research on its implication for civic purposes.

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THE IMPACT OF MODERNITY ON YOUTH CULTURE: THEIR LINGUISTIC CHOICES, THOUGHTS AND ATTITUDES

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Abstract. The present study aims at investigating the impact of modernity on the youth culture. Generally, regarding the discernible changes in youth lifestyle, thought, attitudes, and language, it turned out to be paramount to query the driving forces responsible for such changes. Accordingly, this study is intended to inspect three significant issues connected with the topic at stake. First, it reveals how the status of females has changed as reflected in different feminine discursive practices, as well as some differences in the linguistic choices of young males and females and some of their implications. Second, it highlights the role of education in the empowerment of youth and the improvement of their attitudes towards their society. Lastly, it scrutinizes the impact of different social media on youth in the Moroccan context. In order for the study to have a sense of authenticity, a bundle of data was collated and studied in the light of the topic in question.

Keywords: youth culture, social media, youth, gender, dominance, education, modernity.

The impact of Modernity on the Empowerment of Males and Females

In point of fact, modernity has been a major force that has triggered off changes at different levels of the society. Its impact has been, as France puts it, "far-reaching and substantial, leaving no area of life untouched" (2007, p.9). During the last century, especially with the blooming of globalization, the entire world has witnessed a drastic change with respect to the hierarchical social structures, notably when it comes to the status of both males and females in patriarchal societies as well as the position of youth in the social setting at large. First and most evidently, modernity, with all its intricate dimensions, has not only brought to the surface the question of gender and the position of females in the modern society, but also contributed to the empowerment of females and effectuating

their participation in different socioeconomic spheres. Interestingly, it is this very fact that has engendered a new type of discourse among women and given rise to new trends and systems of thought among youth. On top of that, modernity has also engendered changes on the linguistic level; that is, because of new insights into other cultures made available to them by the social media and the World Wide Web, the youth have embraced new social norms and personal styles, among which is the language they use to communicate.

Apparently, when the question of gender in its relation to modernity is mooted, incalculable numbers of issues prove problematic. Most, if not all, sociolinguistic studies view the issue of gender from a conventionally meager perspective. The language of females is, accordingly, seen to be naturally different from the language of males, and, if at all, scarcely any subsidiary factors are taken into account. Nevertheless, when we consider the general existing status quo, we come to realize that, with the advent of late modernity "described as an era of networks and flows rather than 'centres'" (Rampton, 2006, p.37), world-wide changes equally affect the general behavior of both males and females, of which language is a part and parcel. In the same vein, Rampton argues that "sociolinguistics has moved beyond its traditional focus on language use within very carefully specified cultural niches to analysis of the way linguistic texts and meanings get shaped, disembedded

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and then recontextualised as they travel across a range of different sites."Additionally, such substantial changes on the global scale also contribute to a new reading of the behavioral, and more importantly linguistic, variation that holds among youth of both genders. Below we will consider, in turn, the issue of females and power, that is, how the status of females has changed historically and the impact of this on the empowerment of females as relative to males; and the rise of modernity and its impact on youth culture, bringing into focus their linguistic behavior and gender differences.

Females and power:

Evidently, the status of females had always been inferior to males' in all societies. The situation in Europe, for instance, was by no means better than its counterpart in the Arab world. According to France:

Young women were expected to become involved in housewifery and domestic service, while young men entered occupations and apprenticeships that reinforced masculine roles. Marriage was also seen as the main transitional step for young women, while for men it was employment and a trade. Young women were also denied access to public office, work on commonwealth business and office in the church, and men dominated all areas of administrative and public life. A sexual division of labour was also already well established by the mid-sixteenth century. (2007, p.7)

Accordingly, the prevailing conception of females back at that time played a determinative role of their position in the society, and by entailment of their discourse and language. Let us consider the discourse of an ordinary, yet fictional, female during the Victorian era, as delineated by the eminent author Charles Dickens, whose literature emanated from the heart of society and, by far, reflected the needs and aspirations of the rabble:

Perhaps if I warn't the blacksmith's wife, and (what's the same thing) a slave with her apron never off I should have been to hear the Carols, […] I'm rather partial to Carols, myself, and that's the best of reasons for never hearing any (Great Expectations, 18)

As it is clear from the excerpt, females' position in the society was, by and large, subservient to that of males and their needs would never be fulfilled. This fact is heavily reflected in their language.

As time elapsed, especially at the advent of the era of late modernity, both males' and females' discourse has changed and been empowered. Males, on the one hand, maintained their control over multiple spheres, and they dominated the lion's share of media channels. This fact provided for the spread of and frequent changes in the masculine discourse. The status of females, on the other hand, has gone through a more serious change in different respects. Let us observe an excerpt from Hillary Clinton's eloquent speech at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing[1]:

If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, let it be that human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights once and for all. Let us not forget that among those rights are the right to speak freely — and the right to be heard.

Apparently, this excerpt makes a palpable example of a feminine discourse reflecting the powerful current position held by females and how they stand for their rights.

To that end, it manifestly seems that language is one significant facet in which females' positions in the modern world is reflected. Because of the circumstances brought to reality by the advent of modernity, women are capable of standing out for their rights and voicing themselves publically.

Youth culture, modernity, and gender:

Before we delve into the discussion of the impact of modernity on youth culture and the linguistic choices of both males and females, we find it very convenient to draw attention to the close relationship between culture and language. However, the fact "[t]hat there should be some kind of relationship between the sounds, words, and syntax of a language and the ways in which speakers of that language experience the world and behave in it seems so obvious as to be a truism." (Wardhaugh, 2006:221). Why we need to look at the relationship between language and culture is because the choices and the changes that happen at the level of the language reflect the changing and the enduring characteristics of culture. Sapir (1929, p. 207) addressed this point when he stated that: 'Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society.'

As has been discussed earlier, youth

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[1] See http://www.marieclaire.co.uk/entertainment/people/the-10-greatest-all-time-speeches-by-10- inspirational-women-79732 (January 18, 2018).

culture is seen to have been heavily affected by the impact of modernity. Yet, having raised the issue of gender, the question that arises is the following: how is the (linguistic) behavior of both male and female youngsters is affected by modernity? Evidently, the question raised seems to necessitate an abundance of research in order to, at the minimum, cover a very limited part of it; that is to say, what's offered in the present section is not intended to provide an all-inclusive picture of the impact of how modernity affects the linguistic behavior of the young of both genders; but rather we will herein attempt to proffer a general observation of the state of play that holds among youth, and how we can ascribe some of the changes in their linguistic behavior, as pertaining to either sex, to modernity. Basically, we will touch on a number of linguistic nuances, and more importantly we will test out some sociolinguistic theories by conducting a survey, investigating youth's opinions at one of the local universities.

In the first place, modernity has largely influenced the degree of vulgarity in youth communication. However, this degree of vulgarity varies among males and females. This, in fact, pushed us to investigate the use of vulgar and taboo language among the two genders. The questionnaire distributed contained the following question: which one of the two genders do you think curses the most? And we came up with the following results:

Table 1: Vulgar and taboo language

	Females curse the most	Males curse the most
Males	8.6%	91.3%
Females	17.3%	82.6%

Generally, the question was mainly asked to enquire into Coates's (2003) claims that males use swears words more often than females do. Subsequently, both the male and female informants who answered that males curse the most were asked why males curse so frequently. The answers included the following:

• To prove one-self and to show their dominance and masculinity 52%
• To show anger 21.7%
• Due to culture 17.3%
• Out of habit 8.6%

It follows from this that cursing and vulgar language among youth is not only a way of expressing one's feelings and attitudes, but also a sort of culture that follows the general modern trends in the society. It is legitimate also to say that there constantly arise new expressions and ways of cursing that become rampant among youth owing to a number of sociological factors. The fact that males curse and use vulgar language more than females has much to contribute to the issue at hand. In accordance with Coates' claim that "swearing and taboo language have historically been used by men in the company of other men as a sign of their toughness and of their manhood" (2003, p.46); our small-scale, but effectual, survey makes clear that the situation in the Moroccan society is by no means unique, but rather it is the outcome of a substantial ongoing process of give-and-take influences held among different nations in the world.

Having briefly discussed one sociolinguistic aspect where we can observe some interesting distinction between males' and females' language. And we have also seen some global implications that bear on the topic at issue. The question we will address at this juncture relates to Tannen's (1990) claim that females' speech mainly prioritizes solidarity and expresses similarity and intimacy whilst that of males focuses on status and dominance and establishing power relations. The investigation generally was addressed to roughly two dozens of young university students, and the question was formulated as follows: Which one of the two values (Solidarity and dominance) do you aim to attain through conversations? The results we came up with are, contrary to Tannen's assumption, charted in the table below:

Table 2: Solidarity and dominance

	Solidarity and support	Dominance and proving oneself
Females	73.9%	26%
Males	65.2%	34.7%

As it stands, it appears, though we cannot venture to draw sweeping generalizations, that the issue of the speaker's intention to either exert dominance or show solidarity is not much a question of gender in the social setting among youth in Morocco, or probably at least within the confines of universities. The majority of both males and females seem to have opted for the choice that they aim to show

solidarity and support in conversations with others rather than to manifest dominance and superiority. This can reasonably be attributed to the ethical standards and the culture of the subjects.

To wrap up the discussion, modernity has had a far-reaching impact on both the positions of males and females on the global scene as well as the linguistic behavior of either gender. It suffices to have a general observation at the prevalent feminine discourse at different intervals, before and after the rise of the modern age, in order to have a clear vision of the status of females pre- and post-modernly. Also, the effect of modernity touched the linguistic aspect of both male and female youngsters on a global scale; thus, new styles of talking have been adopted by the young, giving rise, together with a number of other things, to the concept of youth culture.

How can education improve youth thoughts and attitudes towards our society?

It is generally acknowledged that education is indispensable to our societies. It goes without saying that it is a key factor to youth empowerment[2], and to promoting their effective participation in socio-economic and cultural development of our societies. Whether or not education can improve the status of the younger generations; their attitudes towards

2 This term is used in the sense given within the framework of the Empowerment Theory (see Zimmerman, 2000)

themselves and their own communities and their ways of thinking and viewing the world; is thus unquestionable. What remains to question are the ways education improves and seeks to improve the general condition of youngsters in a given society.

Our understanding of the question at hand is as follows: If we are to look at how education can improve youth thoughts and attitudes towards our society, we have, at first, to look at what education has to offer to these individuals and whether or not it takes into account the psycho-social realities associated with them. Then, we have to see whether and to what extent they react to educational input they receive.

Education is an activity that imparts knowledge to people. One form of the

knowledge transmitted to young people in educational settings is culture, whether it is the culture of the community to which they belong or a different culture. It was argued that youth, in one way or another, possess a shared set of norms and behaviors and a unique culture with which they identify as a way of 'standing out from the crowd'. Goodenough (1957, p. 167) gives the following definition to culture:

A society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and to do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves.

At this point, we can clearly identify the crucial relationship between the knowledge the youth possess and their culture. So what it is that they know (about the world and themselves) will naturally determine how they act upon themselves and the world. However, a person's knowledge does not only shape their culture, but is also shaped by their culture. There are two possible ways for how such culture is constructed: Rejection of certain aspects of the 'original' culture and adoption of certain others from a different culture. Our main concern here is the understanding of the reasons behind such behaviors and its implications in the field of education, as well as the finding of the ultimate approach to education which will monitor and optimize the knowledge given to these individuals.

Having previously identified the close relationship between knowledge, culture and education, we can now tackle the issue with regard to these three dimensions and we begin by formulating the following questions: What is the nature of the knowledge transmitted to youngsters in educational settings? How much culture is and should be integrated therein? What is the optimal approach to education in our society and how can it be implemented within educational systems?

Education empowers youth

Education gives power to younger generations, or rather, it gives them more power. Being young is synonymous with having power and great ambition towards self-realization. The psycho-social features that characterize this period of life make of it a crucial phase in the lives of young individuals. Inner drives, desires and motives that push the youth to self- development are all aspects of the power they possess. However, not every young man or woman is capable of fulfilling his or her ambitions. Everyday life confronts

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2 This term is used in the sense given within the framework of the Empowerment Theory (see Zimmerman, 2000)

them with obstacles and threatens their self-image. Some succeed to overcome the hindrances; others end up in role-confusion and lose motivation. One major function of education is to equip these individuals with the skill and the ability that facilitate achievement.

Education propels the youth in the right direction towards fulfilling their potentials. Educators around the globe have begun to realize how much important it is to provide youngsters with the suitable conditions that foster intellectual growth. In an educational setting such as a classroom, teachers employ certain strategies and materials that address themselves to various intellectual skills, social and moral values. In other words, the youth – when provided with opportunities and proper conditions of education – can learn about themselves, the society and the environment. With the knowledge they receive, the youth can then shape their views on the world and all of what is going on around them. In that way, their general understanding, which is the basis of their cultural behaviors, is broadened and is manifested in better attitudes towards their environment.

Having previously identified the aim of education as simply being the proper transfer of knowledge to young individuals, we bring now into question the nature of this knowledge. Bourdieu (1990) argued that the most crucial factor in education is "not so much what is known (the content of knowledge) but the manner in which it is presented". We must then not overlook this fact while attempting to determine the nature of knowledge the young learners acquire. Anyone who has been taught at schools has noticed at some point certain aspects of their own culture or a foreign culture within their courses. Almost no school subject is culture-free; in fact, some of them are all about culture. It is then of paramount primacy that educators look at the cultural aspects in learning materials and the amount and length of exposure to those cultural forms that might infiltrate the knowledge structure of young learners. Tomalin & Stempleski (1993:7-8) state that one of the major goals of cultural instruction is "to help learners develop the necessary skills to locate and organize information about the target culture". By the time young learners develop those skills, boundaries between their own culture and foreign cultures will have been clearly set, and thus it will be clear which aspects of the foreign culture are most suitable for them to adapt to, and which are most socially acceptable in their own culture. The strong self-awareness that

results from maintaining cultural identity is certainly a form of youth empowerment. The empowerment at the level of identity seems more crucial than ever, with the increasing impact of modernity and globalization on the cultures of the world, youth culture appears to be fragile in the face of such strong external influences.

To sum up the point discussed earlier, education plays the following major roles:
• Education shapes youth thought, knowledge and culture,
• It provides them with skills of proper usage and practice of their knowledge and culture,
• It provides them with opportunities to effectively engage in social action.

Working on changing the attitudes of youth towards education

In order for education to have greater impacts and better outcomes, educators must make sure that there is no or at least little resistance to education from those they address it to. That is, educators must be able to detect and prevent any sort of negative attitudes in young learners towards education. In a review of research on young people who drop out of school before graduation, Mortimore (1991:19) states that 'there is evidence from several studies of secondary age pupils of their negative attitudes towards teachers' and 'Similarly, negative attitudes are expressed towards school rules'. And as a result to these attitudes, young learners 'develop their own counter-culture in opposition to the dominant school culture'. Educators must then be aware of the presence of this kind of subculture, its manifestations and its effects. Furlong (1991:306) argues on the latter:

'...give pupils a rationale, a philosophy, a way of exploring and dealing with their experience of schooling. By taking part in a subculture they may be able to find legitimate reasons for valuing different knowledge, for aspiring to different futures, and for valuing different ways of behaving. The problem for the school is that once pupils have evolved subcultures, once they have a rationale for rejecting school, then they are much more difficult to bring back on line.'

Young students must receive an engaging education. Students are most engaged in the process of learning "when instructional activities are interesting, relevant to their

lives, and affirm their competences" (Hardre and Reeve 2003:353).

A small-scale survey was conducted in a local high school in an attempt to identify the attitudes of young learners towards education in general, the education they receive and whether and to what extent they feel the impact of education on their personal and social lives. The subjects were from different school levels and were all below the age of eighteen. The results were that 97.7% of the subjects were in favor of education in general, only 34% were in favor of the education they receive and only 36% acknowledged the impact of education on their social and personal lives.

At a first glance, the results seem to have a somewhat clear interpretation: Almost all the subjects have a positive attitude towards education in general, but had less positive attitudes towards the education they received in their local school. Although in fact the survey did not address the factors contributing to such discrepancy in the data collected, such as why these learners had less positive attitudes towards the education they received locally, it is by no means possible to refute the given interpretation, since the questions in the survey were stated clearly in a way to elicit authentic feedbacks.

In the course of the same survey, subjects were asked to mention other parallel activities they engage in within their local school, such as music shows, theatre plays and art workshops. The number of those activities according to the subjects was extremely small if not equal to zero. One possible assumption that can be formulated from such a finding is that the lack of the said parallel activities reflects a possible factor contributing to negative attitudes towards the education the learners receive. From this point, we go on to argue on the importance of providing opportunities for young learners to voice themselves in order for education to impact harder and serve its ultimate purpose. The next part of the research will address this point.

Providing opportunities for younger people to voice themselves

What is intended to be the outcome of education is the creation of opportunities for the youth to voice themselves. Education can also serve as a platform for young people to voice their opinions and engage in the development and decision-making. In the classroom, for example, young learners are given opportunities to write, to create and to produce accounts of their ideas and experiences. Outside the classroom, young learners can bring the knowledge of previous experiences in the classroom into practice and thus experience more authentic learning. These experiences will affirm the youth's sense of self and boost their confidence and ultimately improve their attitudes towards their environment and the society.

We argued that culture is a common form of the knowledge youth receive in educational settings. Whatever the nature of the aforementioned culture is, it contributes to shaping and enriching the youth culture. The beliefs and values that pertain to youth culture influence their attitudes and ways of thinking, such influence is of great importance and for that reason, we endeavored to stress on the importance of monitoring the nature and the amount of knowledge; namely culture; given to youth in educational settings. In addition to that, we set out to understand how education can change and improve youth attitudes, that is, first, by beginning to work on changing their attitudes towards education itself, and providing opportunities to voice and to empower their potentials.

The Impact of Social Media on Moroccan Youth Culture

Social media can be defined as a digital community people create to construct a wide cocoon within which the world becomes a set of accessible websites. It has reached outrageous proportions of use and access in the modern Moroccan society. It is undergoing a remarkable use among Moroccan youngsters. Facebook, YouTube and LinkedIn are few examples that are witnessing a wide turnout to serve financial, personal or social needs. For some Moroccans, social media is the only source to make a living. YouTube, as a case in point, is considered a manufacturer of a solid estate for the Moroccan youth. It is a paramount source of achieving an independently-burgeoned wealth. Hence, the role of social media, mainly, lies in fleeing the mediocrity and poorness of the Moroccan job market; So it is exploited to fill in the hiatus caused by the rarity job opportunities within the territory.

Youth culture can be seen as the association of a set of variables, such as language, clothing 'appearance', attitudes and behaviors whereby youngsters are recognized and differentiated from older generations within a community. Those variables can

be identified as subcultures by which these age groups are characterized. According to recent statistics of Morocco demographics (2018), the youth population – aged between 15 and 24 – represents 18% of the whole Moroccan population –which is estimated to be 35,989,359.[3]

Considering the fact that social media are designed and run by westerners, mostly Americans, it is worth mentioning that the Moroccan youth might, to some extent, be influenced by the ponderous weight of culture these networks carry. The impact of this culture can be double-faceted; either positive or negative. From one side, it might be manifested in the hourly-used social networks that gradually lessen our face-to-face conversations. In this regard, the function of social media is revealed through transforming what is written or spoken into digital. On the other side, Media can serve as a magical gate through which human lives are driven to illumination and civilization. Therefore, these new enlightening social networks may have a significant impact on the Moroccan youth culture.

Since there are no accurate data that demonstrate the number of Moroccans who use the various social media that almost everyone has free access to, we decided to investigate with a small group of university students aged between 19 and 23 at the University of Mohamed V, Rabat.

First, it was necessary for us to be aware of the most used applications among the three networks we have illustrated.

Frequency of use of the social media among students

In the course of the survey conducted, students were asked to specify how much of their time they spend on Facebook, YouTube, and LinkedIn. Since the latter is commonly used for professional networking, none of the participants (students) seemed to be interested in the website. Nevertheless, they showed a good deal of interest in the use of Facebook and YouTube. Interestingly, all of the participants shared a mutual interest in using Facebook on a daily basis without any touch of boredom caused by the everyday routine. Finally, the vast majority (63%) utilize YouTube daily with a proportion of 37% of students who claim to use it oftentimes, meaning that it is

not an everyday routine for them. Since the use of these social networks varies from a person to another, we felt the need to dig deeper in the study by conducting a new enquiry about the domains of use of these social networks.

Table 3: Frequency of use of the social media among students.

Apps	Always	Usually	Often	Rarely	Never
FACEBOOK	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
YOUTUBE	63%	31%	6%	0%	0%
LINKEDIN	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Domains of Use

With a general observation of the infrequent use of LinkedIn, it can be deduced that most, if not all, of the subjects show a weak interest and alienation of social networks from their professional and academic lives. Henceforth, the results indicate that the large number of Facebook users, when again interviewed about their almost hourly use of this network, tend to communicate and share their emotional and mental states with people they either personally or virtually know. This minority of participants presume to exploit Facebook for the sake of creating utilitarian groups in which bundles of different individuals share their problems and concerns to reduce the stress and anxiety they might be undergoing. Thus, scrutinizing these two functions of Facebook, it can be deduced that its use is mainly considered as a means of communication: production (10%) and consumption (90%). On the other side, there is a balance between the production and consumption of YouTube. Some students (53%) presume to use it for broadcasting tutorial and motivational videos… This whole new world of social media has opened gates to youngsters to orient themselves to what is referred to as "Youth Culture." The creation of a different lifestyle has reshaped certain communities in Morocco and their people's mentalities and attitudes.

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[3] Morocco Population 2018 [online] (page consulted in 19/01/2018): http://worldpopulationreview.com/coun-tries/morocco-population/

Table 4: Domains of use of social media.

	PRODUCTION	CONSUPMTION
FACEBOOK	10%	90%
YOUTUBE	53%	47%
LINKEDIN	0%	0%

There is no doubt about the communicative nature of the use of social media. As resulted in the second chart, 90% of the participants claim to use these networks as a medium of expressing themselves. Facebook, for instance, is the home of a large number of Moroccan youth within which cultural trepidation is exhibited, whether through personal posts, discussions, pictures or videos. This might signify the lack of authentic individual conversations, or perhaps the preference of communicating feelings within the virtual world.

The same subjects were asked about where most of their communication takes place and the results were as follows:

Table 5: The mediums of communication among youth.

	ALWAYS	USUALLY	OFTEN	RARELY	NEVER
FACEBOOK	81%	18%	1%	0%	0%
YOUTUBE	0%	0%	0%	93%	7%
LINKEDIN	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
REAL LIFE	26%	13%	7%	54%	0%

This tremendous shift in the mediums of communication among youth charted above, in fact, has given rise to an increased tendency to use a more reserved kind of language. In this respect, we can legitimately refer to Bernstein's distinction between the elaborated and the restricted code. The former is defined by Bernstein as "a language use which points to the possibilities inherent in a complex conceptual hierarchy for the organizing of experience." (1961, p. 169) whereas the latter is said to "employs short, grammatically simple, and often unfinished sentences of poor – in the sense of nonstandard – syntactic form" (Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 337) Notwithstanding the fact that most Moroccan youngsters are known by their socialization and daily interactions with one another, the findings promote a totally different picture in which the participants confess the reduction of one-to-one real conversations and the influence of social media, especially

Facebook, on their daily lives, and therefore their culture. This unfortunate shift is followed by the dominance of the use of the elaborated code through which a blatant touch of formality is mostly expressed to hide the real identities and personalities of each affected individual.

Overall, social media contributes to the creation of a whole new culture that the majority of the Moroccan youth are tacitly in adherence to. As demonstrated above, this whole new concept has its pros and cons. But to some extent, its predominant drawbacks might jeopardize the concept of identity, culture, and mutual interactions among the Moroccan youth.

Appendices:

Survey 1:

QUESTIONNAIRE 1

Your gender is:

☐ Males
☐ Females

which one of the two genders do you think curses the most?

☐ Males
☐ Females

If you think that males curse more often, what do you think the reason behind it?

☐ To prove one-self and to show their dominance and masculinity
☐ To show anger
☐ Due to culture
☐ Out of habit

QUESTIONNAIRE 2

Your gender is:

☐ Males
☐ Females

Which one of the two values do you aim to attain through conversations?

☐ Solidarity and support
☐ Dominance and proving oneself

Survey 2:

• Are you in favor of education in

general?

Yes   No

• Are you in favor of the education you receive at your local school?

Yes   No

• Do you feel the impact of education on your personal and social life?

Yes   No

• Do you engage in other activities at school, theatre and art workshops for example?

Yes   No

Survey 3:

Age: 15-20 21-29 /Gender: Male   Female

What are your favorite social networks?

FACEBOOK

YOUTUBE

LINKEDIN

How much time you spend on them?

ALWAYS

USUALLY

OFTEN

RARELY

NEVER

Are you a producer or a consumer?

PRODUCER   CONSUMER NO

Where does most of your communication take place?

REAL LIFE

FACEBOOK

YOUTUBE

LINKEDIN

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