French in the Face of Arabization: Language Attitudes among High School Students in Rabat

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ABSTRACT

Since independence from France in 1956, Morocco has utilized an Arabization education policy which attempts to remove the French language in favor of Arabic. This study investigates the effects of Arabization on high school students in Rabat, Morocco. In an effort to gauge the presence of French and Arabic in education, 50 high school students were interviewed from the capital, Rabat, and surrounding suburbs in May and June, 2011. High school students were selected since they are in the midst of forming their own identities and are also seriously considering how they will contribute to society as adults. Their perspectives and language identity will greatly influence the linguistic situation in Morocco. Results indicated that although the high school students interviewed had received an Arabized education, French continues to hold a significant linguistic presence in Morocco. Additionally, the results demonstrated that students hold both positive and negative attitudes toward French. On one hand, French acquisition could allow students to move abroad, while on the other hand, French is also a remnant of colonization, a bitter subject to some Moroccans. The results of this study will be of interest to teachers of modern languages and persons involved in language planning in multilingual countries. Additionally, this study's findings could contribute to the partial solution of serious language education problems faced in African countries like Morocco where the literacy rate remains just above 50%. Finally, as countries such as Morocco, a liberal Islamic nation, attempt to balance the increasing pressures of globalization while retaining connections to its rich past, studies such as this one could help nations develop successful language education programs.

INTRODUCTION

Located at the crossroads between Africa and Europe, the North African country of Morocco has been a valuable strategic location for many populations including the Greeks, Romans, Phoenicians, Arabs, and most recently, the French (Redouane 195). Of all the languages that are included in Morocco's linguistic mosaic, French, which was introduced in 1912 through colonization, is clearly the most dominant. "The 44 years of French rule had been characterized by markedly elitist and discriminatory policies. The colonial authorities firmly believed in their cultural and linguistic superiority, as demonstrated in their phrase, 'mission civilisatrice'" (Hammoud 211). When Morocco became a protectorate in 1912, the French knew that in order to control the territory, a divide-and-conquer philosophy had to be enacted through the educational system. The French established schools that were for the European community and wealthy Moroccan families. They were modeled on the French education system without corresponding Arabic schools (DeGeorge 589). Nor were there schools for the middle and lower class Moroccans. These French schools were designed to exaggerate the existing social divisions among the people (Benaouet-Kattan 29). The tragic disregard for all but Morocco's elite resulted in a colonial mentality, or the belief that everything European in language, tradition, literature, even people, is superior to Morocco's, which is viewed as ancient, archaic, and backward (Elbiad, "A Sociolinguistic" 264).

This view of two unequal cultures, one superior, the other inferior, based on false assumptions is defined as Orientalism by Edward Said. In his book, titled *Orientalism* (1978), he explains that the world is divided into two separate spheres, the Occident and the Orient. The Occident refers to Western Europe and the United States, while the Orient encompasses an enormous geographic region including North Africa and Central, South, and East Asia. There are three components: uneven exchange of political power, intellectual power, and cultural power (Said 12). What all nations who took part in Orientalism have in common (Germany, Britain, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Italy, and lastly the United States) is an intellectual authority over the Orient with Western culture. This idea allows Orientalism to be carried through generations (Said 19). At the base of their political motivations is

a belief that there is something ornate about the Orient—mystical, charming, and flawed. This romanticized view provides justification, or the *mission civilisatrice* termed by the French, of the Occident to pass on their supposed wisdom to the Orient without attempting to understand the affected culture. [1]

Like many former European colonies, Morocco was forced to make serious decisions after regaining independence from France in 1956. Morocco and Tunisia were the first of the African colonies under French control to gain independence, leading the decolonization movement of Africa that continued until the mid-1970's. These African nations, "after independence wanted to return to their own languages, ideas, and traditions. However, the change has irreparably transformed many institutions and this has led to enduring consequences. In particular, France was one imperial power that left a lasting legacy on its many colonies" (DeGeorge 579).

Moroccan officials felt that one of the most important steps after independence was the reorganization of their educational system. Although Classical Arabic is the national language, Arabic as the language of instruction was almost nonexistent due to French policies during colonization. One year after independence in 1957, the Moroccan Ministry of Education enacted a policy called Arabization, meant to gradually eliminate colonial influences. The policy has four components: the universalization of education for all Moroccans, the unification of diverse educational systems in place during colonization, the Arabization of all classes from French to Arabic as the language of instruction, and the "Moroccanization" of teaching staff (Bentaouet-Kattan 34). "Moroccanization" refers to the replacement of colonial period French-born teachers with Moroccan-born, Moroccan-trained teachers. Moroccan leaders since independence have emphasized Arabic in schools since Arabic is highly codified and possesses a rich intellectual past, thus making it very functional in the classroom (Sirles 293-4).

In order to understand the complexity of Arabic in the Moroccan classroom, it is helpful to have an overview of the multiple subtypes. There are three types of Arabic used in Morocco: Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA or fousa), and Moroccan Dialectical Arabic (darija). When two (or more) separate varieties of the same language exist side-by-side with separate roles and prestige, this is called Diglossia, according to Benmamoun (95). Morocco's leaders selected Classical Arabic as the national language because, "it is codified, standardized, and above all because it represents the language of the Koran and of literary and scientific tradition" (Ennaji, "Language" 9). However, while Classical Arabic is the language of the country, it is based on the Koran, written in the early 600's CE, and thus is outdated and does not contain necessary vocabulary to be a living language of today when terms about technology might arise in conversation (for example, telephone or airplane). Classical Arabic is only learned through formal education. Modern Standard Arabic, or MSA, a modern version of Classical Arabic, is the literary standard of the Arab world today. When Arabic is written, it is most often in MSA. Textbooks used in Moroccan schools are written in MSA. Moroccan Dialectical Arabic, or darija, is the colloquial form of Arabic spoken by most Moroccans in daily life. It is also the mother tongue to the majority of the nation, but is rarely written. A case could be made that darija is the farthest of all the colloquial forms from Classical/Modern Standard Arabic because it infuses French and Berber into its vocabulary, making it almost impossible for a Saudi Arabian or Lebanese Arabic speaker to understand a Moroccan speaking darija: while "Moroccan Arabic shares many properties with Classical Arabic that point to a common background, there are significant differences between the languages at the lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic levels" (Benmamoun 97). The various forms of Arabic are practically different languages. In fact, a monolingual Dialectical Arabic speaker barely understands Classical Arabic unless he has been to school. This clearly shows that Classical Arabic/Modern Standard Arabic and Dialectal Arabic are, to a large extent, mutually unintelligible (Ennaji, "Aspects" 11). In comparing MSA and darija, the two varieties have different societal functions. Dialectal Arabic is the language of home and the street, while MSA is the language of Arabization and of unified Arab culture (Ennaji, "Aspects" 12). Although darija is the most commonly spoken language in the country, Modern Standard Arabic is spoken and taught in school; thus it creates a paradox. In addition to Arabic, Berber—the native language of about 40% of the population and Morocco's indigenous language, has various dialects dependent upon geography (Bentaouet-Kattan 1). For the purposes of this study, little research was done on Berber in Morocco.

Each variety of Arabic in Morocco has its own role and amount of prestige. In general, the more education a Moroccan has received, the more MSA and/or Classical Arabic the Moroccan can produce, both orally and in writing. Classical Arabic holds the highest status, but few Moroccans easily understand it. The average Moroccan hears Classical Arabic only in the mosque or on TV during a speech by the king. It begs the question, how many

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[1] From here forward references to the West, referred to by Edward Said as the Occident, encompass the values system in place in the geographic regions such as Western Europe and the United States based upon ideals such as individualism, modernism (ie. technological advancement), and separation of church and state. Future references to the East, referred to by Edward Said as the Orient, include the values system practiced in geographic regions such as North Africa and Central Asia as viewed by the West. The East emphasizes traditional societal roles, religion (specifically Islam), and an isolationist government system.

Moroccans actually understand the king's speeches without the French subtitles? Additionally, how many can comprehend the French subtitles? Here enters French into the Moroccan language mosaic. French, like Classical Arabic, is generally used among the educated. However, rather than have religious ties to the Koran, French represents Western values, science, technology, and international relations.

Policy-makers on the eve of independence had to choose whether to continue the French language curriculum or commence Arabization:

> This debate about whether to choose MSA or French as the language of instruction is much larger than a debate about language. For some, it is about choosing loyalties or about having an eye to the future. It is about whether to focus on culture, tradition, and religious identity by turning East or on economic and political progress by turning West. For still others, the need to synthesize any number of values from both the East and West from emerging cultural, professional, and financial identities dominates their perspective on Morocco's linguistic choices with respect to education.
> (Daniel and Ball 132)

It should be noted that the definitions of East and West were not written by the respective people groups included in each term, but rather, both were created by the West to define those different from them in the East. As Said puts it, "… what "we" [the West] do and what "they" [the East] cannot do or understand as "we" do" (12). However, due to the psychological effects during colonization and the infiltration of the Western values represented in modern technology, Moroccans associate the East with tradition and the West with progress.

Although Arabization in education has been challenging due to inconsistencies in government policies and the execution of such policies, the country has made incredible gains since independence. The government has opened public schools in many isolated regions of the country. Moroccan universities offer degrees in education and public schools have replaced French with Arabic textbooks. Since independence, attendance and literacy rates have risen greatly. For example, the literacy rate was about 10% in 1956, the year of independence. By 1985, the literacy rate had tripled to 35% (DeGeorge 586). Today, Morocco's literacy rate is approximately 52% (CIA World Factbook).[2] Unfortunately this number is still low for a country that has developed so rapidly in terms of its social reforms and economic development. Continued problems need further addressing such as the high illiteracy rate for females and the accessibility of education in rural areas.

Despite the Arabization policy, in effect for over 50 years, the significance of French cannot be denied. Although the educational system has been Arabized in secondary schools, French is the sole language of instruction at the tertiary level in all scientific subjects, medicine, agriculture, and technical fields. It dominates the business field, administration, and a vast part of the media (Benaouet-Kattan 26). Thus the two languages create a paradox by which a student educated in Arabic must suddenly perform at a university-level in a language he/she does not comprehend at a high fluency. Of course this depends upon the student, as elite, private, French-based schools are in great demand. In fact there exists a certain irony that the politically and economically elite, including education ministry personnel, are often products of French education and continue the practice by sending their children to French schools (Sirles 301). "This criticism of Arabization does not imply opposition; it simply criticizes a process that seems to be driven exclusively by political and ideological considerations" (Benmamoun 104). One suggested solution is to simply remove all French from the university level similar to what has been done at the elementary and secondary levels. However, an eradication of French (as well as English and German) at the university level would cut off Moroccan scholars from access to both an established body of research and an international audience. Additionally, Arabized degrees are not deemed equal to degrees in bilingual programs (Hammoud, 62-63). Once graduates attempt to enter the workplace, those with Arabized degrees have a higher unemployment rate than those who studied a degree in French. Those enrolled in Arabized scientific sectors such as medicine and engineering have an extremely difficult time of finding available employment. Their job prospects are limited: lawyer, teacher, administrator, or judge (Elbiad, "The Role" 39). The language of instruction is much more than simply a decolonization procedure. "If Morocco's language and educational planners on the eve of independence had thought that Arabization could be achieved without undue political turmoil nor decline in instructional quality, they have been proven wrong" (Sirles 219-220).

Since Moroccan high school students are in the midst of forming their own identities and are also seriously considering how they will contribute to society as adults, this study focused specifically on their perspectives and

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[2] It should be noted that Morocco has no specific reading and writing skill levels as defined by its education system. Thus, literacy as defined by the CIA World Factbook is the ability to read and write for those ages 15 and over from Morocco's most recent census in 2004. However, Morocco has piloted literacy campaigns such as the international Literacy Assessment and Monitoring Programme (LAMP), which attempts to use a series of competency scales instead of a dichotomous illiterate/literate rating (Bougroum, et al.). Additionally, since 2001, Morocco has participated in the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS). These combined studies show that while Morocco has made literacy improvements since independence, the nation lags behind in comparison to countries in North Africa and Central Asia.

language identity. As young adults, they will greatly influence the future of Morocco. The interviews investigate the effects of Arabization on high school education in Morocco. Armed in part with this knowledge, teachers, linguistic analysts, and those interested in the future of Morocco attempt to determine the extent to which the French language will continue to be a linguistic presence in Morocco.

METHOD

This study required samples of Moroccan high school students living in Rabat and the surrounding suburbs. Students from five different high schools answered the interview questions. A total of 50 students were interviewed between late May and late June, 2011. The students and schools selected were chosen at random from a variety of schools within a 20-mile radius. The interviews collected remained anonymous; no data was collected that could link the participants to the interviews. Nowhere was it recorded the names of those students who voluntarily participated. Information was orally provided to each interviewee before the interview explaining the subject and intended purpose. The interviewee could opt to end the interview at any time and choose not to answer a particular question if he/she so desired.

A student was deemed eligible for the interview if he/she was in high school, which is similar to 10th, 11th, and 12th grade in the American public education system. These grade levels are labeled Tronc Commun, Deuxième Baccalauréat, and Baccalauréat, respectively. The interviews were collected anywhere that the researcher could find high school students, such as outside the school, inside school, at a café, McDonalds, or the beach. Unknown to the researcher until arrival in Morocco, a visitor must have a special permit from the National Administration of Education to enter into public schools in Morocco. The process to get this pass can take over a year. The grant for this research did not extend past a year, so therefore other methods of seeking interview subjects were used.

Depending on the conditions, interviewee responses were either hand-written or recorded on a hand-held voice recorder. Every effort was taken to accurately capture the interviewees' responses. The interviewees could answer the questions in French or English. Almost all of the students chose French or a mixture of the two languages. If a student was unable to express himself/herself in French or English, then the responses were recorded in Arabic and translated by a trilingual English/Arabic/French Moroccan friend. Students who were receiving their education at a school outside the Rabat area or who had already finished high school were not considered for the interview. The interview typically took between 10-15 minutes. Many students asked and/or answered further questions after the 15 questions included in the interview and this additional information contributed greatly to the research.

The interview questions included a combination of both qualitative and quantitative information. The quantitative questions inquired about level in school, language preferences, degree plan, and rating of French ability. The qualitative questions involved opinions about education, language, predictions about the future, and comprehension of terminology. The results of the interviews were typed into a Microsoft database for convenient analysis and referral. Both types of research were tallied and entered into a Microsoft Excel document for easy percentage calculations and charting.

RESULTS

Student Background

In order to gain an understanding of the sample group interviewed, basic background questions were asked, such as grade level (Figure 1), future plans (Figure 2), where French was first learned (Figure 3), daily encounters with French (Figure 4) and student opinions about French (Figure 5). Many of the students interviewed were from the Tronc Commun, although a good portion was in their last year, or Baccalauréat (Bac). Ten percent of the students interviewed were in their Deuxième Baccalauréat (2ième Bac). Tronc Commun could be compared to 10th grade in the United States, to 2ième Bac to 11th grade, and Bac to 12th grade. As demonstrated in Figure 2, the great majority, or 70%, of the students interviewed hope to go to college after finishing high school. It is interesting to note that of those who wish to go to college, eight students, or 16%, explicitly expressed that they wanted to study in another country. Figure 3 shows that most students (68%) began French at primary school. Note that none of the students surveyed began learning French at an older age such has high school, when an American student might begin a second language. Interestingly, 6% began French at birth. This is a small yet significant percentage. Clearly, as Figure 4 illustrates, French is all around the interviewees. Figure 5 demonstrates that approximately three quarters of the students interviewed enjoy speaking French.
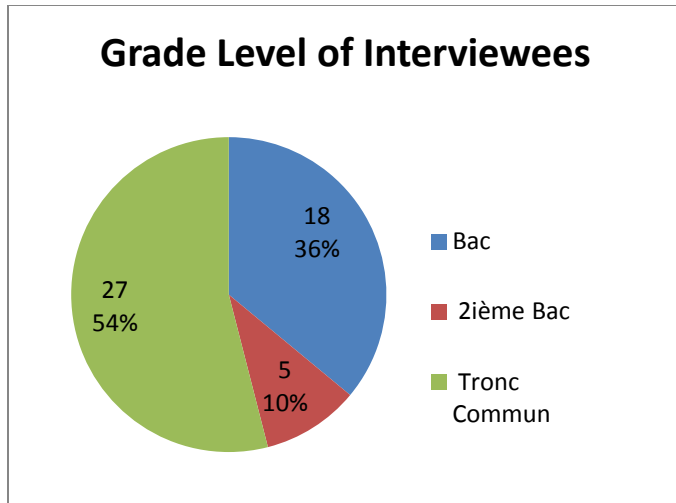
Grade Level of Interviewees

Figure 1 pie chart showing grade level breakdown: Bac 18 (36%), 2ième Bac 5 (10%), Tronc Commun 27 (54%)

Figure 1. Breakdown of interviewee's grade level in high school

Future Plans after High School

Figure 2 bar chart of Number of Students vs Future Plans of High School Students: Go to college in Morocco 26, Go to college outside of Morocco 8, Enter workforce 9, Join military 4, Travel 1, Work and go to college at same time 1, Don't know 1
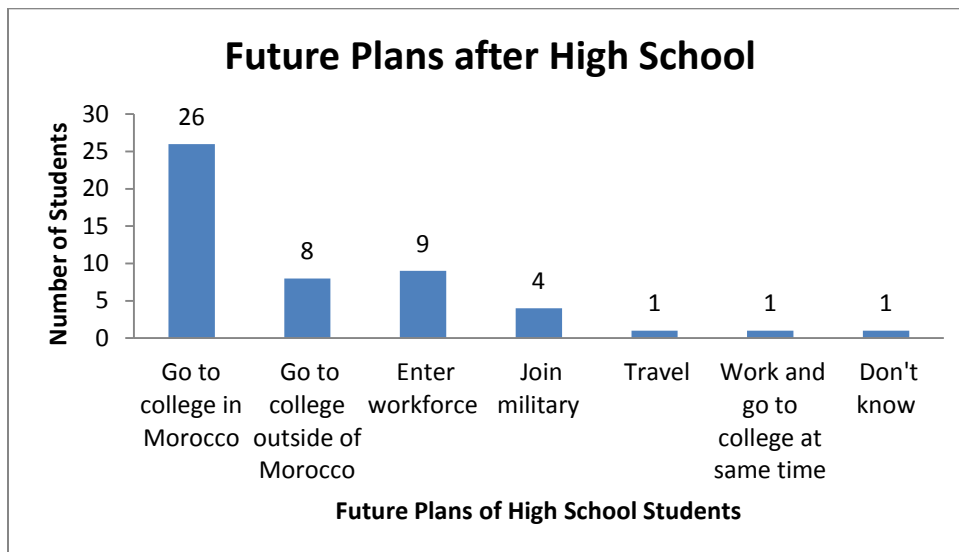
Figure 2. Future Plans of Interviewees

Where Interviewees Began Learning French

Figure 3 bar chart of Number of Students vs Location: Since birth 3, Daycare (la crêche) 2, Preschool (la maternelle) 11, Elementary School (Primaire) 34
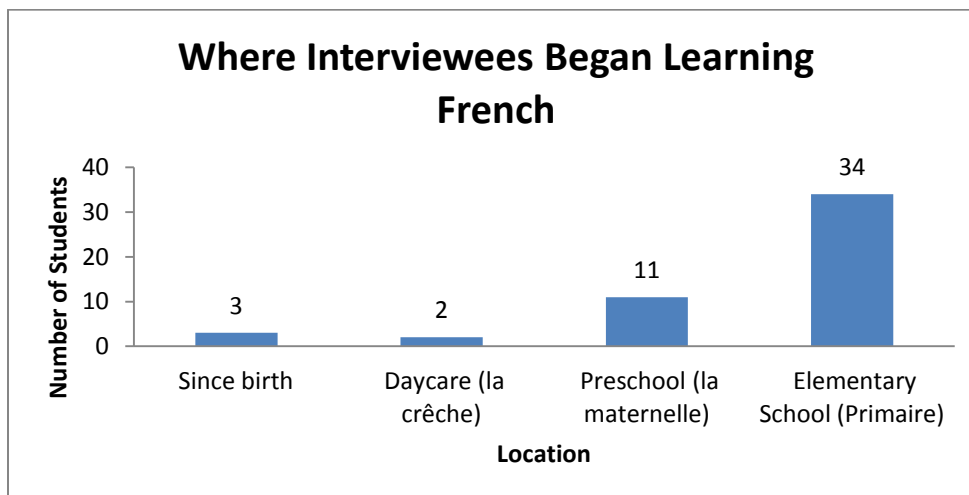
Figure 3. Where Interviewees Began Learning French

Where is French Most Commonly Used?
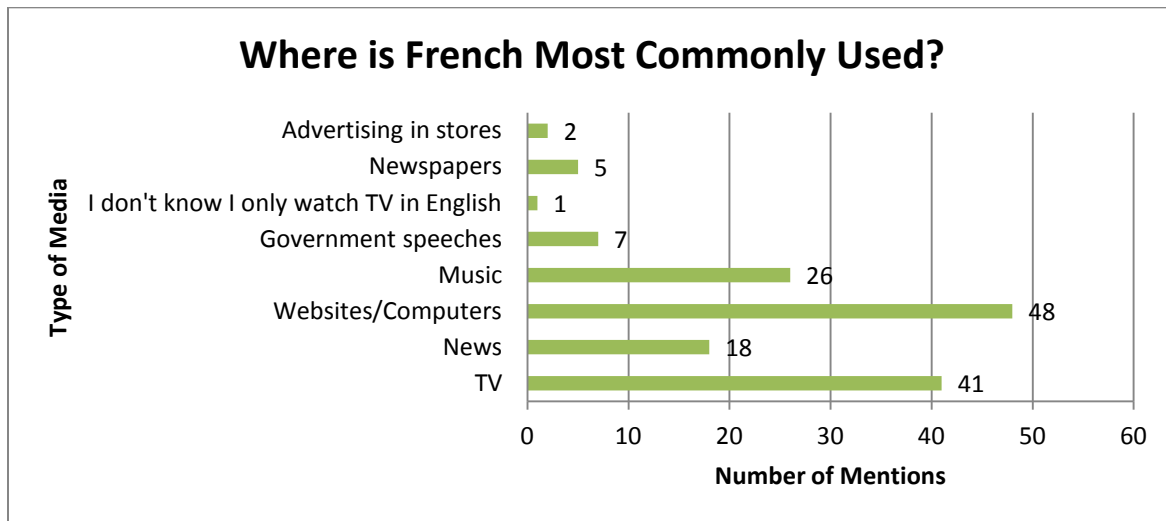
Figure 4. Student encounters with French in daily life

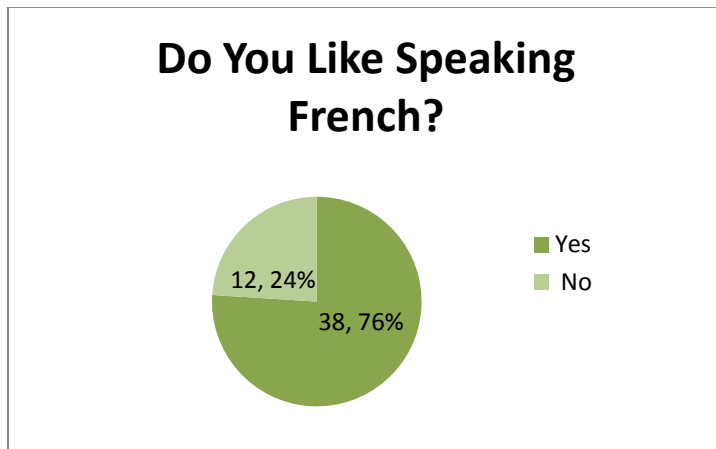**Do You Like Speaking French?**

Figure 5. Student opinions about whether they like speaking French

Education Preferences

The following series of questions in the interview pertained to education preferences, such as the preferred instructional language of the students (Figure 6), whether interviewees get frustrated by the multiple instructional languages (Figure 7), and approximate self-evaluation of French level (Figure 8). It appears that the majority prefer classes to be in French. Students are generally not frustrated with the various languages used in Morocco and feel that their language level in French is moderate to superior.
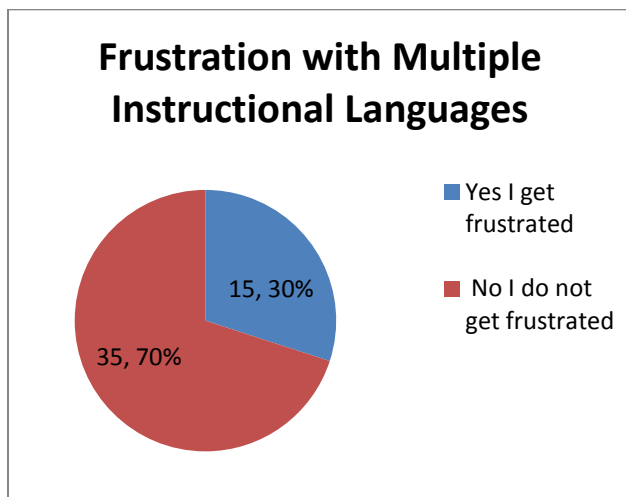
Instructional Language Preferences

Number of Students

French: 28
Arabic: 8
English: 4
German: 1
Depends upon class: 3
Arabic and French: 2
French and English: 3
No preference: 1

Language Preference
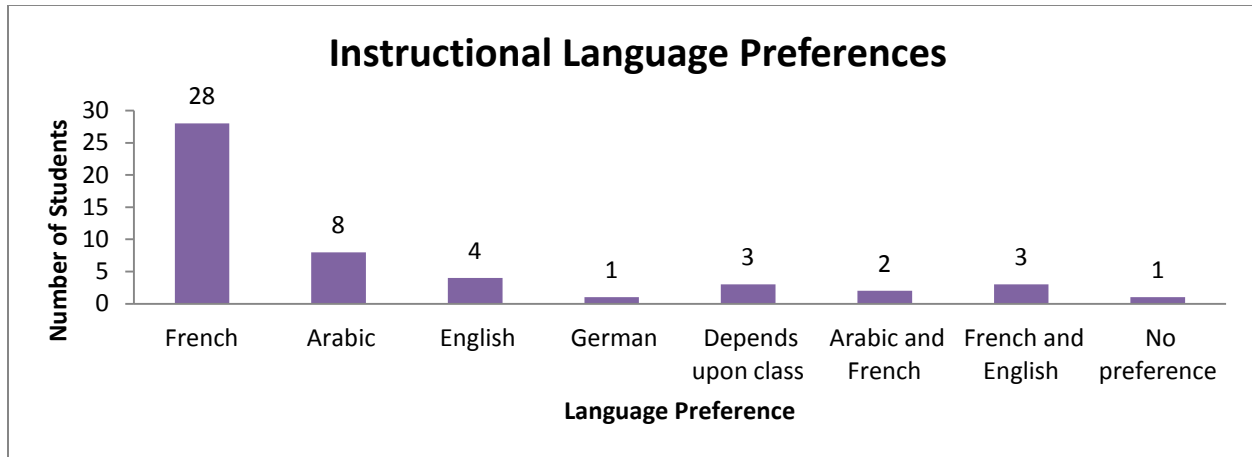
Figure 6. Instructional language preferences among interviewees

Frustration with Multiple Instructional Languages

- Yes I get frustrated: 15, 30%
- No I do not get frustrated: 35, 70%

Figure 7. Whether interviewees are frustrated by multiple instructional languages

Level of French

- No response: 1, 2%
- 1: 2, 4%
- 2: 5, 10%
- 3: 19, 38%
- 4: 15, 30%
- 5: 8, 16%
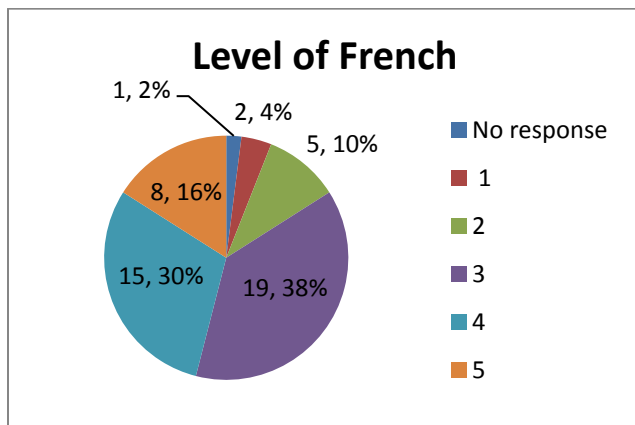
Figure 8. Interviewee opinion of French ability level on a scale of 1-5, where 1 is beginner and 5 is advanced.

Writing and Speaking

        Interesting statistics were gathered about the writing and speaking levels of the interviewees. As demonstrated in Figure 9, the interviewees nearly tied in their opinion about whether they write better in French or in Arabic. Several students said that they could write in both equally. In Figure 10, it is clear that the majority of

students speak best in darija. However, when comparing French with Classical Arabic (from which darija has its roots), students believe they speak better in French (Figure 11).
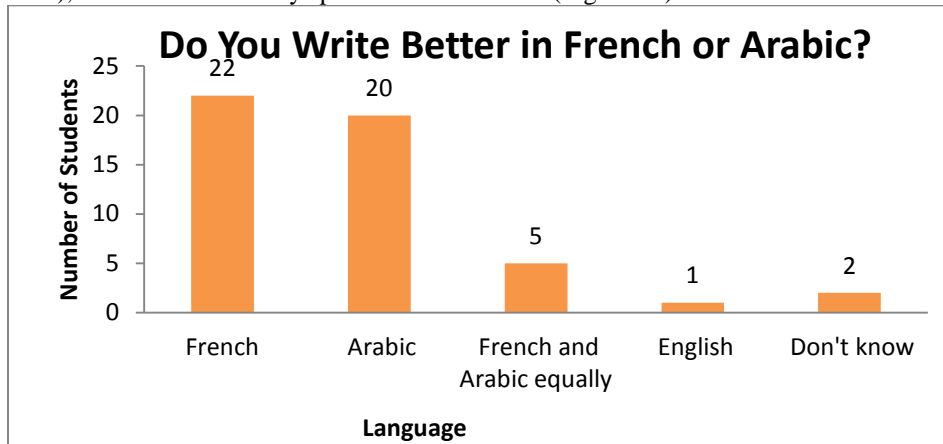
Do You Write Better in French or Arabic?

Figure 9. Self-Assessment of best writing ability in either French or Arabic

Do You Speak Better in French or Darija?
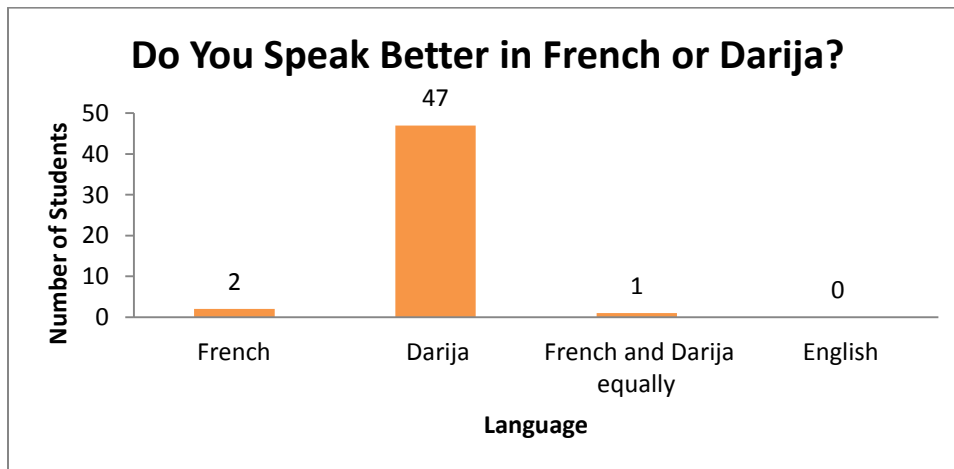
Figure 10. Self-Assessment of best speaking ability in either French or Darija

Do You Speak Better in French or Classical Arabic?
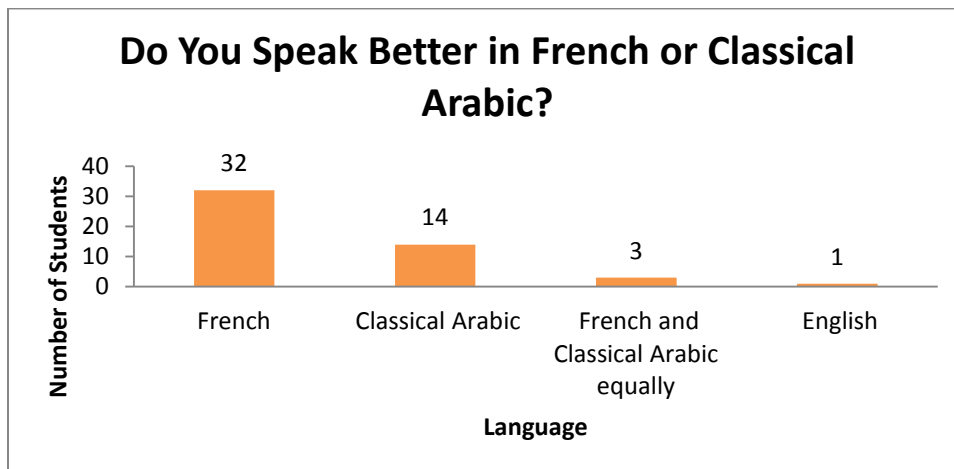
Figure 11. Self-Assessment of best speaking ability in either French or Classical Arabic

Future Plans

These two questions focused on the future of the interviewees. The objective was to determine to what extent French will continue in the interviewees' lives (figure 12), and also in the lives of their potential children

(figure 13). The vast majority responded that French would be necessary in both their future and also their children's future.
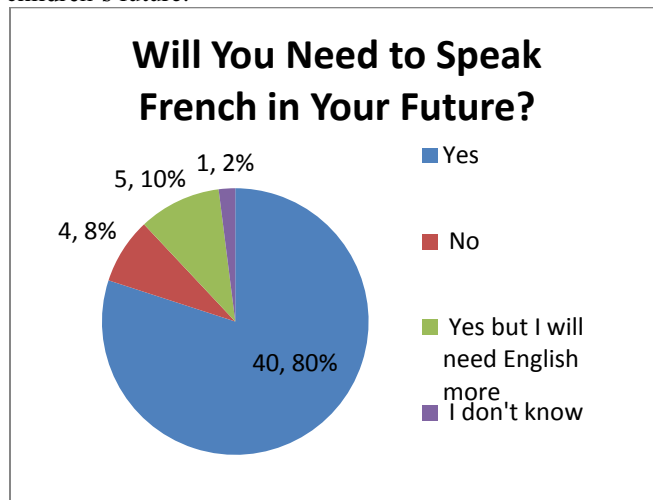

Figure 12. Opinion of whether French will be necessary in the future
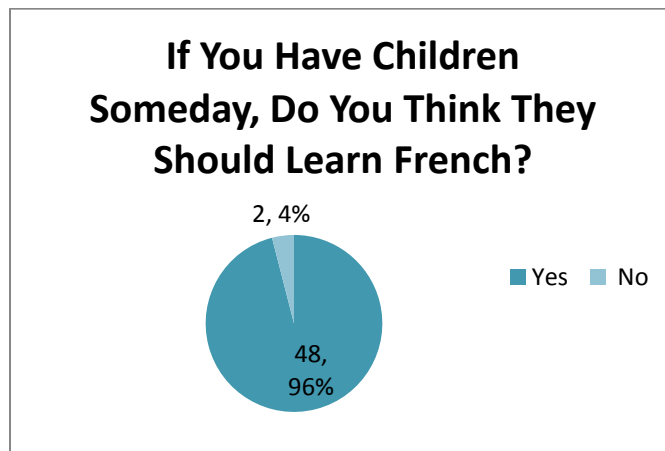

Figure 13. Opinion of whether French should be learned by their children

La francophonie, Arabization, and why Moroccans speak French today

Each interviewee was asked to provide a definition of "la francophonie" and "l'arabisation" in order to gauge to what extent students are aware of the terms that affect their daily lives. Of the 50 students interviewed, 29 students, or 58%, had never heard of "la francophonie" before. Three students, or 6%, had heard of the term but could not tell what it meant. Only 18 students, or 36%, could attempt to provide a definition.[3] Of those who could give a response, most said something to the effect that, "La francophonie is a group of people who speak French." Several students added comments:[4]

- *« Ce n'est pas bien, la langue française. Il y a deux côtés: Positif: enricher la culture ; Negatif: utiliser la langue juste pour frimer. »*

French isn't good. There are two sides: Positive: to enrich the culture; Negative: to use the language just to show off.

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[3] The definition of "F/francophone" depends upon the person. According to the Organisation internationale de la Francophonie, Francophone with a upper-case F refers to is a political and governmental group of nations whose people are francophone, with a lower-case f, meaning that they speak French (La voix 2008). Thus there are both linguistic and potentially controversial political definitions. The researcher was less interested in the "correctness" of definition and more interested if the interviewee had any comprehension of the word.

[4] Interviews were largely conducted in French. However, some students expressed themselves in both French and English and they used one of the two languages depending on the topic, the sentence, or sometimes they even switched languages mid-sentence. Quotations used are first presented in the interviewee's select language in italics, and then if needed, translation is provided directly following.

- *"Some people speak French to show that they are class; "bourgeois"".*
- *« D'aimer la langue française et d'exprimer d'une façon expressive et de parler aux autres… c'est ça la francophonie. »*

To love the French language, to express oneself in an expressive way and to speak to others, that's what it means to be Francophone.

When asked to give a definition of Arabization, 31 interviewees, or 62%, had never heard of the word, either in Arabic, *ta-rib*, or in French, *L'arabisation*. Four students, or 8%, had heard of the term but could not provide a meaning and 15 students, or 30%, tried to define the word. Most of the student definitions give the word a translation-type of definition, whereby Arabization is the act of taking French words and making them Arabic. One example that a student gave was the word, *la table* in French and changing it to *el table* in Arabic. Another student said that his mother worked to perform work in Arabization, or the creation of Arabic words from French. Other students believed that it was the removal of French, but none of the students could tell me where French was being removed. Several students made additional related comments:

- *« Oui, mais il faut laisser les cours en français parce qu'à l'université les cours sont en français et on a des difficultés. »*

Yes, but we have to leave [high school] classes in French because in college, classes are in French and we have trouble.

- *"Our education is really underdeveloped, the circumstances are low and it's really upsetting, but we can get better."*
- *« Depuis longtemps le français a été présent au Maroc comme en Algérie ; il est bien maitrisé dans les deux pays. »*

For a long time French had a presence in Morocco like in Algeria; it is well-mastered in these two countries.

Lastly, the students were asked why French is still spoken in Morocco. Only 6 students, or 12%, could not provide an answer. The rest of the students, 44 or 88%, expressed a varied mixture of reasons. Eleven of the 44 students mentioned colonization as the reason. Another 11 students believed that Moroccans speak French because it is the country's second language. Others thought that Moroccans speak French because it is taught in school, it is necessary to Moroccan society, lots of French people live in Morocco, and it is an easy language to learn. Clearly, there is no concise reason, according to the interviewees, why French is spoken in Morocco. Here were some additional comments:

- *"Because in school, people give importance to people who speak French to seem classy."*
- *« C'est la deuxième langue maintenant, mais à l'avenir l'anglais deviendra la deuxième.»*
  It's our second language right now, but in the future English will become the second language.
- *"Morocco was colonized 50 or 60 years ago, like any country that has been colonized, we always keep the same language that has been brought to us."*
- *« C'est la deuxième langue et elle est une langue internationale, c'est comme une porte au futur et on la trouve dans les métiers. »*
  It is the second language and an international language; this is like a door to the future and we find it in professions.
- *« Tous les pays arabes ont une autre langue "deuxième", comme l'anglais en Egypte.»*
  All Arab countries have another second language, like English in Egypt.

DISCUSSION

What can be gained through these interviews is most importantly, the understanding that French and Arabic play an intricate linguistic role in Morocco. Moroccan students are confronted with several challenges upon entry into a university. First, students must wonder if their French is fluent enough to understand university professors. Second, will they be able to find employment in a job market which favors French-educated persons? While government administrators may believe that Arabization will unify the nation and move it beyond its negative, colonial past, they should not ignore Morocco's youth. The country cannot afford to lose the young people— students who will become the next generation for the country. If their needs and concerns are not taken into consideration, then these students are at risk for either leaving Morocco through the "brain drain" or failing out of college due to inability to keep up in a French-driven higher education system. Now the debate becomes "the principle verses the practical."

It is interesting to note that while most interviewees write almost equally in French and Arabic, they speak better darija than French, but speak better French when compared to Classical Arabic. Since darija has its roots in Classical Arabic, this should be a sign to language planners and Moroccan administrators that Arabization is not working. From a young age, children are bombarded with varieties of their native language, which is considered the "dirtiest" of the dialects of Arabic. Not only are Arabic classes not taught in darija, but the king himself does not address his people in their mother tongue. It sends a signal saying that what Moroccans naturally have is not satisfactory—the same message that the French colonizers sent to Moroccans through their education system established 100 years ago. This negative message, exaggerated through schooling, might be one factor of Morocco's high illiteracy and school drop-out rate.

Although the interview questions focused on French and Arabic alone, often students mentioned English along with the French/Arabic questions without prompting about English as an option. It is significant that several students prefer watching TV, being taught, or teaching their children English over French. More research is needed to determine to what extend English is gaining hold in Morocco and if this hold is forceful enough to remove French's grasp.

The language battle between Arabic and French should not be: "who will win?" but rather: "how will the two languages coexist?" French has a clear, strong presence among Morocco's youth. It also appears that French will continue to remain in Morocco if the students interviewed instill the importance of French in their children. Although Arabization has been in place since shortly after independence, a law written by government officials 60 years ago cannot erase in one generation the effects of colonization. The most significant problem with Arabization is that those to whom the policy directly affects are largely unaware of it and its consequences. Another factor is the lack of motivation on behalf of the students to perfect a language that is not used in daily life. If darija begins to hold the same status as Classical Arabic or French, then perhaps Arabization could be achieved. The broader, overall question is whether Moroccans will resist pressure from Europe and the United States and side with the Arab world, or if Moroccans will encourage and embrace outside influences through language.

LIMITATIONS

As is true in any sample, the ideas and results of one section is not a perfect reflection of all the Moroccan high school students. Rather, it is a glimpse on which generalizations are made. Great disparities exist between rural and urban Moroccans, as well as geographically between traditionally religious cities such as Fez and more modern cities such as Agadir or Tangiers. Some issues arose during the interview process. The researcher is a non-native speaker of Arabic and French, though every effort was made to accurately capture the responses of those students interviewed. In addition, the researcher was restricted to bilingual, literate, educated respondents. In addition, while the interviews were conducted, other students waiting to interview may have heard the interview and were swayed to respond a particular way. Lastly, since the interview was conducted by a young, female American, Moroccan students, especially males, may have answered in a way that tried to appeal to the interviewer.

Time and accessibility were perhaps the two greatest limitations. The interviewer was able to spend a month in Morocco, but during this time, the students were finishing school and the baccalauréat students were not in school, but rather they were home studying for the final exam. The researcher would also like to point out that since it is difficult to abide by methodological rules of research in Morocco due to the sensitivities of certain topics such as Arabization, other methods of interviewing students besides entering schools were used. Other sources reflect the same sentiments, as Elbiad, in two of his publications states, "It was not possible to strictly follow the sampling procedure [established in Morocco], since it was not always directly possible to receive the help needed from lycée (high school) directors. […] It is unfortunate that such people stand in the way of scholarly research much-needed in their country" (Elbiad, "The Role," Note 7, 44 and Elbiad, "A Sociolinguistic," Note 2, 165). Although the researcher contacted school principals and the *la directrice de l'enseignement* (Director of Education) they were unable to grant entry into their schools. The researcher made every effort to overcome these limitations without sacrificing quality of research.

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