
RESEARCH ARTICLE

Examining the Influence of Ideology and Power Dynamics on Attitudes Toward Language-in-Education Planning for Foreign Languages in Morocco

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ABSTRACT

There has been a consensus in the literature that both overt and covert ideologies and power dynamics significantly influence and orient language policy and planning (LPP) activities (Tollefson, 1991, 2013; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Johnson, 2013; Shohamy, 2006; Wright, 2004), particularly in education. As in a number of contexts, the state plays a considerable role in language-in-education planning (LEP) in Morocco, serving as the primary educational language policymaker and planner, especially for public education. The failures and/or shortcomings of the state's LEP activities have been criticized for not considering the micro-level attitudes, beliefs, opinions, and stances when making policies and implementing them, which could result in resistance to the macro-LEP. Within this scope, the present paper surveys both the attitudes of agents (teachers and inspectors) and recipients (students and parents) toward the LEP of foreign languages (FLs) in Morocco, focusing on French and English. The study revealed that while ideologies and power dynamics influence participants' stances toward the state's LEP for FLs, this could partially explain the shortcomings of consecutive educational reforms. However, the participants are pragmatic in their inclination toward French and English. While they wish to expand the teaching of English as a subject and medium of instruction (MOI), they recognize the ongoing significant role of French in determining their academic success and socioeconomic mobility.

KEYWORDS

Language-in-Education Planning; Attitudes; Ideology; Power Dynamics; Morocco.

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1. Introduction

The Moroccan state has been the primary educational language policymaker throughout the postcolonial era. Its policies have established Standard Arabic (SA) as the official language and medium of instruction (MOI). French has been granted the status of the primary foreign language (FL), and recently, it has been reinstated as MOI for science and technology subjects in secondary schools. English has served as the second FL, with tentative attempts to use it as MOI, while Spanish is the third FL. Despite advancements in education, the decisions on language-in-education planning (LEP), implemented as part of successive educational reforms, have remained top-down, often ignoring the attitudes, stances, and opinions of those impacted by these policies. Research indicates that resistance to language policy, especially in education, stems from the non-inclusiveness of these policies toward micro-level attitudes, leading to policy failure, socioeconomic inequalities, and linguistic injustice (García & Menken, 2010; Ingram, 1994; Johnson, 2013; Lewis, 1981; Shohamy, 2006; Van Els, 1994; Wiley & García, 2016).

The emergence of English as a global lingua franca has imposed pressure on linguistic landscapes in various contexts worldwide, including Morocco (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Pennycook, 1995; Phillipson, 1998; Wright, 2004). English is increasingly popular

among the population, particularly the youth, who often view it as ideologically neutral (El Allame, 2008; Ennaji, 2005; Johnson, 2013; Sadiqi, 1991; Zouhir, 2013). Therefore, there is a growing demand among the population to expand English instruction in both public and private education. Conversely, the state's inclination toward consolidating the instruction of French has raised questions about its LEP, triggering an intense societal debate over the feasibility of these FL choices, their statuses, and functions within the educational system (Bullock, 2014). Research on LEP affirms that ideological stances and attitudes, alongside historical, social, and economic forces, shape and orient these policies and their execution (Ferguson, 2006; May, 2006; Ricento, 2000; Shohamy, 2006; Tollefson, 1991, 2013; Wiley & García, 2016). Accordingly, the present paper examines the attitudes of stakeholders (teachers and inspectors) and recipients (students and parents) toward the state's LEP for FL to understand how ideology impacts perspectives on top-down LEP and affects its efficacy.

2. Literature Review

2.1 A Historical Contextualization

Immediately after gaining independence from France, Morocco, under the pressure of Arab nationalist and conservative ideologies, engaged in the Arabization LEP. This policy aimed to empower the teaching of SA both as a subject and MOI while reducing the dominance of French in education and limiting its teaching to a first FL (Al-Jabri, 2003; Boukous, 2011; Fernández et al., 2012). The ruling political system perceived the Arabization LEP as a means to establish the legitimacy of its post-independence authority, with Islam and Arabic being among the core components of its ruling ideology. In the same vein, it utilized the Arabization LEP to mitigate the mounting influence of Arab nationalist and political Islam ideologies. These movements also employed SA to extend their hegemony across the Arab and Muslim worlds during the 1950s and beyond.

While the Arabization LEP objectives were promising, their hasty, ill-planned processes and inadequate implementation did not yield the desired results. This situation benefited the French language, which remained the sole MOI in higher education institutions of science, technology, and business. Thus, the French language preserved its dominant status and functioned as a lingua franca in key state sectors, such as economy (Al-Jabri, 2003; Boukous, 2011; Elbiad, 1991; Ennaji, 2005). As Schiffman (1996) argued regarding the covert and overt ideologies in language policy, the dominance of French in the educational system and beyond in Morocco is supported by both covert and overt Francophone ideologies. Externally, the significant political, economic, and cultural influence of France, the former colonizer, has closely exerted its hegemony over the country at various levels, reinforcing the status of French in Morocco. These ties internally benefit a Francophone-oriented elite in Morocco that has sustained French instruction to perpetuate their social, economic, and political advantages. Thus, proficiency in French is posited as a gatekeeper for upward economic and social mobility (Chahhou, 2014; Chakrani, 2013; Errihani, 2017; Fernández et al., 2012; Sadiqi, 2006; Spolsky, 2018). The Arab Spring in 2011 redirected attention in Morocco to LEP for FL, as public demands pressured the state to reconsider its educational choices, including LEP. As part of broader political, economic, and educational reforms, the state addressed the increasing social, economic, political, and linguistic rights and equality demands (Bullock, 2014). Hence, the state's Higher Council for Education, Training, and Scientific Research (HCETSR) initiated educational reform in 2015: The Strategic Vision for Reforming Education 2015-2030 (henceforth: Strategic Vision). The ongoing reform encompasses several decisions regarding LEP, including those pertaining to FLs.

The population demands were centered around empowering the teaching of English as a FL language and later as MOI (Chakrani, 2013; Marley, 2004; R'houli, 2020). This view stems from the significance of English as a global lingua franca of science, economy, and technology. Supporters of this view consider that English will broaden Moroccan students' academic, economic, and social perspectives, offering opportunities for upward mobility. Additionally, the ideological neutrality of English among Moroccans and its mediatized popularity among the youth have fostered positive attitudes toward the language (Chahhou, 2014; Chakrani, 2013; Marley, 2004; Sadiqi, 1991). In contrast, French and Spanish are viewed as symbols of colonial hegemony; they are perceived as contributors to economic and social inequalities in Morocco (Chahhou, 2014; El Allame, 2008; Ennaji, 2005; Zouhir, 2013). Interestingly, supporters of the Arabization LEP endorsed the expansion of English language teaching in Morocco at the expense of French. They claim that the country's gains from promoting English teaching will outweigh what it has gained from teaching French (Hespress, 2019a, August 22; Marley, 2004; Zouhir, 2013).

Conversely, the arguments for French instruction in Morocco have centered around the instrumentality of the language (Boussakou, 2023; Errihani, 2017). Therefore, these arguments endorsed reinforcing its status as the primary FL. They also called for reinstating French as MOI in secondary education for science, technology, and economics subjects to align with higher education institutions specialized in those disciplines (Alalou, 2017; Ennaji, 2005). This view attributes the inconsistency of language as MOI in the Moroccan educational system to the Arabization LEP that the state has undergone since its independence. Accordingly, this view was endorsed by the Francophone elite in Morocco, who hold economic and political power in key sectors of the country, namely economy (Chakrani, 2013; Chahhou, 2014; Ennaji, 2005).

The elite view that sustaining French as the widely spoken FL in Morocco and consolidating it as MOI will perpetuate their privileges and maintain their power (Chakrani, 2013; Jamaati et al., 2024). Similarly, the Amazigh cultural movement has viewed the

Arabization LEP as a threat to their demands for linguistic rights recognition (Zouhir, 2013). Hence, they covertly endorsed the promotion of French instruction in the educational system. In their endeavor to gain more linguistic and cultural rights, the Amazigh activists used their support for promoting the French to oppose the Arabization LEP and its underlying ideologies (Maddy-Weitzman, 2012; Soulimani, 2023).

These contradictory ideologies have initiated conflicts of interest and have historically influenced the state's LEP for FLs (Alalou, 2006). Accordingly, these policies have been top-down, reflecting the interests of the political and economic hegemony of dominant groups. As has been argued with regard to covert language policy and the influence of ideology (Schiffman, 1996; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2004, 2018; Tollefson, 2013), the ruling political system covertly employed Arabization LEP to maintain its dominance since SA constitutes a core element of the Arab-Muslim identity in Morocco. Alternatively, the Francophone elite has employed successive educational reforms to consolidate the status and function of French as a primary FL and MOI by presenting it as an indispensable language for succeeding academically, economically, and socially (Chakrani, 2013; 2017; Ennaji, 2005).

The inadequate implementation of consecutive educational reforms in Morocco, including in LEP for FL, has led to challenges in language proficiency, especially in French. Consequently, there has been criticism regarding LEP for FLs (HCETSR, 2007; 2016). This criticism has addressed the impact of FL proficiency on students' academic, social, and economic situations. Thus, the disparities between students who are proficient in French and those who are not have widened (HCETSR, 2007; 2016).

Within this context, the state launched the Strategic Vision educational reform in 2015, proposing new measures for educational language planning for FLs. The state has reinforced the status of French as the first FL. It has also expanded the language as MOI in the "Baccalauréat International" and gradually for science subjects in middle and secondary education. Alternatively, English was proposed as MOI for three classes of the "Baccalauréat International." Its gradual generalization as the second FL in middle and primary schools started with the 2023-2024 school year. Spanish, however, was allocated the status of the third FL.

2.2 Attitudes Toward Educational Language Planning

As is often the case, these LEP for FL decisions are characterized by their top-down nature, disregarding the attitudes of the agents and recipients of those policies (Corson, 1999; García & Menken, 2010; Johnson, 2013; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Schiffman, 1996). The post-independence era could explain the state's top-down policies by its objective of state-building, as the choice of teaching a given language as a subject and/or MOI is motivated by the need to avoid linguistically based conflicts, which could impede the process of unifying the nation and modernization in newly independent polities. Conversely, it is unknown why the state has favored going in the same direction in the current educational reform, the Strategic Vision.

Research has concluded that the role of the agency is determinant in orienting language policy, including LEP. Accordingly, overt and covert decisions influence the agency on LEP at multiple macro and micro levels (Corson, 1999; Johnson, 2013; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Wiley & Garcia, 2016). On the macro level, government agencies in charge of education, language policymakers, and strategists lead the setting and execution of the adopted policies. Alternatively, educators at various levels, students, and their parents are expected to receive these policies positively and contribute to their successful implementation. Accordingly, the macro and micro levels of the LEP mutually affect one another, leading to the success of these policies or the resistance of the micro agency to the macro LEP and, consequently, the failure of these policies (Johnson, 2013; Lewis, 1981). The micro-level agency of LEP is challenging to identify, as people's attitudes toward LEP are not communicated overtly or are contradictory (Huebner, 1999; Schiffman, 1996).

In Morocco, a plethora of studies investigating attitudes toward languages in connection with LEP have underscored the role of ideology in shaping attitudes toward LEP (Bullock, 2014; Chahhou, 2014; Chakrani, 2013; Ennaji, 2005; Soulimani, 2023). A number of these studies focused on attitudes toward FLs taught in the educational system. In a study on attitudes among Arabic and French bilinguals, Bentahila (1983) demonstrated that the majority of Moroccan participants viewed French as a representation of modernity and practicality for studies, specifically in science. Therefore, they believed the French language helped them adapt to changes in the modern world. Bouzidi's (1989) study on language attitudes and their educational implications corroborated this positive stance toward French. Bouzidi concluded that the French language enjoys positive attitudes among the study participants for its modern aspect, usefulness, and provision of job opportunities. They also expressed their preference for using French as MOI. The positive attitudes toward learning French as a FL and/or MOI seem unchanged over time and across age groups. Marly (2004) underscored that middle school students consider French useful for professional careers, science, and technology. Similarly, teachers endorsed reverting to using French as a MOI. These communicated attitudes are pragmatic in that Moroccans recognize the social and economic functions in the Moroccan context. According to Ennaji (2005), despite the colonial legacy of France, the French language is still regarded as a language of modernity and social mobility. Therefore, Moroccans advocate for preserving their identity alongside French bilingual education to balance the need for cultural identity with embracing modernity. Interestingly,

Errihani (2008) reported that even students enrolled at Al-Akhawayn University, a partially state-owned university that uses English as its MOI for its programs, hold positive attitudes toward French, considering it a prestigious and useful language. While Moroccans' attitudes toward learning French as a subject and as MOI remain positive, the aforementioned studies argued that English is gaining ground at the expense of French in the Moroccan linguistic landscape. The increasing enthusiasm for English has fostered a linguistic competition between French and English, resulting in mixed attitudes toward FLs in Morocco (Bullock, 2014; Chakrani, 2011, 2013; Marley, 2004). These complex attitudes toward FLs in the Moroccan linguistic landscape predominantly favor French, which remains the dominant language in both education and local business sectors. Accordingly, Moroccans adopt a pragmatic approach when articulating their attitudes toward French. These attitudes are influenced by the hegemony of Francophonie and the Moroccan elite, who shape views toward French for their social and economic benefit, thereby positioning French as a language associated with upward social and economic mobility and modernity (Bullock, 2014; Chakrani, 2011, 2013). Concerning Moroccans' attitudes toward English and its related LEP, Moroccans seem to lean toward learning English for its prestige as a representation of modern civilization. Additionally, their positive attitudes toward English stem from its instrumental role as a global language of communication, knowledge, and practical utility, including academic and professional success (Bouzidi, 1989; Marley, 2004; Sadiqi, 1991; Slimani & Iguider, 2023). These attitudes were confirmed by Bullock (2014), who reported that the growing positive attitudes of Moroccans toward English are due to their perception of the language as one of colonial cleanliness, openness, and international functionality.

To conclude this section, Moroccan attitudes toward FL taught in the Moroccan educational system seem divided. These complex attitudes are pragmatically driven by instrumental function and the benefits that FL use will bring to the individual in the future (Bouziane, 2020). There is no evidence that LEP policymakers consider these attitudes when setting measures and plans for the educational system. Conversely, there is a potential disconnect between students' attitudes and educational language policy intentions and implementation (Bouziane, 2020; Chakrani, 2014). This disconnect is driven by the ideological motives of those in power positions of educational language policy, which often favor French at the expense of English.

3. Methodology

This study reports partial findings from four questionnaires. Each was given to a distinct group of participants in two categories: beneficiaries of LEP for FLs (students and parents) and agents of LEP for FLs (teachers and inspectors). These questionnaires examined participants' attitudes concerning several constructs, including ideology, power dynamics, and socioeconomic and linguistic justice in Morocco's LEP for Foreign Languages. This paper addresses ideology and power items in the questionnaires to understand further their interference in shaping macro LEP for FL in Morocco and the extent to which these policies consider the micro aspect of these policies.

3.1 Research questions

- RQ1: What are the attitudes of Moroccan beneficiaries (students and parents) of language-in-education planning for foreign languages toward the influence of ideology and power on these top-down policies?
- RQ2: What are the attitudes of Moroccan agents (teachers and inspectors) of language-in-education planning for foreign languages toward the influence of ideology and power on these top-down policies?
- RQ3: How do macro-educational language policies consider micro-attitudes towards language-in-education planning?

3.2 Research Design

This present paper employs a quantitative research approach based on a survey design. According to Creswell & Creswell (2018), this approach provides a quantitative overview of trends in attitudes, opinions, and beliefs, aiding in understanding the research population. Surveys also offer insights into the up-to-date linguistic landscape and its direction (Codó, 2008). Hence, this can be useful for assessing attitudes toward LEP. Moreover, the quantitative research design extends the findings' objectivity, validity, and reliability, as Harwell (2011) noted. The primary purpose of the study was to examine how four distinct groups view the impact of ideology and power in the Macro LEP of FLs and how these views influence these policies at the micro level. Therefore, the survey design was adopted as it meets the objectives of the study, allowing for an objective comparison of the attitudes of the four samples.

3.2.1 Research Instrument & Sampling

The study opted for direct measurement of attitudes using four non-disguised semi-structured questionnaires, which combined close-ended and open-ended items, ranging between 5-point Likert scales, semantic differential scales, checklists, and clarification questions (Dörnyei & Dewaele, 2023; Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010; Fazio & Olson, 2003; Schlee, 2014). The choice of the questionnaires was motivated by their systematic aspect of data collection when the number of participants is substantial and geographically distributed, in addition to their capacity to effectively collect valid and reliable data, which could yield a comprehensive interpretation of behavior, beliefs, knowledge, attitudes, and attributes (Dörnyei, 2003; Dörnyei & Dewaele, 2023; Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010; Gay et al., 2012; Meyerhoff et al., 2015; Schlee, 2014).

As part of purposive sampling, maximal variation sampling was employed to recruit participants, relying on the researchers' judgment regarding the category to which the participants belong (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018; Schleef, 2014). The sampling procedure allows maximizing participants' differences based on the study objectives and variables. However, it could also encompass other factors that distinguish participants, including gender, race, and education level, as Creswell and Plano Clark (2018) argued. For the present study, differentiating participants was conducted based on the assumption that students, parents, teachers, and inspectors could differ in their attitudes toward macro-LEP for FLs and the influence of ideology.

The participants recruited for each group represent various social, economic, and educational backgrounds. It is important to note that the researchers decided to include only second-year baccalaureate students in the study for the students' groups since their questionnaire entails some concepts that lower-level students might find challenging to comprehend. Tables 1 and 2 elaborate on each group's sample size and demographic data. Finally, it should be noted that the inspectors' sample was lower than the other groups due to the limited population number of this category.

Table 1
Sample sizes and their gender representation

Group	Parents	Ss	Ts	Inspectors	Total
n	148	186	171	34	539
Males	80	70	142	31	323
Females	68	116	29	3	216

Table 2
Representation of participant's academic level or years of experience

Parents		Ts		Inspectors	
Academic level	Number of participants	Years of experiences	Number of participants	Years of experiences	Number of participants
Under the Bac	25	Under ten years	69	Under ten years	11
Bac holder	21	10 to 20 years	76	10 to 20 years	11
Bac +2	22	More than 20 years	26	More than 20 years	12
Bac +3 or +4	51	--	--	--	--
Bac +5 or more	29	--	--	--	--
Total	148	--	171	--	34

3.2.2. Data Collection procedure

The questionnaires were drafted by narrowing the pool of items to those that the researchers believed aligned closely with the study objectives. Besides English, the questionnaires were also provided in SA. The researcher provided the Arabic translation and then edited and proofread it by linguists in SA to ensure that it matched the same meanings as in the English versions to avoid the effects of inadequate translation of instruments (Harkness, 2008a). The questionnaires were tested on a limited sample to address issues of wording in certain items and/or eliminate items that did not address what they were intended to assess (Cohen et al., 2007; Dörnyei & Dewaele, 2023; Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010). Following an evaluation checklist, a post-response conference was conducted with the trial participants to discuss their views and opinions regarding their experience with the questionnaires. These one-on-one conferences during the piloting stage significantly informed the research development. The four questionnaires were then administered for four months, during which each questionnaire was administered independently.

3.2.3. validity and reliability

The researchers ensured their best efforts to achieve quality in the questionnaires. Therefore, internal validity manifested in the accuracy of reporting and interpreting the attitudes of participant groups toward micro-LEP for FLs and the influence of ideology. Hence, statisticians and peer examinations were solicited to verify the results. Content validity was emphasized in the questionnaires to ensure that their items assessed what was intended. Construct validity was also maintained through clear operationalization of attitude concepts that indicate those attitudes concerning the study's methodological framework and the literature review (Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018).

Concerning reliability, internal consistency was sought in each of the questionnaires from the four independent groups, ensuring the precision and accuracy of the data collection instruments (Cohen et al., 2007; Devellis, 2012; Dörnyei & Dewaele, 2023). The

focus was on internal consistency because the data was collected in a single shot. Therefore, the Cronbach alpha coefficient of reliability was used to measure the questionnaires' internal consistency. According to Devellis (2012), Cronbach's alpha coefficient of internal consistency is acceptable when it is over ($\alpha \geq .70$). Cohen et al. (2007) affirmed that the same score is good. Taking both references into account, the results of the parents' and Ts' questionnaires revealed that they had good internal consistency ($\alpha = .76$), while the questionnaires of Ss and inspectors had a high internal consistency (students' $\alpha = .84$; inspectors' $\alpha = .85$).

3.2.4. Statistical Analysis.

The data collected from each group were analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics to create a multilayered analysis that would describe the findings and facilitate inferences (Cohen et al., 2007; Lowie & Seton, 2012). Descriptive statistics were limited to computing the central tendency and dispersion scores consolidated with percentages of similarities or differences in attitudes in the four groups.

Inferential statistics compared the attitudes of four groups using One-way ANOVA to determine statistical differences (Field, 2013; Larson-Hall, 2015; Lowie & Seton). Conducting the One-way ANOVA requires four assumptions for valid results: 1) more than two independent nominal variables, 2) normally distributed data, 3) homogeneous variances among groups, and 4) interval measurements (Field, 2013; Larson-Hall, 2015).

The first assumption concerns sampling and data collection procedures. During sampling, measures ensured participants provided data from four independent groups reflecting their group attributes and attitudes. For the second assumption, interval variables were tested for normal distribution using the Shapiro-Wilk and Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests. As shown in Table 2.3, both tests indicated that the four groups had a statistically normal distribution ($p \geq .05$). Visual assessments of normality using the Boxplot further supported this, confirming the tests' results (Table 3).

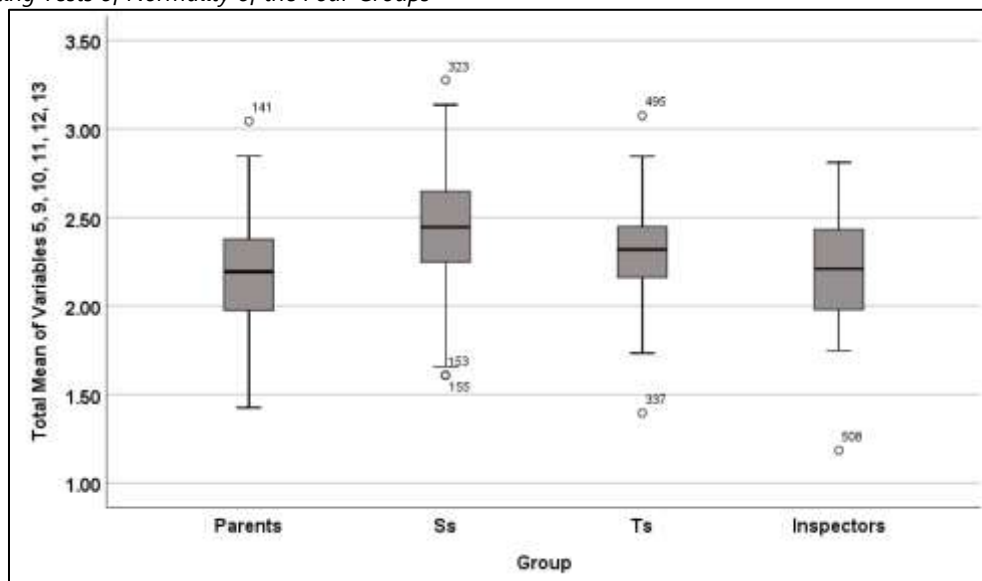
Table 3
Tests of normality of the four groups

Group	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Parents	.033	148	.200*	.997	148	.994
Ss	.058	186	.200*	.990	186	.212
Ts	.054	171	.200*	.988	171	.161
Inspectors	.072	34	.200*	.967	34	.391

*. This is a lower bound of the true significance.

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

Figure 1
Boxplot Representing Tests of Normality of the Four Groups



The third assumption highlights the equality of variances among the groups' mean scores. Although parametric tests like one-way ANOVA can address some mean discrepancies, homogeneity of variances is crucial for comparison (Larson-Hall, 2015). Levene's test was used to examine this homogeneity and revealed that the groups' mean variances were not homogeneous due to the presence of outliers.

Parametric statistics allow correcting variances in the mean for homogeneity (Larson-Hall, 2015) by trimming data from insignificant outliers. While some controversially see trimming as a violation of objectivity (Huber, 1981; Maronna et al., 2006)—others endorse it. Tabachnik and Fidell (2001) suggested deleting outliers if they are "highly correlated with others or not critical to the analysis" (p. 71). Finally, the study used interval measurements for statistical analysis by applying one-way ANOVA solely to interval variables.

Table 4.
Homogeneity of Variances Test for the Four Groups

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Based on mean	3.989	3	532	.008
Based on Median	4.089	3	532	.007
Based on Median and with adjusted df	4.089	3	501.293	.007
Based on trimmed mean	4.026	3	532	.008

Having met the one-way ANOVA assumptions (Table 4). The test was conducted to compare the four groups' statistical differences. However, it could not pinpoint specific differences, as it is an omnibus test indicating only general differences (Larson-Hall, 2015). Thus, to identify statistically different groups, a post-hoc test was required. The researchers chose Tukey's HSD, which is apt for comparing more than three groups in the one-way ANOVA (Howell, 2002; Maxwell & Delaney, 2004).

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 To what extent are you satisfied with language-in-education planning activities for foreign languages?

This section presents and discusses the results of analyzing questionnaires. In the first item, participants rated their satisfaction with LEP for FLs on a five-point Likert scale. The mean scores showed similarities between groups expressing dissatisfaction with LEP for FLs. However, the standard deviation indicated that the scores for inspectors and students were more dispersed than those of parents and teachers (Table 5).

Table 5.
Mean and Standard Deviation Scores of the Four Groups Regarding their Satisfaction with the LEP of FLs in Morocco.

Group	n	M	SD
Parents	148	3.61	.804
Students	186	3.97	.898
Teachers	171	3.64	.815
Inspectors	34	3.32	.944

The mean scores were compared using the ANOVA test, which revealed a significant difference between the four groups ($F(3,532) = 8.987, p = .001$) but did not specify which. To identify the different group(s), Tukey's HSD post hoc test was conducted. It showed no statistically significant difference among parents, teachers, and inspectors; however, it determined a significant difference with the student group.

I. All the groups voiced dissatisfaction with the LEP for FLs in Morocco, with students expressing strong dissatisfaction. These negative attitudes may stem from people's experiences with low-quality instruction in FL in public education, specifically in French. These results align with the study conducted by the HCETSR (2008), which concluded that Common Core students' attitudes toward learning French are influenced by their experiences learning the language in public education. The expressed dissatisfaction regarding the LEP for FL is a result of the non-inclusive macro-educational language policies, which are driven by ideological intentions rather than educational ones, creating resistance to these policies at the micro level (Lewis, 1981; Tsui & Tollefson, 2004).

4.2. Based on your knowledge of the Moroccan educational system, Moroccan students have positive attitudes towards learning French.

Participants were asked if Moroccan students had positive attitudes toward learning French, and their responses were recorded on a five-point agreement Likert scale. Mean scores showed that parents and inspectors rated lower than students and teachers. Standard deviations revealed that teachers' and students' scores clustered closely around the mean, while parents' and inspectors'

scores were more dispersed, with some far from the average. These results suggested that most students and teachers viewed students' attitudes toward learning French negatively, whereas parents and inspectors were split between uncertain and positive views. Table 6 presents mean and standard deviation scores for the groups' attitudes toward learning French.

Table 6

Mean and standard deviation of the groups' attitudes to students' positive attitudes to learning French.

Group	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Parents	148	3.21	1.085
Students	185	3.97	.988
Teachers	170	4.03	.791
Inspectors	34	3.35	1.030

The ANOVA test was used to compare the mean scores of four groups to identify significant differences. The results showed a significant difference with $F(3, 533) = 25.305, p = .001$. A Tukey's HSD post hoc test further explored the results, revealing no statistically significant differences between parents and inspectors or between students and teachers. Conversely, statistically significant differences were found between parents versus students and teachers.

The variances in the four groups' results concerning the statement that students have positive attitudes toward learning French are perplexing. While students and teachers showed negative attitudes toward the statement, parents and inspectors expressed uncertainty. The negative attitudes of students and parents could be explained based on their respective experiences with learning and teaching French. These groups are the primary targets and agents of LEP for FLs; accordingly, their experiences with French learning and instruction resulted in negative attitudes, leading them to resist and disengage from language policies, as concluded in the literature (Lewis, 1981; Menken & Garcia, 2010).

Alternatively, parents' and inspectors' uncertainty about students' positive attitudes regarding learning French could be explained by their positions within the LEP circle being slightly farther from the decision-making position and being only direct targets and agents of these policies. Additionally, as Chakrani (2013) concluded, the construct of class can impact people's attitudes. Examining the arguments of those who responded negatively to the statement, they recurrently affirmed that Moroccan students' negative attitudes toward French primarily develop due to the inappropriateness of the French teaching methods and the ineffectiveness of the teaching styles.

4.3 Based on your knowledge of the Moroccan educational system, Moroccan students have positive attitudes towards learning English.

Similarly, question 7 surveyed participants' attitudes toward the statement that Moroccan students have positive attitudes toward learning English. The participants rated their stance on a five-point agreement scale. The mean and standard deviation scores indicated that parents, teachers, and inspectors had approximately similar mean scores, with the standard deviation reflecting their consistency. However, students had higher mean scores with a more significant dispersion in standard deviation, one point farther from the mean. The variance could be explained by the fact that nearly a third of respondents were uncertain or disagreed. Table 7 illustrates each.

Table 7.

Mean and standard deviation scores of the groups' attitudes to students' positive attitudes to learning English.

Group	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Parents	147	1.88	.707
Students	185	2.25	1.121
Teachers	167	1.94	.739
Inspectors	34	1.97	.776

The analysis of the mean scores identified a statistically significant difference between students and other groups. The ANOVA test demonstrates significant differences among the group means ($F(3,529) = 11.116, p = .001$). A Tukey's HSD post hoc test revealed no statistically significant difference between the inspectors and other groups or between parents and Ts. However, a statistically significant difference between students and both parents and Ts was identified. While these results indicate a slight variation in students' responses where uncertain and disagreeing attitudes were also expressed, overall, the majority in each group agreed that students hold positive attitudes toward learning English.

The majority in all four groups show positive attitudes toward the idea that students view learning English favorably, highlighting its growing popularity among Moroccans (Chakrani, 2013; Ennaji, 2005; Marley, 2004; Sadiqi, 1991). These results challenge the Moroccan state's educational language policies for FL, raising questions about their strategy for managing the increasing linguistic competition between French and English within the Moroccan linguistic landscape. Policymakers appear to be conflicted between

their ongoing efforts to maintain the dominance of the French language in the educational system and their stated goals of fostering openness in the global economy and knowledge. However, this dilemma requires enhancing the teaching of English in the educational system, considering that it serves as the global lingua franca for commerce and knowledge.

4.4 Do you agree with the government’s decision to use French as a medium of instruction in certain subjects for some streams?

This question examined participants’ attitudes toward the Moroccan Ministry of Education’s choice to use French as MOI for science and technology, alternating between standard Arabic and a FL. Respondents answered a five-point Likert scale ranging from strong agreement to strong disagreement. The mean scores indicated consistency among students, teachers, and inspectors, while parents had a lower score. The standard deviation scores were similar, differing by one point from each group’s central tendency (Table 8).

Table 8.
Mean and standard deviation scores regarding groups’ attitudes to using French as Moi

Group	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Parents	148	2.87	1.287
Students	183	3.12	1.301
Teachers	170	3.35	1.148
Inspectors	34	3.02	1.167

The ANOVA test analyzed mean scores among groups. Results indicated a significant difference at $F(3,531) = 4.016, p = .008$. These results show that Moroccans have perplexing attitudes toward using French as MOI. These attitudes range between uncertainty, positivity, and negativity.

The groups’ divided attitudes regarding using French as MOI were recurrent among parents, students, and inspectors, with a tendency to align positively. However, the divide in attitudes is evident in teachers’ responses, showing a slight alignment with negative attitudes, indicating a lack of consensus in this regard. Alternatively, a considerable number of participants in the four groups expressed uncertainty. The awareness of the role that French plays in Morocco in determining learners’ academic and professional futures explains parents’ and inspectors’ positive attitudes toward the decision. As Tollefson (1991, 2013) argued for dominant languages, the dominant status of French is used as a gatekeeping mechanism for sustaining inequalities for the elite while being presented as a solution for overcoming inequalities and achieving social justice. Due to their lack of access to power, the only solution is to uphold French as MOI to promote socioeconomic advancement.

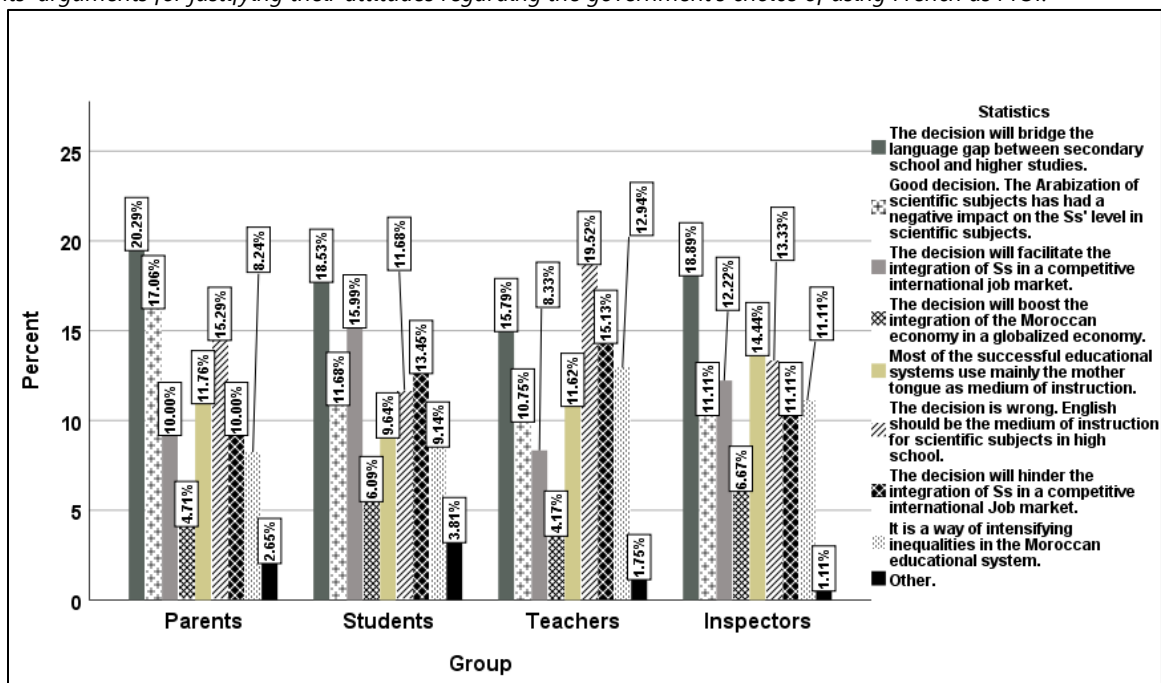
However, teachers’ negative attitudes toward the state’s decision to adopt French as MOI of science subjects persist. While teachers were presumed to support the state’s LEP of FL, it is contended that their negative attitudes highlight the absence of an inclusive approach for teachers (Lewis, 1981). The top-down model of the LEP for FLs deepens the mistrust teachers hold toward the state’s reforms, especially since there has been no accountability for past reforms. Alternatively, the division of attitudes among students between positive and negative reflects the current need for French to succeed academically, socially, and economically (Ennaji, 2005). At the same time, they perceived that French would impede them if they wished to integrate into a global job market where English is dominantly used as a lingua franca (Phillipson, 1998).

The participants were asked to justify the stances they expressed in the first part of the question by choosing appropriate arguments among nine values. Computing the total mean scores for each group’s justifications revealed that the four groups’ mean scores were nearly similar, with a modestly high mean score for Ss and parents. The standard deviation scores also indicated that all the group scores were closely concentrated around each group’s mean score. However, it was noted that the Ts’ and inspectors’ standard deviation scores were moderately dispersed compared to those of the groups of parents and Ss. These results imply a disparity in the frequency of the argued justifications among the four groups.

Participants justified their stances by choosing arguments from the nine-value checklist. The total mean scores showed that the four groups had similar scores, with slightly higher means for students and parents. Standard deviation scores indicated that all groups’ scores clustered closely around their means, though teachers’ and inspectors’ scores showed more dispersion compared to parents and Ss. This suggests a disparity in the frequency of argued justifications among the four groups. ANOVA was performed to determine if mean scores indicated a statistically significant difference, showing a significant difference between the four groups, with $F(3, 531) = 6.958, p = .001$. A Tukey’s HSD post hoc test revealed no significant difference between inspectors and the other groups, but significant differences were found between Ts and both parents and Ss. Figure 2 presents disparity among the groups in the arguments they claimed for justifying their attitudes toward the state’s decision to use French as MOI for science and technology subjects in secondary schools.

Figure 2.

Participants' arguments for justifying their attitudes regarding the government's choice of using French as MOI.



Participants' justifications for their attitudes toward the state's decision to use French as MOI for science subjects using French reflect their differing arguments. Parent groups, inspectors, and students emphasized that the decision would bridge the gap between secondary and higher studies. Furthermore, the decision is preferable to the Arabization language education policy (LEP), which harmed students' performance in science subjects. Conversely, teachers repeatedly argued that the state's decision was incorrect and that adopting English as the medium of instruction would be more suitable. Additionally, they perceived that the decision would hinder students' integration into a competitive global job market. It is argued here that the teachers' justifications are valid. The global job market emphasizes that candidates should be equipped with several skills, among which mastering English is essential.

4.5. Do you agree with the government's decision to use English as a medium of instruction in certain subjects for some streams?

Like the previous question, participants were asked to share their attitudes toward the state's decision to adopt English as the MOI for science and technology school subjects at the high school (e.g., Baccalaureate International Major of English). The state's decision was part of the language alternation pedagogy advocated by the new educational reform (Strategic Vision, 2015). For the first part of the question, the participants had to select their appropriate answer from a five-point Likert scale ranging from strong agreement to strong disagreement (values 1-5). For the second part of the question, participants had to justify their attitudes from the first part. Concerning the first part of the question, the analysis of the mean scores revealed that parents and inspectors were quite similar. However, while students received a higher mean score, the teachers' mean score was the lowest. For the standard deviation scores, the groups of parents, teachers, and inspectors focused on each group's mean score. Nevertheless, the group of students was much more concentrated around the tendency of the mean score. In contrast, the students' standard deviation score was dispersed far from its mean score by one point.

Inasmuch the previous question, participants shared their attitudes toward the state's decision to adopt English as the MOI for high school science and technology subjects (e.g., Baccalaureate International Major of English). This decision is part of the new educational reform (Strategic Reform, 2015). Participants rated their agreement on a five-point Likert scale from strong agreement (1) to strong disagreement (5). Analysis showed that parents and inspectors had similar mean scores, while students scored higher and teachers scored the lowest. The standard deviation indicated that parents, teachers, and inspectors focused on their mean scores, but students' scores were more variable, dispersed one point from the mean (see Table 9).

Table 9.

Mean and standard deviation scores of participants' attitudes to using English as MOI.

Group	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Parents	147	2.068	.990
Students	181	2.469	1.195
Teachers	170	1.835	.895
Inspectors	34	2.058	.919

The ANOVA test showed significant differences among the four groups, with $F(3,528) = 11.358, p = .001$. Tukey's HSD test revealed no significant difference between teachers and parents on the one hand or between inspectors and other groups on the other hand. However, a significant difference was found between students and both parents' and teachers' groups. Overall, Moroccans have positive attitudes toward using English as MOI. Conversely, despite the positive attitudes expressed by students, a significant number showed uncertainty or disagreement about using English as MOI.

Participants' positive attitudes towards English as the MOI for certain science subjects contrasted with their attitudes toward French as the MOI. This favorable stance reflects the status of English as a global language, potentially offering students enhanced access to opportunities in the global economy and higher education where English predominates (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992, 2003). However, the increasing popularity of English represents an ideological challenge to French existence as a primary FL in Morocco in the long term; subsequently, it threatens the beneficiaries of French dominance in the country, particularly the francophone elite. Instead, endorsing the use of English as the MOI may promote linguistic justice by supporting lower social-class students' opportunities.

The state's focus on English could attract international investment, which prioritizes English proficiency. Parents and students voiced skepticism regarding English's potential to replace French's entrenched role in Morocco's educational system. Despite sponsorship from organizations like AMIDEAST and the British Council, along with positive attitudes toward English (Errihani, 2017; Sadiqi, 1991; Marley, 2004), top-down LEP enables French language proponents to leverage political and economic power, thereby regulating the expansion of English in the education system.

4.6 Attitudes to foreign language teaching and the influence of ideology.

For question item 6, respondents shared their attitudes toward nine statements about the influence of ideology and power dynamics on LEP for FL in Morocco. These statements were rated on a five-point Likert scale ranging from strong agreement to strong disagreement. The mean scores of parents, students, and teachers were roughly similar, while the inspectors' scored lower. Although all the groups' standard deviation scores were dispersed around each group's central tendency, inspectors were slightly more distant (table 10). The one-way ANOVA test showed no statistically significant difference between the groups, as estimated ($F(3,535) = 2.166, p = .091$), indicating they share similar attitudes toward the LEP of FLs in Morocco (Table 10).

Table 10

Total mean and standard deviation regarding their attitudes to language-in-education planning in Morocco.

Group	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Parents	148	2.801	.429
Students	186	2.908	.424
Teachers	171	2.806	.480
Inspectors	34	1.617	.516

In this vein, respondents believed that teaching French in Morocco transmits ideology, specifically the francophone hegemony, while students expressed uncertainty. For English, all the groups manifested uncertainty regarding the interference of ideology in teaching English in the Moroccan educational system.

Concerning the role of teaching FLs in sustaining the political and economic elite's power and interests, parents, teachers, and inspectors believed that teaching French in the Moroccan education system favors the Moroccan elite, leading it to reinforce its political and economic power and interests. Students, however, expressed divided attitudes toward the statement, ranging from positive to negative and uncertain attitudes. Alternatively, all groups were uncertain whether teaching English contributed to sustaining the Moroccan elite's political and economic power and interests.

Participants were asked about their attitudes toward using FL as MOI for science subjects, which has consolidated or loosened the dominance of French in the Moroccan linguistic landscape. All the groups responded positively to the statement. Alternatively, when asked whether using English as MOI for science subjects, participants believed that using English as MOI would contribute to loosening the dominance of French in the linguistic landscape.

The last three statements of this question aimed at identifying participants' attitudes toward the influence of participants' attitudes on the macro LEP for FLs. For the first statement, all the groups were divided about the influence of parents, students, teachers, and inspectors' attitudes on FL at the macro-level LEP for FLs. The attitudes ranged between uncertainty and disagreement with the statements, indicating that the groups had little belief in the influence of teachers' attitudes on top-down policies. These views reflect a disconnect between the micro-level and macro-level policies.

In response to whether French and English teaching are ideologically neutral, parents, teachers, and inspectors expressed negative attitudes toward French, recognizing its role as an ideological vehicle rather than a neutral medium. They viewed French instruction as perpetuating France's colonial influence and aligning with elite interests to sustain socioeconomic privileges (Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy, 2006; Tollefson, 2002; Tsui & Tollefson, 2004; Chakrani, 2013). Students, however, displayed mixed feelings, with some uncertain or holding positive views, likely due to a limited capacity to critically assess underlying LEP ideologies, which require understanding historical, social, and power structures beyond typical student perspectives.

Uncertainty dominated among parents, students, and inspectors regarding the ideological neutrality of English teaching, likely influenced by the absence of colonial history of English in Morocco and the state's positive relations with the UK and the USA (Ennaji, 2005; Sadiqi, 1991). Teachers, however, primarily viewed English as neutral, with positive attitudes stemming from its perceived lack of ideological influence. This perception contrasts with the ideological associations tied to French, which teachers and respondents saw as a tool for maintaining elite privilege in Moroccan society. English, in contrast, is viewed as a pathway to social justice, promoting equity and reducing elite hegemony.

Participants largely agreed that teaching French sustains the power and political-economic interests of the Moroccan elite, reflecting awareness of the ideological influence of the state's language-in-education policy (LEP) for foreign languages. Contrary to state claims of neutrality in educational reforms, respondents recognized that French LEP aligns with both internal and external interests. Internally, LEP enforces French as a medium of instruction (MOI) to maintain social power structures that favor the elite. Externally, prioritizing French supports geopolitical and economic ties with France and the Francophone sphere. The elite's influence on LEP decisions, often exercised by French-educated figures positioned within key committees and policymaking institutions, reflects its aim to sustain French as the economic lingua franca in Morocco (Chakrani, 2013; Shohamy, 2006; Tollefson & Tsui, 2014).

Nevertheless, participants in the four groups were indecisive about teaching English and its contribution to sustaining the political elite's power and interests in Morocco. The groups' stances could be attributed to English's shadowed status in Morocco's language space compared to French, which has been dominantly present across multiple domains. Further, the scarcity of schools and universities that use English as MOI in the country and the diminutive economic and political privileges the elite could gain from English made it lose its attractiveness as a vehicle of power and interest gains.

Participants largely agreed that using French as a medium of instruction (MOI) consolidates its dominance in Morocco, especially in fields like science, technology, and economics, which they felt reinforce existing social, economic, and linguistic inequalities. Conversely, most participants believed that adopting English as MOI could reduce French dominance. This suggests that a gradual shift toward English could attract foreign investment, support integration into the global economy, and enhance access to international education and research. The researcher highlights the need for a strategic language-in-planning approach to implement English as MOI.

II. Participants expressed uncertainty about the potential influence of teachers and inspectors on the LEP for FLs in Morocco, highlighting the complexity of the policy. Although teachers, inspectors, students, and parents could theoretically contribute to a bottom-up approach in LEP, participants felt that Morocco's top-down model precludes such influence. Parents and students, in particular, believed they had minimal sway over policy decisions, citing a lack of transparency and consultation from educational authorities. This perception was reinforced by challenges such as high illiteracy rates, which impede a broader understanding of nuanced, overt, and covert dimensions of LEP (Schmidt, 1995; Menken & García, 2010; Wiley & Garcia, 2016).

5. Conclusion

The present study examined how ideological stances and power dynamics at the macro level influence LEP for FLs in Morocco, particularly French and English. Additionally, it sought to identify whether these educational language policies are inclusive of the beneficiaries (students and parents) and agents (teachers and inspectors). Therefore, attitudes at the micro level were surveyed to investigate the extent to which these populations adhere to or resist macro-educational language planning for FLs. The study revealed that ideology and power dynamics influence Moroccan macro-LEP for FLs, reinforcing French in the Moroccan linguistic landscape. The state's control of macro-LEP, particularly in public education, has disregarded the micro-level of these educational language policies, aligning with the literature on ideology and power in LEP (Shohamy, 2006; Tollefson, 1991; Tsui & Tollefson, 2004).

The non-inclusiveness of these macro-educational language policies has led to divided attitudes among the beneficiaries (students and parents) and agents (teachers and inspectors) toward LEP for FLs. Recognizing the instrumental role of French in their social and economic upward mobility, the participants' attitudes are divided regarding the state's policies to reinforce the teaching of French both as a language and by reverting to using it as MOI in secondary and middle education as part of the language alternation pedagogy. Alternatively, positive attitudes toward promoting the teaching of English are growing. These conflicting attitudes are critical to understanding why educational language planning for FLs in Morocco yields limited results since the literature affirms the micro-level role in resisting or facilitating language policies (e.g., Lewis, 1981; Menken & García, 2010; Spolsky, 2004; Wiley, 1996; Wiley & Garcia, 2016).

5.1 Limitations of the study

III. The researchers recognize a limitation related to the sampling size of the inspectors' group. The latter was inferior in the number of recruited participants compared to the other three groups. This limitation is due to the limited number of its research population and the sampling technique, which requires that the sample be selected according to the characteristics of its research population. While this limitation could potentially impact the results, the researchers compensated for this limitation by ensuring the rigorous validity and reliability of the research.

5.2 Implications of the research

The study indicates two main implications: one for policy and the other for research. For policy, the state is encouraged to reassess its unilateral macro-LEP and adopt a participatory educational language planning model. Its top-down approach has limited the outcomes of previous LEP activities. Including micro-level attitudes toward LEP could mitigate ideological and power conflicts and alleviate linguistic, social, and economic issues. Further exploration of micro-level LEP is necessary for research, particularly how teachers' practices align with or conflict with state directives. Ethnographic studies should analyze family roles in foreign language use and how these influence children's language learning decisions. This would enhance understanding of LEP impacts in educational and familial contexts.

In conclusion, the state's future policies, such as hosting international events like the FIFA Football World Cup and establishing free trade agreements with global partners, will likely impact Morocco's linguistic landscape and enhance English use. Therefore, a balanced language education policy could support the negotiated coexistence of languages in the country.

Adopting a bottom-up, participatory model throughout the planning and implementation phases could mitigate the impact of class, ideology, and power, promote equitable resource distribution, and reduce language and social conflicts. Additionally, a balanced approach is recommended to accommodate both political and economic interests by maintaining the status of French while gradually elevating English within the educational system, whether as a foreign language or medium of instruction. Although English also carries ideological influences (Pennycook, 1995), a balanced policy could facilitate a negotiated coexistence of languages in Morocco.

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