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8 The Growth of English Language Learning in Morocco: Culture, Class, and Status Competition

ABSTRACT

English usage has been growing rapidly throughout Morocco, as the country further opens to the larger world and youth seek out better educational and employment opportunities. This chapter examines the growth of English in Morocco's complex linguistic landscape. It argues that unlike French and Spanish, English does not have a colonial legacy in Morocco and in fact, seems to represent something different – a language of future opportunity. Based on 15 months of fieldwork in Morocco, including 453 surveys with young Moroccans, and 50 writing responses, this chapter argues that although English is widely welcomed in Morocco, young Moroccans seem to distinguish their individual identities and personal pursuit of economic status from their national identity as Moroccans. Specifically, while still valuing Arabic as a national language, surveys find English language learners are less likely than control students to consider Arabic a favourite language or an important language for their future lives. This chapter further argues that English is becoming a new means for socio-economic competition in Morocco, by appealing to upper and lower classes alike. Upper classes view English as a way to maintain their privilege as Morocco opens itself to the global economy. In contrast, many lower class Moroccans, who are weak in French, see English as a means to access public sector teaching positions, a traditional channel of mobility, or to sidestep the power of French entirely and engage directly with the global economy on their own terms as low-paid labour in Morocco's tourist industry and informal economy.

Introduction

Language has always been more than spoken or written words; it is how we understand and express our fundamental humanity. It is a form of identity, a signifier of social status, and a medium of communication. Perhaps nowhere in the Arab world have language, status, and identity been grafted together by history in such complex and nuanced ways as in Morocco.

Morocco has a long history of multilingualism with three dialects of Amazighe (Berber), Modern Standard Arabic, Moroccan dialect, French, and Spanish all commonly spoken regionally or nationally. While French and Spanish are both international languages, they are also the languages of Morocco's colonizers and their power in the country is based on a history of political, cultural, and linguistic imposition. In contrast, English does not have a colonial legacy in Morocco and in fact, seems to represent something different – a language of future opportunity. Over the past decade, English has become increasingly important in all realms of life in Morocco, including economics, politics, tourism, education, and employment. Consequently, enrolments in English language programs have been growing exponentially over the past five to ten years.

While the rapid rise of English in Morocco is not in question, we know very little about how the language fits into the linguistic ecology of the country, or what role it plays in Moroccans' lives. This chapter aims to contextualize the growth of English within Morocco's complex linguistic environment, while summarizing empirical research on the growth of English as it relates to young Moroccans' conception of social status and national identity.

The first section examines the legacies of various languages in Morocco to contextualize the growth of English in the nation. The second section will examine the surge of English that the country has experienced over the past decade and the multiple factors that are fuelling its growth. Third, a review of prior literature on English in Morocco is presented, summarizing students' motivations for learning English, while pointing out the need for more research on how English relates to students' perceptions of social

status and national identity. The fourth section will outline my conceptual framework, while the fifth overviews the research methodology and data collection. Section six discusses findings from more than 400 surveys with Moroccan youth. Lastly, I conclude with interpretations of how English may be differentially affecting young Moroccans lives by arguing that different classes of Moroccan youth may be envisioning different uses for English based on their future aspirations.

The legacies of language in Morocco

In Morocco, bilingualism has been a fact of life for a millennium, as Arabic and Amazighe (Berber) dialects have intersected and influenced one another since the Arabs invaded North Africa in the tenth century AD. While Arabic was the language of commerce in the metropolises of Fes and Rabat, the Amazighe languages were dominant in rural areas. They survived because of, not in spite of, their marginalization in rural areas; without roads, schools, or media, Arabic never fully succeeded in ridding Morocco of its indigenous languages. The three dialects of Amazighe are still the mother language of nearly a third of Moroccans and have recently been experiencing a cultural and linguistic resurgence, despite their overall decline in usage as a result of official Arabization policies (Daniel & Ball, 2009; Ennaji, 2005; Howe, 2005; Marley, 2004).

For the past one hundred years, however, another language has dominated Morocco's economic and political realms. French has been the dominant foreign language in Morocco since the early twentieth century, imbued with a connotation of western modernity, economic wealth, and cultural superiority that came from political and economic imposition. In 1912 France officially colonized Morocco, incorporating the country into their protectorate and exiling Sultan Mohammed V. As soon as the French took control of Morocco, French became the national language, used in all public and political arenas. The significance of this linguistic

imposition was not simply that it lowered the status of Arabic, but that its presence and importance remained long after the French themselves did. French continued to dominate many aspects of the education system, governmental affairs, and economic and social life for nearly two decades after independence (Benmamoun, 2001; Daniel & Ball, 2009; Ennaji, 2005; Redouane, 1998a).

Since its independence in 1956, however, the Moroccan government has enforced an explicit policy of Arabization, aimed at reclaiming their linguistic heritage and improving the status and usage of Arabic within the nation. The former ruler, King Hassan II, clearly stated that the threat of French was the impetus behind the Arabization policy, “the dominance of the French language is likely to sap the foundations of our personality and thus, the unity of our country by destroying our mother tongue, and cultural unity, which is based on the national language, the language of the Quran” (Redouane, 1998b, p. 2). Arabization was seen as the way to fight the harmful effects of French colonialism by asserting a distinct and worthy Moroccan identity as an Arab-Islamic state. This process of Arabization was seen as the cultural compliment to Morocco’s political and economic independence. This historical emphasis on language is not surprising, considering the widely recognized connection between language and national identity formation in newly independent nation-states (Anderson, 1983).

The educational system was seen as a primary focus for implementing the process of Arabization. Redouane (1998a) explains that “a basic objective has been to restore Morocco’s pre-colonial culture through a development of the national, culturally unique educational system – one that provides an education that is Moroccan in its thinking, Arabic in its language and Muslim in its spirit” (p. 198). The past five decades have witnessed mixed success of the official Arabization policy in both educational and governmental realms. Many have argued that while Arabic has now been entrenched in the Moroccan educational system from primary schools to universities, abandoning French has closed doors for many Moroccans seeking a western education, and further cemented class inequalities by denying the lower classes full proficiency in French (Marley, 2004).

This chapter argues that as a result of Morocco's long and complicated history of language imposition and incorporation, the role of English in Morocco is distinct from that of other countries of the Middle East. In Morocco, English is not a second language, but a third or fourth language for many residents. With each new wave of colonization and cultural blending, it seems that Moroccans do not lose a language, but simply add another one to their linguistic tapestry. With centuries of Arab-Amazighe bilingualism and the colonization of the French and Spanish, English is only the latest in a long line of foreign languages to take root in Morocco. As a result, the relationship between English and Arabic in Morocco differs in important ways from other countries of the region. Specifically, English may be prized for its instrumental value as a key to the outside world, without carrying the baggage of cultural imposition that colonization brings. And even while the recent emphasis on learning English may be undermining Moroccans' interest in Arabic, it still may not be perceived as a threat to Arabic, as much as a threat to other foreign languages, namely French and Spanish.

The growth of English in Morocco

While Arabization has limited the official role of French, the language is still the economic language of power in the country and an important key for Moroccans who hope for social mobility, and it further acts as the nation's linguistic gate to the West. Nonetheless, English has been growing rapidly in status and usage throughout Morocco for the past decade, and is now in a position to compete with French in many realms of Moroccan society (Ennaji, 2005).

Currently, English is taught at the secondary and tertiary level of the public education system. In 1999, Morocco enacted comprehensive educational reform that introduced English education at the lower secondary level (Commission Spéciale Education Formation, 2000). Likewise,

there are a number of private educational centres that teach English, the largest of which are well-established language centres including American Language Centres, the British Council, and AMIDEAST. Enrolments in private centres have been growing rapidly over the past decade and many English language centres reported growth of more than 20% annually in 2005–2007.

English benefits from widespread support socially and from the government. In fact, the former Governor of Rabat-Sale made the case for teaching English to all Moroccans, and specifically emphasized its importance in business (Ennaji, 2005; Zughoul, 2002). English also enjoys much cultural prestige. Fatima Sadiqi (1991), the well-known Moroccan scholar of gender and language, reports that in a survey she conducted in 1991, “87% of respondents welcome the idea of seeing [English] spread in Morocco” and 81% “think that English is useful for Moroccans” (p. 108). It has been nearly two decades since Sadiqi’s study, and the presence and importance of English has only continued to grow.

In fact, one of the most striking changes to occur over the past fifteen years has been the dramatic growth of English-language television programs, music, and written materials. In her 1991 article Sadiqi states, “English television programs and films are translated into French” and “the people living in Rabat, the capital, have the opportunity to watch three foreign television channels: TV5, RAI, and especially an American channel, World Net, (two hours a day)” (p. 103–105). Today, however, we note the overwhelming presence of the television, the DVD market, and the satellite dish, which have dramatically increased exposure to American television shows and movies. These are the effects of globalization, which lead Fatima Hilali-Bendaoud (2000) to state that English’s “prestige is very high, especially among youngsters who like it for its music, songs and films” (p. 14). Certainly, Morocco’s efforts to liberalize telecommunications, expand Internet access, and diversify its economy since 2000 have contributed to this surge in exposure to the English language and the resulting demand for English language education.

Despite the widespread interest and general support for English in Morocco, little empirical research has been conducted on the growth of English in Morocco and its expanding influence and role in the country.

Nonetheless, there is a growing body of literature on students' motivations for studying English (Buckner, 2008; Ennaji, 2005; Sadiqi, 1991). In general, these studies have found that Moroccans' motivations for studying English are primarily instrumental, as English is required both to pass the high school graduation exam and makes youth more competitive in the labour market. Other important reasons for Moroccans' interest in English include: to pursue higher education abroad or at Al-Akhawayn, Morocco's elite English-medium university, to access the internet, and to communicate with tourists and foreigners. There are also important cultural elements to students' motivations for learning English, as many Moroccan youth seek to understand American media and become familiar with foreign cultures.

Due to its widespread support, many believe that English is now in a position to compete with French in Morocco and North Africa generally (Zughoul, 2002). Even 20 years ago, Sadiqi (1991) pointed out that English had begun to catch up to French in terms of its prestige, stating that "English has certainly started to compete with French in Morocco ... given that French is offered from the primary school onward, in addition to its predominant use both in and outside school; it would thus be expected to be chosen by more students" (p. 111). Some scholars attribute positive attitudes towards English as a negative reaction towards French for this phenomenon. Sadiqi (1991) states that "being a colonial language, French has inevitably been considered a symbol of political and cultural dependence, although this is not explicit. The rather negative attitude toward French indirectly increases the popularity of (and hence the positive attitude toward) English, a language without any colonial connotations" (p. 111). Nearly two decades have passed, and the role of English has only expanded. Is English still considered "the lesser of two evils" or has the growth of English started to threaten Moroccans' sense of national identity? This study aims to answer that question, by understanding how the various languages of power in Morocco – Arabic, French, and English – are intersecting in young people's conceptions of national identity and their pursuit of economic mobility and social status.

Conceptual framework

This research is based on the premise that language fulfils various roles in people's lives; specifically, it allows them to project a specific class, cultural, religious, or national identity, serves as a communicative tool, and reflects a certain level of social status. Additionally, this research assumes that a given language's role changes depending on the individual and the situation. This section outlines the conceptual ideas that frame my study of Moroccans' language attitudes.

First, language is a social phenomenon that contributes to the creation of group and individual conceptions of self. Specifically, language facilitates communication between members of the same ethno-linguistic, national, or class groups and shapes their shared experiences in society. These common experiences contribute to creating bonds and help constitute an imagined community (Anderson, 1983; Schmidt, 2000). Building off of the idea of community, Mohammed Ennaji (2005) explains that language is a means of expressing a cultural identity. As he describes, "culture is what basically characterizes a society as an identifiable community; it encompasses language, history, geography, religion, the political system, literature, architecture, folklore, traditions, and beliefs" (p. 24). He further explains that culture is closely linked to other features of individuals, including their gender, family background, citizenship, and class. All of these ideas help shape individuals' life experiences and thus, help constitute individual and group identities. As Ennaji (2005) explains, "languages, and more particularly mother tongues, are important for identity-building. They have a symbolic role as they represent cultural elements that affect the first identity of individuals" (p. 24). Thus, language and culture are closely entwined in individuals' conceptions of identity.

Because language norms are transferred to individuals through their participation in socially constituted collective groups, language acts as what Durkheim (1982) calls a "social fact", or a "condition of the group repeated in individuals because it imposes itself upon them ... a product of shared existence, of actions and reactions" (p. 56). Consequently, the ability to speak a language or exhibit certain speech patterns becomes synonymous

with the characteristics shared by members of the group, such as geographic identity or social class. This becomes important in the Moroccan context, as many English students want to be considered upwardly mobile, educated, future oriented, western, modern, or any other attributes associated with speakers of the language.

The idea that language constitutes identity is the premise of social identity theory, which argues that individuals and groups strive for positive self-identification and cultural recognition (Schmidt, 2000; Taylor, 1992). It is in this context that studying language attitudes is important. As Ennaji (2005) explains, “A positive attitude toward a language would create a positive cultural identity, and this contributes to the maintenance and promotion of the language. On the other hand, a negative attitude would inhibit and crush identity, and eventually leads to language loss” (p. 25). Given the global rise of English and the language’s economic, cultural, and political power, understanding Moroccans’ attitudes towards both English and Arabic becomes critical. Specifically, we might worry if Moroccan young people’s interest in English is accompanied by negative attitudes towards Arabic.

To complicate the analysis of language as a form of identity, however, we must understand language is not just a form of acquired identity proscribed by others or a static understanding of ourselves; instead it is flexible and context-dependent. As a result, everyday language decisions are used to emphasize desired identities, depending on the situation and perceived group affiliation (Fairclough, 2003). In this way, language can also be a marker of social status or a way that individuals project their social position.

Second, language is a form of social power, meaning that it is a marker of social status and the means by which structures of power are negotiated. Because different language practices are associated with distinct groups, who have differentiated social status and power in society, language becomes a means of attaching status and power to an individual or group. Although Arabic is the mother tongue of the majority of Moroccans, and the only official language of Morocco, for the past one hundred years, the language of power in Morocco has been French because of its colonial legacy and economic and state power. By their nature, languages of power become a

means by which sub-dominant groups are denied access to structures of power or social services. In Morocco, the poor quality of the public school system, which promotes a rote-memorization approach to language learning, has prevented lower class Moroccans from truly mastering French, often denying them high status professional positions.

While no specific language system is inherently better than another, the language of the elite is instituted as that which is standard or considered superior. This hierarchy of languages is not arbitrary; it is a function of how power works in society. Gramsci's notion of hegemony can help us understand how power manages to shape truths about language. His understanding of hegemony is based on the idea that those in power control cultural means of production as well as the economic means (Carnoy, 1984). Hegemony, the control or dominance of the ruling group, functions when the internalized norms of a society reinforce the status quo. Hegemony is the idea that "civil society is permeated by a system of values, attitudes, morality and other beliefs that passively or actively support the established order and thus the class interests that dominate it" (Chavez, 2001, p. 45). Once internalized, hegemonic norms shape the way that people perceive and interpret their world. "Common sense, for Gramsci, is the largely unconscious and uncritical way of perceiving the world that is widespread in any given historical epoch" (Chavez, 2001, p. 45). The concept of hegemony helps explain how dominant classes can not only hold power in society but can also ensure that this social arrangement is naturalized and accepted as inevitable. Specifically, in Morocco, French remained the language of power long after the French themselves had left, because of its hegemonic power. Gramsci's theory of hegemony and common sense help explain how ideologies of linguistic superiority and inferiority are internalized and reinforced through linguistic hegemony. It is not only those in power who believe their language is superior; rather, all members of society come to recognize certain language practices as superior and to recognize other practices – often their own – as illegitimate, improper, and sub-standard. Similarly, even those Moroccans who do not speak French or English recognize these languages' status as economically and culturally powerful and may aspire to learn foreign languages, possibly at the expense of their mastery of Arabic.

Another important consideration is the economic power of language. Language abilities and linguistic styles often determine to which jobs an individual has access. Paulston (1994) states that “one can even argue that the most important factor influencing language choice ... is economic, specifically one of access to jobs” (p. 5). The economic significance of language is an important consideration for Moroccans, who believe that speaking English will give them access to better jobs. Building off of these ideas of identity and status, the following sections of this chapter will describe findings from a survey with Moroccan young people that examined how English fits into Morocco’s linguistic landscape, and more specifically, how English fits into young people’s construction of their identities as Moroccans, their perceptions of themselves, their futures, and their pursuit of social status.

Methodology

To gather information on attitudes and perceptions toward language, while also trying to capture as many different types of students as possible, I employed a mixed-methods approach, combining a survey instrument with smaller focus groups and interviews. The population of interest was urban Moroccan youth between 15 and 30 years old. This population was targeted because they are those most likely to be affected by the rise of global English as well as those most likely to be in the process of planning for future education and employment. Moreover, because of their exposure to, and facility with, new communication technology, they are also the most likely to be influenced by western media, music, and culture, all of which have contributed to Moroccans’ growing interest in English.

The main research instrument was an Arabic-English bilingual survey, which was composed of multiple choice and write-in response questions in both English and Arabic (see Appendix for the English Version). Respondents were able to respond in either language. The survey gathered three

major types of information: demographic information (i.e. age, nationality, and native language); language background (i.e. foreign languages studied, years studying English); and language attitudes (i.e. attitudes towards national languages and the importance of languages as compared to the past). The format of questions was based on previous studies examining student attitudes to multilingualism in Morocco (Bentahila & Davies, 1992; Marley, 2004).

With the cooperation of English teachers, I individually administered all surveys in English language classrooms. I used a convenience sample of willing English teachers to gain access to students. Overall, teachers were very willing to have a guest lecturer and researcher enter their classrooms, and none of the teachers I contacted refused me access. The sample aimed to draw students from a wide array of backgrounds – including students at elite private universities, private language centres of varying costs, public universities, Master's programs, as well as students sponsored by their employers to study English, and economically disadvantaged students, who had been given scholarships to study English by the US State Department.

The survey was administered to 347 English language learners at private language centres, public universities, and private higher education institutions from 23 classrooms at seven different institutions. Specifically, the data was gathered from three Moroccan cities: Rabat, Kenitra, and Ifrane. In Rabat, data was collected from classrooms in two private language centres and two classrooms at Mohammed V University, the oldest and among the most well reputed universities in Morocco. In Kenitra, data was collected from a Master's level class in English literature and a first-year university classroom. In Ifrane, data was collected from Al-Akhwayn, Morocco's only elite private university where English is the medium of instruction.

Only students with Moroccan citizenship were included, which left 324 Moroccan English language learners. The response rate for the survey as a whole was 100% because surveys were administered directly with students in classrooms. The response rate varied on individual questions from 80% to 100%.

I also administered a control survey to Moroccan students who were not actively studying English outside of their high school curriculum. I gathered surveys from 156 Moroccan university students from a variety

of faculties at Mohammed V University in Rabat, including Chemistry and Physical Sciences, Arabic Literature, Law, Economics, and Education. While all of the students had studied English in high school, and many continued with a few hours weekly as part of their university program, none were choosing to major exclusively in English. Unfortunately, my control population was not as discriminating as I would have liked, and included students who, while not majoring in English at the university, may have studied English at a private language centre. Consequently, I eliminated all students who had studied at a private language centre, leaving 97 control students. The total number of students examined in the study was 421. Table 1 shows the sample population, broken down by age, gender, and group.

The mean age of all the students was 21.7. In terms of gender, 52.6% were female, 45.4% male and 2.1% declined to respond. While not necessarily representative of all Moroccan youth, both the control and survey samples are balanced in terms of age and gender, and draw from the population of interest, i.e. urban, young Moroccans. This allows us to be relatively confident that the two samples draw from the same general population with respect to age-gender distribution. In my sample, the mean number of years students had studied English was 5.15. The median was also 5, suggesting a balanced distribution.

The survey asked a number of questions about student perceptions of the importance of English in relation to other foreign and national languages and how language plays a role in Moroccans students' lives. Specifically, the four sets of questions this study examined were the following:

- (A) What languages should all Moroccans learn?
- (B) What are Moroccans' attitudes towards languages and the roles they play in their lives?
- (C) How important are foreign languages in young people's lives?
- (D) Is the importance of various foreign languages changing?

Breakdown of Sample Locations by Gender and Institution Type				
	Male	Female	Unreported	Total
Private University	25	20	0	45
Public University	47	54	0	101
Private Language Centre	77	84	4	165
Public Graduate Level Program	7	6	0	13
English Language Learners Total	156	164	4	324
Control Students	44	51	2	97
Total	200	215	6	421

Table 1

Demographics of Survey Populations		
	ELL	Control
Age	21.55	21.71
Female	51.1%	54.2%

Table 2

Findings

This section examines student responses to each sub-set of questions. After collecting my survey data, I coded all survey results numerically using a scale of 1–5 for agreement and then calculated summary statistics. I also conducted a series of *t*-tests and chi-squared tests to test for differences in opinion between English language learners and students in the control group.

A. *What languages should all Moroccans learn?*

This section focuses on which languages Moroccans consider important languages for their society, i.e. which languages they think should be widely taught. All respondents were asked to measure their level of agreement to the statement: *All Moroccans should learn (Arabic, French, Amazighe, English)* on a scale of 1–5, with 5 representing strong agreement and 1 representing strong disagreement. If we assume that the level of agreement represents a continuous scale of agreement, then we can average student responses, as shown in Table 3. The differences in mean level of agreement is immediately clear – young Moroccans tend to agree that Arabic, French, and English are all important languages for Moroccans. The indigenous Amazighe language is the only language that young, urban Moroccans believe is not important nationally.

Mean Level of Agreement that Given Language is Important for All Moroccans				
	Arabic	Amazighe	French	English
Control	4.52	2.77	4.03	3.99
ELL	4.45	2.76	3.97	4.22
Total	4.50	2.77	4.01	4.05

1. Based on a Likert Scale: 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*agree*)

Table 3

Table 3 suggests both English language learners and other university students overwhelmingly believe that all Moroccans should learn Arabic (an average value halfway between “agree” and “strongly agree”), followed by strong support for learning English and French (an average value equivalent to “agree”). While the difference between French and English is statistically insignificant, the difference between both foreign languages and Arabic is statistically significant at a 0.001 level. In short, we have good reason to conclude that Moroccans view Arabic as the most important language for Moroccans as a whole, but do not distinguish between French and English in terms of their importance for all Moroccans. Nonetheless, on average, Moroccans seem to believe that both French and English are important for all Moroccans to learn.

Tables 4 and 5 show the breakdown of Moroccans' level of agreement by percentages. As Tables 4 and 5 indicate, 90.1% of all surveyed youth believe that Arabic is important for all Moroccans; in comparison, 82% think that English is. A series of chi-squared tests indicate that there are no statistically significant differences in opinion between the control group and the English language learners, suggesting that Moroccan youth have similar attitudes towards the importance of various languages regardless of whether they study English or not. This research is consistent with previous studies on languages in Morocco; Ennaji (2005) reports that English is the most popular foreign language for students at the high school and university level.

Level of Agreement that "All Moroccans Should Learn Arabic"			
	ELL (%)	Control (%)	Total (%)
Strongly Disagree	1.56	2.17	1.69
Disagree	1.56	2.17	1.69
Neutral	6.23	3.26	5.57
Agree	24.61	30.43	25.91
Strongly Agree	66.04	61.96	65.13
Total	100	100	100

Chi-squared test for differences between ELL and Control: $p = .632$.

Table 4

Level of Agreement that "All Moroccans Should Learn English"			
	ELL (%)	Control (%)	Total (%)
Strongly Disagree	2.50	2.17	2.43
Disagree	6.56	2.17	5.58
Neutral	10.94	6.52	9.95
Agree	48.12	47.83	48.06
Strongly Agree	31.87	41.30	33.98
Total	100	100	100

Chi-squared test for differences between ELL and Control: $p = .217$.

Table 5

B. What are Moroccans' attitudes towards different languages?

Language is an important form of identity and is often used by individuals to accentuate aspects of their identity or project a socially affirmed status. I hypothesized that the importance of a given language among Moroccans will depend on the situation. To investigate Moroccans' attitudes and preferences for languages in different situations, following the methodologies of Bentahilia and Davies (1992), I asked respondents to write in the language that they used in different situations or which language they considered the most important for certain aspects of life. Because the questions were open-ended, many respondents wrote in more than one language. As shown in Tables 7 and 8, results from the survey suggest that English language learners and students in the control group value languages differently.

Percentage of Respondents Listing Following Languages as "My Language"				
	Arabic (%)	Amazighe (%)	French (%)	English (%)
ELL	80.8	4.5	14.9	6.9
Control	89.7	4.1	5.2	1.0

1. Row sums can add up to more than 100% because some students wrote in more than one response.
2. Percentages are calculated from those who answered the question. Thirty-five ELL students left the question blank and three control students did.

Table 7

Percentage of Respondents Listing Following Languages as "Favourite Language"				
	Arabic (%)	Amazighe (%)	French (%)	English (%)
ELL	21.2	1.6	29.0	54.1
Control	35.1	0.0	43.3	19.6

1. Row sums can add up to more than 100% because some students wrote in more than one response.
2. Percentages are calculated from those who answered the question. Seventeen ELL students left the question blank and two control students did.

Table 8

It is clear from the responses that English language learners are less likely to say that Arabic is “their language” and much more likely to say that French is than students in the control group. This could be due to class status, as many wealthy Moroccans are raised bilingually or in francophone homes and these students are also more likely to pay to attend private language centres. Students learning English are also more likely to list English as “their language” than are those in the control group. No previous research has investigated this topic; however, more than a fifth of English language learners select a language other than Arabic as “their language.” Given the importance of language in constituting the Moroccan sense of national identity, this large number of students, who do not personally identify with the Arabic language, could indicate a decoupling of Arabic from these youths’ conception of their identities.

Table 8 shows that English language learners are much less likely to choose Arabic and French as their favourite language and more likely to choose English. More than half of English language learners select English as their favourite language, with French second and Arabic much less favoured. This finding is consistent with previous survey research that finds Moroccans generally have very positive attitudes towards English (Ennaji, 2005; Sadiqi, 1991). In comparison, students in the control group list French as their favourite language followed by Arabic, with English a distant third. However, it is important to note that while students from all types of educational institutions are more likely than students in the control to list English, the actual percentage that do so varies significantly between institutions. As Table 9 shows, students in public universities drive the average upward with their overwhelming preference for English; 70% of students majoring in English at university state that English is their favourite language.

Percentage of ELL Students Listing English as a Favourite Language by Type of Institution (%)					
	Private University	Public University	Private Language Centre	Master's Program	Total Count
English Not Listed	51.11	29.70	58.18	69.23	158
English Listed	48.89	70.30	41.82	30.77	166
Number of Students	45	101	165	13	324

Table 9

Moreover, among both English language learners and students in the control group, Arabic is not a favourite language of even a plurality of students. Instead, students seem to have very positive attitudes towards the foreign languages of English and French. Ennaji (2005) contends that a lack of positive attitudes towards a language can be a concern to the spread and vitality of the language. While Moroccans in general believe that Arabic is a nationally important language, they nonetheless, did not select it as a favourite language. Moreover, those who study English are even less likely to select Arabic as a favourite language than those not studying it; this could be a concern in the future, as English continues to grow in Morocco.

In prior studies of students' motivations, many Moroccans expressed their desire to learn English in order to communicate with foreigners, understand American songs and films, as well as work in international corporations or businesses. Recognizing the importance of a language may vary depending on the situation, I also asked Moroccan youth about which languages they found most useful in a variety of situations. Tables 10, 11, and 12, show the languages that students find most useful in their daily lives and expect to find useful in the future.

Responses Selecting Language as "Most Useful Language for Daily Life"				
	Arabic	Amazighe	French	English
ELL	60.8	2.9	35.7	26.0
Control	85.3	4.2	25.3	3.2

1. Row sums can add up to more than 100% because some students wrote in more than one response.
2. Percentages are calculated from those who answered the question. Nine ELL students left the question blank and two control students did.

Table 10

Responses Selecting Language as "Most Useful Language for the Future"				
	Arabic	Amazighe	French	English
ELL	3.5	0.0	27	89.1
Control	7.4	0.0	52.2	64.9

1. Row sums can add up to more than 100% because some students wrote in more than one response.
2. Percentages are calculated from those who answered the question. Thirteen ELL students left the question blank and two control students did.

Table 11

Responses Selecting Language as "Most Useful Language for Employment"				
	Arabic	Amazighe	French	English
ELL	5.0	0.0	57.9	57.6
Control	11.9	0.0	85.9	7.6

1. Row sums can add up to more than 100% because some students wrote in more than one response.
2. Percentages are calculated from those who answered the question. Forty-seven ELL students left the question blank and three control students did.

Table 12

From the tables, we can clearly see that students in the control group are more likely to say that Arabic is more useful to their daily lives than are the English language learners. A full third of English language learners said that French was the language most useful in their daily lives; while only 60% said that Arabic was one of the languages most important to their daily lives. In contrast, more than 80% of Moroccans in the control group said that Arabic was the most important language for their daily life. Again, this is most likely a function of class; whereby, the higher classes in Morocco tend to use French more often, and are also more likely to be able to afford private language classes. Table 10 also reports the curious finding that a fourth of English language learners find English a language most useful in their daily lives. This is because the survey sample includes students from Al-Akhawayn, a private university in Morocco where all courses are taught in English and students interact daily with native English speakers in dorms and on campus. Because this could bias the result upward, I also calculated the statistic by type of educational institution. While Al-Akhawayn students did exhibit the highest percentage of students reporting English useful in daily life (28.9%), the percentage of students in public universities and private language was comparable, as 23.7% of private university students and 25.4% of students in private language centres report English being useful in daily life.

We also see that Moroccan young people in both the control and sample group say that English will be the language most important for their future. Approximately 65% of students in the control group say this, while nearly 90% of English language learners report the same. The control group, however, is twice as likely to choose French as being important for their future than are English language learners (52.2% to 27%, respectively). Similarly, the control group is overwhelmingly more likely to choose French as the language most important for their job; whereas, a large percentage of English language learners designate English as the language most important for their future career.

While very little research has investigated youth attitudes to the role that different languages play in Morocco, we do know that until recently, jobs requiring English were generally limited to the educational sector in Morocco (Ennaji, 2005). Today, the rise of tourism in Morocco, with the

country aiming to attract millions of new tourists over the next five years, and the growth of international trade, facilitated by Morocco's Free Trade Agreement with the US, are bringing new job opportunities to Morocco that increasingly require English skills. Nonetheless, given the fact that none of the students in the control group are actively studying English, it is curious that a majority states that English will be important in their futures. Gramsci's theory of hegemony helps us understand this finding, by suggesting that through its global hegemonic power, the superiority of English is a widely accepted idea, adopted by both those who have access to English, and those who do not.

For those concerned about the status of Arabic, the findings are not optimistic. Only 7% of the control group and an even smaller percentage, 3.4%, of English language learners list Arabic as the most important language for their future. The percentage of students selecting Arabic as important for their future employment is also very low (5.0% for English learners and 11.9% for the control group). These statistics simply do not reflect the widespread use of Arabic in Morocco, which is by far the most commonly spoken language in the country and is undoubtedly important in the vast majority of Moroccan workplaces. These statistics may suggest, however, that youth aspire to the types of jobs that require additional language skills, such as professional positions in organizations and businesses where French and English are highly valued. Such positions have high status in the labour market. In light of Gramsci's theory of hegemony, it makes sense that young people aspire to high-status professional careers, regardless of whether or not they can attain them. Nonetheless, these statistics also suggest that as Morocco professionalizes its workforce and continues developing its human capital for a knowledge-based economy, the role of Arabic may increasingly be relegated to low-paid or informal sector positions. There is no doubt that labour market stratification exists in Morocco today based on language ability; incorporation into a global economy may only exacerbate this segmentation.

Despite this growing importance of English, both the control group and the English language learners believe that French is the most important language for Morocco by an overwhelming percentage. Moreover, the percentages are nearly identical, with 80.9% of English language students

and 81.4% indicating French. This suggests that while English is growing in importance, it is not, in fact, going to replace French in the near future.

Respondents Selecting Language as “Most Important Foreign Language for Morocco”		
	French	English
ELL	80.9	25.0
Control	81.4	18.6

1. Row sums can add up to more than 100% because some students wrote in more than one response.

Table 13

In short, the second section of the survey suggests that there are real differences between students in the control group and English language learners in terms of which languages they expect to be important in their futures. I argue that theories of bilingualism and cultural capital can help us interpret these findings. Additive theories of bilingualism were initially formulated by Lambert (1974), who argued that additive bilingualism is when a member of a majority group learns the language of a minority group, with no concomitant loss of language or culture. In contrast, subtractive bilingualism occurs when individuals of a minority group must give up aspects of their home language and cultural identity to learn the language of the majority group (Lambert, 1974). We can extend this analysis from majority/minority groups to the economic realm, where the dominant group is made up of those who have the access to a language of power and the marginalized group does not. In this case, if an individual speaks a language of power natively, a second, foreign language is additive. If, however, the individual speaks a language other than the language of power as a native language, his or her bilingualism is not considered additive, but rather, necessary for social and economic integration, and potentially a negative trait, if he or she speaks the language of power with an accent. Bourdieu's (2001) theory of linguistic and cultural capital offers a similar analysis, arguing that the upper classes socialize their children with linguistic discourses that

are imbued with high status in a given country (Bourdieu). Given that a larger per cent of English language learners list French (the economic language of power in Morocco) as “their language,” than those in the control group, English must be considered an additive foreign language for them, and thus, is highly favoured by them. In contrast, the theory of subtractive bilingualism would suggest that the many Moroccans, who speak Arabic as a native language and have not fully mastered French, might feel pressured to first master French. For this reason, French is more highly favoured and considered a more important part of their future lives.

C. What is the importance of foreign language learning for Moroccans?

Given that Morocco has historically been a multilingual country, we expect Moroccans to be open to learning foreign languages. We might hypothesize, however, that Moroccans seem to distinguish between what is good for Moroccans as a whole, and what is good for them individually. This is particularly true given the economic power and social status that foreign languages hold in Morocco. This study asked students targeted questions about the value of Arabic as compared to foreign languages, both for Moroccans generally and for themselves specifically. If we consider agreement to be a continuous variable (rather than discrete) based on a Likert scale of agreement, we can average student responses to questions on their level of agreement with certain statements about language learning. Table 14 shows the mean level of agreement with a variety of statements on the importance of different languages, on a scale of one (lowest) to five (highest). A series of t-tests compared how likely it is that the two means came from the same underlying population of students. The null hypothesis is that the means are the same and that both English language learners and university students in the control group have the same opinions on the importance of Arabic in their lives.

Mean Agreement (1–5) on the Importance of Different Languages			
	ELL	Control	<i>p</i>
It is possible to learn many foreign languages well	3.68	3.63	.724
Moroccans should not learn foreign languages at the expense of Arabic	3.18	3.24	.720
A mastery of Arabic is more important to me personally than learning foreign languages	2.41	2.72	.029*

1. Based on a Likert Scale: 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*)
 2. H_0 : Group means are equal.
 * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (p based on two-sided t -test)

Table 14

We can see from Table 14 that Moroccans generally agree that it is possible to learn many foreign languages well and that Moroccans generally should not learn foreign languages if it detracts from their ability to master Arabic. In addition, looking at the results of our t -tests, we cannot reject the null hypothesis that the mean from English language learners and the control group is actually the same. Essentially, both groups of students have generally the same opinions on the possibilities of language learning and its value for Moroccans as a whole.

However, when asked about their individual intentions, Moroccans tended to disagree that learning Arabic was more important than learning foreign languages for themselves personally. The English language learners tended to disagree more often and more strongly than students in the control group. Moreover, results from the t -test suggest that these two means are very unlikely to actually be the same. In other words, we have evidence to conclude that English language learners are less likely to agree that a mastery of Arabic is more important to them than are students in the control group. Students who study English are less likely to value Arabic in their own lives than are students who are not studying English intensively on their own.

Table 15 shows the breakdown of percentages concerning the importance of mastering Arabic in young people's lives. As the table shows, English language learners are somewhat more likely to disagree or be neutral as to the relative importance of Arabic in their lives than control group students. In comparison, students in the control group are much more likely to strongly agree that a mastery of Arabic is a priority. The results of the chi-squared test indicate that it is very unlikely English language learners and control group students actually have the same breakdown of opinions.

"A Mastery of Arabic is More Important for Me Personally than Learning Foreign Languages"			
	ELL	Control	Total
Strongly Disagree	17.55	18.48	17.76
Disagree	48.28	43.48	47.20
Neutral	16.30	5.43	13.87
Agree	11.29	13.04	11.68
Strongly Agree	6.58	19.57	9.49
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Chi-squared test for differences between ELL and Control: $p = .001$.

Table 15

How might we interpret these mixed messages Moroccan youth are sending about the relative importance of different languages in their lives? Based on their strong support for Arabic, we might infer that Moroccans believe that the Arabic language is an integral part of Moroccans national identity, religion, and culture. Yet it seems that they distinguish between themselves and all Moroccans in order to give themselves an economic or social advantage. It seems as though they presume a mastery of foreign languages will give them the advantage they seek, and hence label a mastery of foreign languages as more important for them personally than learning Arabic.

While Moroccans' consistent insistence that Arabic is an important language nationally and it is important for all Moroccans to learn, young Moroccans are affirming the importance of Arabic, which is closely linked to the Moroccan nation and its cultural and religious legacy. Nonetheless, these students repeatedly seem to reject the importance of Arabic in their own lives. Not only did a very small percentage of Moroccans list Arabic as an important language for their future generally or their employment, a majority of them actually disagree that a mastery of Arabic is more important than foreign languages. Instead, it seems as though English, French, and other more economically powerful languages are more important to their individual lives than is Arabic. This raises the question of whether individuals from different backgrounds and with different opportunities and aspirations in life will tend to place different levels of importance on the many languages in their lives, a question not yet answered in the scholarship.

D. Is the importance of different foreign languages changing?

In Part D, all respondents were asked whether English is more, equally, or less important than in the past. Essentially, this question asks Moroccans about how they perceive change in their language environment, while also evaluating the current and future status of English.

As Table 16 shows, with respect to the importance of English, there seems to be a sharp contrast in the opinions of English language learners and control group students. While a clear majority of both control group students and English language learners agree that English is more important now than in the past, English language learners are much more likely to think this. Nearly nine out of ten English language learners believe English is more important now, compared to only two thirds of control group students. Moreover, three out of ten control group students do not seem to perceive a growing importance of English, indicating instead that English is equally important now as it was in the past.

Respondents Opinions of Importance of English Compared to Past		
	ELL	Control
Less Important	5.35	2.17
Equally Important	5.97	30.43
More Important	88.68	67.39

Table 16

Although the results of the survey are somewhat nuanced, it is clear that large majorities of youth find English more important today than in the past. Nonetheless, it does appear that English language learners are more likely to find English more important now than are students in the control group; they are also more likely to find French only equally or less important than are control group students, the majority of who believe French is more important today.

English and status competition

In Morocco, the growth of English is but another chapter in the nation's long history of multilingualism. The survey results summarized above suggest that young people, whether studying English or not, tend to have positive feelings towards the growth of English, a finding consistently reported in the literature. Young people overwhelmingly believe that English is more important now than in the past, and a majority state that it will be important for their future lives. Moreover, eight in ten Moroccans believe that all Moroccans should learn English. Studying English, however, is correlated with a lower appreciation for Arabic and less of a desire to master the language, which is a concern for the future of Arabic in Morocco.

Given Morocco's complex linguistic history, I argue that the problem of cultural imposition that English often brings to many developing nations does not seem to be a major concern for many Moroccan youth. This is

most likely the result of Moroccans' high regard for languages generally, as well as English's status as a foreign, not colonial, language. As one student, fluent in English, explained to me, when asked to clarify his pro-English stance, "Nowadays, nothing you do won't affect your culture, given the spread of English movies, media, Facebook. But English is not a cultural threat because Moroccan culture was already ruined by the French." He continued, "Moroccan culture – a huge part of it is already lost – the French didn't leave that much for English to take away. We already do a lot of things that westerners do, follow their calendar, celebrate their holidays, and watch soap operas that target American or European audiences." As this student makes clear, Moroccan culture is not threatened more today than it was during the era of colonization. Moreover, given Morocco's relatively low level of development, English is highly valued for its utilitarian purposes. Rather than being perceived as a threat, it seems that for many young Moroccans, where youth unemployment is extremely high, combating the rise of English in the name of cultural heritage seems like a luxury of the rich. As another student, when asked whether he was concerned about losing his cultural identity, articulated, "What do I need with culture? Culture can't buy me bread."

Instead, it seems as though English is becoming the newest site of linguistic and class competition in Morocco, a country where language has always been intricately tied to social status. I argue that while the upper and middle classes see English as important for maintaining their preferred socio-economic status and as a prerequisite for Morocco's integration into the global market, the lower and lower-middle classes view English quite differently, but no less crucial to their futures. To complement my surveys, I also conducted a series of free-response questions in seven classrooms in private language centres and public university classrooms. Specifically, I asked students to discuss why they are studying English and what role the language will play in their lives. Drawing on their responses, I argue that young Moroccans from lower and lower-middle classes view English as a key to social mobility that allows them to bypass the constrictive influence and colonial legacy of French, which remains the dominant foreign language of the country, but one that they cannot seem to master through the public education system. For these lower class Moroccans, many of whom aspire

to migrate, English now opens up a veritable new world of Anglophone destinations, while also offering possibilities for employment in Morocco's growing service and tourism sector.

In students' free responses, the most widely reported response to the question of why they are studying English was a very general answer – because it is an international language. However, the second most widely reported response was because English will help them find future employment. In every single class, except for a small class of Master's students in English literature, more than half of all students mentioned future employment as the reason they are studying English. While students rarely mentioned specific examples of the future careers they hoped to pursue, when they did mention specifics, their aspirations revealed distinct differences based on social class. In an undergraduate English class in a university outside Rabat that serves mainly poor students from the semi-rural, and poorly developed areas around the capital, two-thirds of the students mentioned the importance of English in helping them find employment, but only two jobs were mentioned by name: *a middle school English teacher* and *a tourist guide*. A sampling of students' responses reveals that their options for the future are quite limited, but studying English helps them dream of a better future and a stable job, "My expectation from English in the future is actually just to gain knowledge for my mind and if there is an opportunity to be a middle school teacher, why not?"¹ Another student was much less optimistic about his future, but said that becoming an English teacher offered the best possible future for him, "I really don't know why I am studying English, I just realized that it is the best thing I can do. I expect that maybe one day I'll be an English teacher, not because that's what I want to do, but because that's the only thing you can become." The only other career mentioned by name was a tourist guide, which allows Moroccans to make a living in Morocco's growing tourist industry with no real qualifications other than strong language skills. As one student said, "I dream to be a guide of tourism." Another said, "I could be a teacher, why not? Or I could work as a tourist guide, or in a hotel." All of these students

1 Responses lightly edited for clarity and grammar.

came from poor backgrounds and many were too poor to afford an English dictionary, despite majoring in English. Nonetheless, they overwhelmingly viewed English as a means to social mobility, either in the public education system, or the booming tourist industry.

In contrast, while only two students in the Master's program mentioned a specific job, both stated they wanted to be English professors at the university level. Similarly, the students from private centres, which cater to upper-middle class students and charge sizable tuition fees (ranging between 50% and 100% of Morocco's average annual per capita income for a 6-week session), also mentioned the importance of employment, but with much higher ambitions. One student said, "English will help me in my studies because I want to be an engineer. English will help me to find a job in a big and international company." Another said, "I study English because I use it to work to communicate with our business partners and it will help me get my MBA." Others mentioned wanting to be a flight attendant or to work in huge companies. One individual said, "In the future, English will allow me to work in international relations in a big organization, and I can use it when I travel." Clearly, their ambitions are significantly higher than the students at the public universities. These findings suggest that different classes of students view the role of English in their lives quite differently. Lower classes – who have not mastered French – see English as a way of circumventing the language of power and seeking another future for themselves. In contrast, for upper class students, who may already possess strong skills in French, English will help them advance their economic position in the global arena, in international companies and firms.

Conclusions

This chapter has argued that students' perceptions of English are nuanced. While English is widely welcomed in Morocco, it seems as though Moroccans distinguish their individual identities and their personal pursuit of

economic status from their national identity as Moroccans. This is an important and potentially disconcerting finding. Specifically, if young Moroccans distinguish between what is good for them and what is good for their compatriots, then the Arabic language may not be considered Morocco's unifying national language in the future, if in fact, it ever was. Moreover, there is reason for concern over the fact that English language learners are much less likely to consider Arabic a favourite language or an important language for their futures. It seems likely that the continued economic reforms to open Morocco's economy, which will inevitably be accompanied by a growth in English, will contribute to the marginalization of Arabic in the labour market to low-wage jobs or those in the informal economy.

In addition, I argue that English is becoming a new means for socio-economic mobility in Morocco. The middle and upper classes view English as a way to maintain their privilege as Morocco opens itself to the global economy, where English is highly valued. In contrast, many lower class Moroccans, who are not bilingual speakers of French, see English as a means of sidestepping the power of French. English allows them to engage with the global economy on their own terms as low-paid labour in Morocco's tourist industry, or opens up access to secure jobs in the public sector as English teachers. Thus, English permits them access to a secure and respected middle-class profession that many of their parents only dreamed of, while doing nothing to diminish Morocco's class inequalities.

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Appendix A

Dear Student,

The following survey will ask you about your language background, your experience studying English and your language attitudes and beliefs. It should take between 20–30 minutes to complete. All of your responses are anonymous and confidential. While we ask that you answer all the questions, please feel free to skip questions that you do not feel comfortable answering.

This survey is part of a nationwide study examining the state of English language education in Morocco. We thank you in advance for your participation; your responses will help us better understand the role of English in Morocco and will hopefully help improve the state of English teaching and learning.

I. Demographic Information

1. Age:
2. Gender:
3. Nationality:
4. Native Language:
 - Moroccan Arabic
 - Amazighe
 - French
5. What foreign languages (other than English) have you studied (check all that apply)?

French

Spanish

German

Italian

Other (Please specify): _____

6. How well do you speak each of these languages:

Scale:

1 = Elementary proficiency (1–2 yrs. study)

2 = Limited working proficiency (2+ yrs. study)

3 = Professional working proficiency

4 = Full professional proficiency

5 = Native or bilingual proficiency

Language	Years Studied	Speaking (1–5)	Listening (1–5)	Reading (1–5)	Writing (1–5)
MSA					
French					
English					
Other					

II. English Language Background

7. How long have you studied English?

8. Where have you studied English previously, and for how long you did you study there?

Private language centre

Public secondary school (high school)

Private secondary school (private high school)

Public University

Private university or post-bac program

- 8a. If you attend a private language centre, please select who pays for your courses:

- Me or my family
- My employer
- Moroccan or American government

9. What is your current level of English?

- Beginning
- Intermediate
- Advanced

10. Why are you currently studying English?

- My current employer wants me to study English
- To improve future employment opportunities in Morocco
- To improve future employment opportunities outside Morocco
- To study in an English-speaking country
- To communicate with English-speaking relatives
- To meet and interact with English-speaking tourists or students
- To meet and communicate with English-speaking peers online
- Because I like English language and literature
- To travel or live in an English-speaking country

11. How many hours of class do you have a week?

12. How many hours of homework do you have a week?

13. Do you study on your own time? (Yes/No)

13a. If yes, how many hours do you study?

13b. How do you study?

- Watch TV/movies in English
- Read English books/journals/Internet sites
- Study grammar/do review exercises

III. Language Attitudes

A. Please Fill in the Blank

14. Of all the languages I know, the language I consider mine is:

15. My favourite language is:

16. Of all the languages I know, the most beautiful language is:

17. The language I feel most comfortable speaking is:

18. The language that is most useful for daily life:

19. The language that will be most useful to me in the future:

20. The language that is most useful for my job:

21. The easiest language for me is:

22. The hardest language for me is:

23. The most important foreign language for Moroccans is:

B. Please choose the answer that most represents how you feel about each statement below.

24. I think all Moroccans should have to learn French.

Strongly Agree Agree No Opinion Disagree Strongly Disagree

25. I think all Moroccans should have to learn Arabic.

Strongly Agree Agree No Opinion Disagree Strongly Disagree

26. I think all Moroccans should have to learn Amazighe.

Strongly Agree Agree No Opinion Disagree Strongly Disagree

27. I think all Moroccans should have to learn English.

Strongly Agree Agree No Opinion Disagree Strongly Disagree

IV. Language Learning

Please circle the most appropriate response.

37. The most difficult aspect of learning English for me is (please select all that apply):

Reading Writing Speaking Grammar/Spelling Listening

38. The easiest aspect of learning English for me is (please select all that apply):

Reading Writing Speaking Grammar/Spelling Listening

39. In English, the most useful skill for me to learn is:

Reading Writing Speaking Grammar/Spelling Listening

40. I think learning English is fun.

Strongly Agree Agree No Opinion Disagree Strongly Disagree

41. I like my English teacher.

Reading Writing Speaking Grammar/Spelling Listening

42. My English teacher teaches in a way that helps me learn a lot.

Strongly Agree Agree No Opinion Disagree Strongly Disagree

43. I find our textbook/worksheets useful and challenging

Strongly Agree Agree No Opinion Disagree Strongly Disagree

44. I consider myself a good student of English.

Strongly Agree Agree No Opinion Disagree Strongly Disagree

45. I am satisfied with my English courses.

Strongly Agree Agree No Opinion Disagree Strongly Disagree

46. My English courses are challenging.

Strongly Agree Agree No Opinion Disagree Strongly Disagree

47. My English course moves at the appropriate pace.

Strongly Agree Agree No Opinion Disagree Strongly Disagree

48. Studying English is an investment in my future.

Strongly Agree Agree No Opinion Disagree Strongly Disagree

49. My favourite ways to learn are (please select all that apply):

Lectures from the teacher
 Small Groups Discussions
 Worksheets and Grammar exercises
 Conversation practice with a partner
 Giving presentations
 Using the computer/Internet
 Writing essays/journal entries
 Games/Songs
 Studying for Tests/Quizzes
 Reading

50. Please think of your English class, would you like to see more, less, or the same of each of the following:

Scale:

- 1 = Elementary proficiency (1–2 yrs. study)
- 2 = Limited working proficiency (2+ yrs. study)
- 3 = Professional working proficiency
- 4 = Full professional proficiency
- 5 = Native or bilingual proficiency

Lectures from the teacher
 Small Group Discussions
 Worksheets and Grammar
 One on One conversation practice
 Giving Presentations
 Using the computer/Internet
 Writing essays/journal entries
 Games/Songs/Drawing
 Studying for Tests/Quizzes