

The work of ideology: examining class, language use, and attitudes among Moroccan university students

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This article investigates overt language attitudes and linguistic practices among French-taught university students in Morocco, showing the relationship between language behavior and attitudes. The results reveal a class-based divide in respondents' patterns of language use, in their support of the French monolingual sanitized classroom, and in their attitudinal dispositions toward the dominance of French as the language of instruction. Within the classroom, the hegemonic role of French is reinforced in student–teacher interactions through the exclusive use of French as the de facto code for 'modern' knowledge, whereas the local languages Moroccan Arabic, Standard Arabic, and Berber are portrayed as inadequate within the educational context. This divide between local and Western languages is a work of the institutionalization of French colonial ideologies, which continue to establish the use of Western languages as representing the engines of modernity. This is shown uniformly in the responses of all three classes in favoring the exclusive use of French and English as languages of instruction for science and technology. Thus, language politics within post-modern Moroccan schools continue to marginalize the political economy of local codes in their role in defining Moroccan society.

Keywords: language attitudes; language use; language ideologies; multilingualism

Introduction

This article demonstrates the relationship between language use and attitudes among three social classes of Moroccan university students taught in French, and it investigates the role that ideology and class membership play in shaping the attitudinal dispositions and language behavior among these students. Although the investigation of language use and attitudes has become one of the central themes in sociolinguistic research, a direct connection between language behavior and attitudes has not been established within the literature. Foundational studies about language attitudes (Baker 1992; Cargile et al. 1994; Garrett, Coupland, and Williams 2003; Garrett 2010) and use (Bentahila 1983; Choi 2003; Hassa 2006) investigate languages' role in stratifying codes and their speakers within their multilingual communities. Ricento (2000) asserts that the advocacy of many linguists for the wholesale adoption of transplanted codes and the spread of such languages in serving vital social functions have undermined the vitality of local languages in postcolonial countries. This is evident in the Moroccan context, where researchers

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(Bentahila 1983; Elbiad 1991; Gravel 1979;) see a conflict between French, the dominant code in the Moroccan linguistic landscape, and local languages, which they argue have been subverted by the reallocation of a variety of functions to French.

This article reveals a class-based divide in respondents' patterns of language use and their support or contestation of teachers' interactional expectations requiring the maintenance of sanitized monolingual classrooms. There is also a socioeconomic divide in respondents' attitudinal dispositions toward the dominance of French as the language of instruction where the local languages Moroccan Arabic (MA), Standard Arabic (SA), and Berber are portrayed to be inadequate codes for instruction. Students' language use and overt attitudes indicate that the ideological influence of modernity identifies Western languages with natural science and the acquisition of 'modern knowledge.' This ideology influences language behavior through classroom sanitization and affects language attitudes by reinforcing the dominance of French and English. This article demonstrates the connection between the use of languages at school and attitudes toward languages used in education, and also determines what influences and motivates the attitudes and practices of these students.

Review of literature

The study of language attitudes as a theoretical construct is important because of the role attitude plays in the linguistic stratification of multilingual communities. Here, the term attitude is defined as a disposition that refers to 'a general and enduring positive or negative feeling about some person, objects, or issue' (Abu-Rabia 2003, 3). As an evaluative orientation, attitudes can be relatively enduring dispositions toward 'a social object' (Garrett 2010, 20). According to Cargile et al. (1994, 221), the nature of language attitudes is three-dimensional: it is cognitive in that attitudes comprise 'beliefs about the world,' affective in that they are constructed 'feelings about an attitude object,' and behavioral in that they 'encourage certain actions'. Baker (1992) maintains that the study of language attitudes can also help explain and predict language behavior.

More specifically, the fragmentation of multilingual societies leads to the contestation of patterns of language use and attitudes in education. In an investigation of language use and attitudes in Paraguay, Choi (2003) shows that positive overt language attitudes to Guarani as a language of identity does not affect the patterns of language use in Spanish-dominant education or in daily life. Although previous studies have argued that overt language attitudes are incompatible with language behavior (Choi 2003), this article argues that language use and overt language attitudes are ideologically connected.

Education is central to the reproduction of power and is responsible for maintaining class membership and stratification (Bourdieu and Thompson 1991; Heller 1995; Rampton 2006). Education has also been pivotal in channeling social privilege and restricting many from gaining membership in a 'privileged linguistic network' (Hymes 1996, 84). In modern societies, sociolinguists have argued that the educational domain not only shapes the social and linguistic order but also demarcates the class and social divide (Rampton 2006). As Labov (1972) maintains, we cannot advance our understanding of trends of linguistic change without considering the role of class as one of the social factors that motivates the evolution of languages (also Trudgill 1983). In this regard, Hassa (2006) demonstrates a clear

distinction between the use of language by working-class tailors and middle-class teachers, where individual speech is aligned with the social space of the speaker. In the *medina* (old town) in Fes, SA epitomizes traditional views, whereas in the *Nouvelle Ville* (new town), French colonial ideology and its privileged code are prevalent.

As many researchers have argued, attitudes are often ideological in nature. In Zambia, for example, as Spitulnik (1998) shows, the ideology of modernity ‘ghettoizes’ local languages and their radio broadcasters compared with the perceived sophistication associated with their English counterparts. The denigration of local languages, such as the folklorization of African languages in Europe (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998), undermines the presence of minority languages within the ongoing nationalistic ideological discourses that are prevalent in Europe today. In postcolonial contact situations, Ricento (2000) argues, the modernizing project has been erroneously thought by many linguists to be affected by the wholesale adoption of formerly colonial languages and has helped to spread their functions and naturalize their presence as languages that expedite access to the modern world.

Bentahila’s (1983) seminal work on Moroccans’ overt and covert views about Arabic–French bilingualism outlined the attitudinal motivations guiding the presence of MA, SA, and French. Bentahila extends the dichotomy of modernity and tradition to argue that the presence of Classical Arabic is driven by integrative motivations, as it represents ‘Arabic culture and identity’ (165). He describes French as iconic of status-stressing attributes and as epitomizing a forward-looking projection of modernity (Bentahila 1983; also Elbiad 1991; Gill 1999; Gravel 1979; Marley 2004; Mouhssine 1995).

Respondents in Mouhssine’s (1995) attitudinal study of Morocco showed ambivalence toward French and SA, although both were seen equally to project modernism. Although the maintenance of SA is important, she argues that French represents a selective code with which to access modernity, even though it does not represent local culture. Furthermore, respondents viewed English more positively even than French, because it lacks a colonial connotation and because it is seen to offer universal appeal and to project modernity and science. This article examines the effect of the ideology of modernity on the language attitudes and use of Moroccan students along class lines.

Research methodology

This article directly assesses attitudes and patterns of language use through a language questionnaire (Bentahila 1983; Choi 2003; Elbiad 1991; Errihani 2007; Garrett, Coupland, and Williams 2003; Gravel 1979; Rubin 1968). It analyzes data from a larger study of language attitudes that the author conducted in Morocco in 2007 and 2008. As Moroccan education is primarily conducted in SA and French, two versions of the questionnaire were administered (see Chakrani 2010 for the questionnaire), with respondents given the choice of answering either the SA or French version, which they selected according to their linguistic competence and attitudinal orientation.

Following Ferguson’s (1996 [1991]) suggestion to explore the relationship between language use and attitudes, this study investigates how patterns of language use are aligned with attitudes within the educational domain. The questionnaire is

comprised of four sections, the first of which investigates respondents' patterns of language use in the domains of home, neighborhood, and school. The second section gauges their attitudes toward languages in the domains of home, street, education, government, religion, media, and business. The third section elicits a self-reported assessment of language fluency across the languages spoken in Morocco. The fourth part is an open-ended question that solicits comments about the current linguistic situation in Morocco to investigate respondents' views as a function of their language practices and attitudes.

The questionnaire was administered to 454 university students respondents (221 females and 233 males), with a mean age of 21 years, from four colleges in two major Moroccan cities. The colleges include (1) a medical and pharmacy school where classes are taught in French, (2) a business and management school where classes are taught in French, (3) a social sciences school where classes are taught in SA, and (4) a law and economics college of which one campus is in a predominantly MA-speaking city and offers economics subjects taught in French and another campus, in a city of mostly MA and Berber speakers, offers law classes in SA and French. Respondents were randomly chosen, and the author administered the questionnaire individually to each student, which allowed the author to observe and discuss respondents' language attitudes and practices as they responded to the questionnaire. Language majors were excluded from participating in this study to avoid inherently biased responses in favor of their languages of specialization.

The student respondents were from three socioeconomic backgrounds, the upper, middle, and lower classes. Following Wagner (1993), socioeconomic status (SES) was determined on the basis of the respondent's parents' occupations (for a detailed discussion, see Chakrani 2010). Because the upper class had 33 respondents who were taught in French and only three taught in SA, the latter were not evaluated in this article. Additionally, because the upper-class group taught in French had only three fluent Berber speakers, the scope was further narrowed to include only those non-Berber-speaking students taught in French – a group of 20 upper-class respondents. The numbers of middle- and lower-class students were also pared according to the same criteria.

This article examines the relationship between language use and attitudes toward the presence of different codes in the educational domain in Morocco. In order to examine the impact of the ideology of modernity on language use and attitudes, it examines language use dynamics in the interactions of student respondents with their friends and teachers within the school context¹ and along class lines.

Due to the contention over bilingual education in Morocco, languages of instruction (SA or French with the possible addition English) have taken center stage in Moroccans' debates about the nature and role of languages and education. Given the ongoing competition between these codes in the educational domain, it is essential to examine student respondents' attitudinal dispositions toward the language of instruction. This allows us to compare respondents' attitudes to their patterns of language use within the school setting.

The first question about language attitudes asks, 'Language(s) of education from elementary school to the university should be in'. As Morocco's independence and the inception of the Arabization program, Moroccans have debated which language(s) should be used in Moroccan schools. This question about language of instruction is intended to measure how respondents position themselves in this debate, to identify what languages they believe should serve in this domain. The

analysis below measures whether their class membership had any effect on their responses.

The second attitudes question asks, ‘The best language(s) for teaching science and technology is/are’. The divide between the social and natural sciences in the postcolonial context of language contact has been unquestioned given the heavy reliance on Western languages for studying and teaching the natural sciences (Chakrani *forthcoming*; Kaye and Zoubir 1990; Ricento 2000). Given that science and technology are strictly tied to the prescription of modernity (Giddens 1991; Zīnātī 1993), these two questions relating to which languages should be used in teaching science and technology were articulated in order to investigate how the ideology of modernity plays out in the school context and if the current linguistic arrangement of languages in education is warranted by students’ attitudinal dispositions.

Data presentation

Language use

This article examines the respondents’ patterns of language use with teachers and friends, both inside and outside class. Following Fishman (2000) and Bentahila (1983), the analysis of language use within the educational domain will consider the interlocutor relationship and the setting, as well as the SES of the student respondents. A 2 (interlocutor: teacher v. friends) × 2 (setting: inside school v. outside school) × 3 (class: lower, middle, and upper) mixed ANOVA was conducted on each key language pattern as outcome (MA, FR, and MA–French CS) to discern the effects.² A summary of ANOVA tests is presented in Table 1, with the descriptive statistics associated with interlocutor and setting presented in Table 2.

When examining patterns of language use among these students with their friends and teachers, the interlocutor emerges as significant for all three codes, namely, MA, French, and MA–French CS ($p < 0.001$ for all three languages) (Table 1). For the use of MA, the interlocutor had a significant main effect, indicating that students speak

Table 1. Summary of ANOVA results.

	Outcome = MA	Outcome = French	Outcome = MA– French CS
Interlocutor	$F(1, 128) = 52.53,$ $p < \mathbf{0.001}$	$F(1, 128) = 109.02,$ $p < \mathbf{0.001}$	$F(1, 128) = 13.94,$ $p < \mathbf{0.001}$
Setting	$F(1, 128) = 30.20,$ $p < \mathbf{0.001}$	$F(1, 128) = 32.87,$ $p < \mathbf{0.001}$	$F(1, 128) = 0.71,$ $p = 0.40$
Class	$F(2, 128) = 2.60,$ $p = 0.08$	$F(2, 128) = 14.13,$ $p < \mathbf{0.01}$	$F(2, 128) = 1.53,$ $p = 0.22$
Interlocutor × setting	$F(1, 128) = 0.49,$ $p = 0.49$	$F(1, 128) = 1.72,$ $p = 0.19$	$F(1, 128) = 4.79,$ $p = \mathbf{0.03}$
Interlocutor × class	$F(2, 128) = 1.57,$ $p = 0.21$	$F(2, 128) = 0.75,$ $p = 0.48$	$F(2, 128) = 2.81,$ $p = 0.06$
Setting × class	$F(2, 128) = 3.25,$ $p = \mathbf{0.04}$	$F(2, 128) = 2.15,$ $p = 0.12$	$F(2, 128) = 0.36,$ $p = 0.70$
Interlocutor × setting × class	$F(2, 128) = 0.67,$ $p = 0.52$	$F(2, 128) = 0.77,$ $p = 0.47$	$F(2, 128) = 0.55,$ $p = 0.58$

Note: Bold values are statistically significant.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for the effects of interlocutor and setting.

Setting	Interlocutor					
	Teacher		Friend		Marginal mean	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>Language = MA</i>						
In class	0.27	0.74	1.54	1.44	0.91	0.94
Outside class	0.65	1.16	1.84	1.53	1.25	1.14
Marginal mean	0.49	0.86	1.67	1.39	–	–
<i>Language = French</i>						
In class	3.40	1.09	1.17	1.27	2.29	0.85
Outside class	2.73	1.51	0.87	1.08	1.78	1.03
Marginal mean	3.05	1.15	1.03	1.05	–	–
<i>Language = MA–French CS</i>						
In class	0.11	0.47	1.33	1.69	0.71	0.89
Outside class	0.39	1.01	1.21	1.61	0.81	1.03
Marginal mean	0.29	0.70	1.23	1.51	–	–

Note: Rating scale = frequency of language use. 4 = always (100%); 3 = mostly (75%); 2 = frequently (50%); 1 = occasionally (25%); 0 = never (0%).

more MA with friends (marginal mean = 1.67) than with teachers (marginal mean = 0.49) in general (Table 2). Students speak more French with teachers (marginal mean = 3.05) than with friends (marginal mean = 1.03). Furthermore, students codeswitch more when addressing their friends (marginal mean = 1.23) than with their teachers (marginal mean = 0.29). Students, therefore, use more MA and CS with their friends, whereas French is the primary code they reserve to address their teachers.

Setting also had a significant main effect on both MA and French ($p < 0.001$ for both codes) (Table 1). Students use more MA outside class (marginal mean = 1.25) than inside class (marginal mean = 0.91) (Table 2). Conversely, students used more French inside class (marginal mean = 2.29) than outside (marginal mean = 1.78).

Socio-economic class as a variable only had a significant effect on the use of French ($p < 0.01$) (Table 1). The marginal means for lower-class students was 1.65, for middle-class students it was 1.99, and for upper-class students it was 2.54. A multiple comparison with Bonferroni correction for family-wise type I error indicated that when collapsing across interlocutors and settings, the upper-class respondents differed significantly from lower- and middle-class students vis-à-vis the use of French. The middle-class students did not differ significantly from lower-class respondents.

The mixed ANOVA results show a significant interaction between interlocutor and setting with regard to the use of MA–French CS ($p < 0.03$) (Table 1). The source of this interaction was further investigated, revealing that the setting had the opposite effect when the interlocutor was a teacher, as MA–French CS increased outside the classroom ($t(153) = 3.77, p < 0.001$). When compared with friends, there was no significant difference inside or outside of classroom ($t(153) = 0.86, p = 0.39$). Although the use of CS with teachers is restricted inside class, its use is also minimal when addressing them outside the classroom. However, setting does not have a significant effect on the use of CS with friends.

A significant setting by class interaction emerged in the use of MA ($p=0.04$) (Table 1). A follow-up analysis revealed that the effect of setting on MA differed significantly between lower- and middle-class students. That is, assessing the effect of setting as the mean difference of MA use outside versus inside the classroom, lower-class students had a larger difference (mean difference 0.79) than middle-class students (mean difference = 0.26). The effect of setting on upper-class students (mean difference = 0.48) was not significantly different from that on either lower- or middle-class students.

Language attitudes

Results from the overt language attitudes data present a more complex picture of language contestation in current multilingual education in Morocco. This article analyzes the reasons underlying the attitudes of students in Morocco toward the languages used in teaching from the elementary grades through the university years to determine which codes students regard as essential to serve in this domain (Table 3).

First, we analyze social class to determine if it has an impact on students' responses. When comparing the three socioeconomic classes' responses to one language, only responses to French showed significance ($p=0.02$) (Table 3). This is consistent with students' use results, which show that the use of French is divided along class lines (Table 1). More specifically (Table 3), both the upper and middle classes support the use of French as the language of education ($p=0.93$). However, both the upper and middle classes significantly favor French as the language of education as compared to those from the lower class ($p=0.02$, $p=0.03$, respectively).

Further analysis reveals a more complex picture of the diverging attitudinal dispositions of the respondents in these three groups with regard to the same question about the language(s) of education. Generalized Estimating Equation (GEE) tests compared students' responses toward the language(s) of education (SA, French, English, and Berber), by each socioeconomic class.

It is striking that the middle and upper classes had similar results in their attitudinal responses to the language(s) of education. Both middle- and upper-class students significantly favor using French as the language of education over SA (middle class $p < 0.001$; upper class $p = 0.018$), but they also rate SA significantly higher than Berber (middle class $p < 0.001$; upper class $p = 0.011$). Further, the middle and upper classes strongly endorse French (middle class $p < 0.001$; upper class $p < 0.001$) and English (middle class $p < 0.001$; upper class $p = 0.004$) over Berber. Middle- and upper-class respondents significantly favor French over English (middle class $p < 0.001$; upper class $p = 0.026$) as the language of education. However, the results did not show any significant difference between SA and English (middle class $p = 0.590$; upper class $p = 0.409$).

Lower-class respondents significantly prefer SA to Berber ($p = 0.011$). For these respondents, there is no significant difference between SA and French ($p = 0.164$), SA and English ($p = 0.409$), Berber and English ($p = 0.409$), French and Berber ($p = 0.308$), or French and English ($p = 0.560$).

Given that the definition of modernity emphasizes science and technology, respondents were asked to indicate which language(s) are best for teaching those subjects. These results show that, regardless of class membership, these French-taught students strongly prefer using French and English for the teaching of

Table 3. 'Language(s) of education from elementary school to the university should be in_____ ' (GEE: Generalized Estimating Equation).

Response language	SA	French	English	Berber	MA	MA–French CS
Percent endorsement by social class	Lower: 66.7% Middle: 52.5% Upper: 40.0%	Lower: 41.7% Middle: 80.8% Upper: 80.0%	Lower: 33.3% Middle: 55.6% Upper: 50.0%	Lower: 25.0% Middle: 6.1% Upper: 5.0%	Lower: 0.0% Middle: 7.1% Upper: 5.0%	Lower: 0.0% Middle: 4.0% Upper: 5.0%
Social class as a whole	$\chi^2(2) = 2.23$, $p = 0.33$	$\chi^2(2) = 7.84$, $p = 0.02$	$\chi^2(2) = 2.21$, $p = 0.33$	$\chi^2(2) = 3.96$, $p = 0.14$	$\chi^2(2) = 1.71$, $p = 0.43$	$\chi^2(2) = 1.02$, $p = 0.60$
Middle vs. lower classes	–	$B = 1.77$, $p = 0.02$	–	–	–	–
Upper vs. lower classes	–	$B = 1.72$, $p = 0.03$	–	–	–	–
Upper vs. middle classes	–	$B = -0.05$, $p = 0.93$	–	–	–	–

Note: Bold values are statistically significant.

scientific and technological subjects. Respondents show the strongest support for French (lower class = 75.0%, middle class = 66.7%, and upper class = 80.0%), followed by English (lower class = 41.7%, middle class = 52.5%, and upper class = 40.0%). Student respondents' support for SA is minimal (lower class = 8.3%, middle class = 7.1%, and upper class = 5.0%). Responses for MA, Berber, and MA–French CS were 0.0% for all socio-economic groups.

Discussion

As illuminated by the foregoing analysis, there is a powerful connection between language use and attitudes among French-taught university students. Investigating language attitudes and use will show how education is a powerful site for linguistic stratification in Morocco. This discussion will examine interlocutor, setting, and class to examine patterns of language use, both inside monolingual French classrooms and outside class. Although respondents adhere to French monolingual interactions with their teachers inside class, a socioeconomic class divide emerges when the setting or interlocutor changes.

Inside school, the upper class conforms to norms of language use set by their teachers, whereas members of the lower class contest French domination by limiting its use to interactions with their teachers inside the classroom. In their language use, the upper class supports the French monolingual sanitized classroom and, along with the middle class, favors French as the preferred code for the language of instruction. Conversely, patterns of language use by the lower class contest the monolingual French classroom and attitudinally favor French–SA bilingual education.

Additionally, there is a socioeconomic class divide in respondents' attitudes toward the language of education. The ideology of modernity influences language behavior through classroom sanitization and language attitudes by reinforcing the dominance of French and English as codes synonymous with modernity and its engines, science, and technology. The hegemony of French and English is seen in middle- and upper-class respondents' positive attitudes toward their presence as languages in education and in all classes uniformly in their exclusive representation of science and technology.

When examining patterns of language use inside the classroom where French is the language of instruction, we find that student interactions with teachers are 'sanitized' from the use of MA. Students almost exclusively use French when addressing their teachers in class, they use significantly more French with teachers than with friends, and they use French significantly more often within the classroom than outside class (interlocutor, setting, [Table 1](#)). Students' speech with teachers is sanitized as part of the school culture, which reinforces the use of French, supplemented by English, as the language of 'modern' knowledge. The schism between the natural and social sciences is reinforced by a sanitized classroom in which the teaching of the natural science is believed to be cultivated only through the exclusive use of French and English. This is evident in the exchanges between respondents and their teachers, in which the speakers maintain monolingual French. The sanitization effort on the part of the teachers asserts the authority of French as a language of modern knowledge, unlike the use of MA or MA–French codeswitching.

Sanitizing the classroom and promoting the dominance of French stem from the ideology of modernity in Morocco as established by the French colonizers, who

sought to ‘modernize’ schools through the introduction of ‘scientific subjects’ taught in French (Sraieb 1994). In doing so, they institutionalized the Enlightenment idea that modernization is a requisite part of the *mission civilatrice* (civilizing mission), in this case aimed at promoting the superiority of their knowledge (Al-Jabri 2006) within their colonies. This foundation has allowed France to continue its linguistic hegemony over the now independent Morocco, in part through the recruitment of many French-educated Moroccans during the colonial era and since to fulfill France’s commercial needs (Segalla 2010) and by making the use of French in schools a prerequisite code for accessing the engines of modernity.

As Woolard (1985, 741) has argued, the test for the legitimacy of linguistic hegemony is ‘the extent to which the population that does not control that variety acknowledges and endorses its authority, its correctness, its power to convince, and its right to be obeyed, that is, the extent to which authority is ceded to those who do control that variety’. In Morocco, this linguistic hegemony is reinforced within the classroom through students’ conformity to the strict use of French (Table 1). This conformity is achieved through aligning their practices with those of their teachers who are invested in maintaining the authority of French and the belief in its exclusive ability to deliver modern knowledge, to the exclusion of local languages. The regimentation of speaking predominantly or only French is cultivated first by teachers in the classroom, where they have the ability to establish power in the exclusive identification of French with subjects associated with modernity. Social distance also affects students’ speaking in French, as its use is more tightly controlled when they address their teachers, with whom most conversations are about formal, class topics, than in conversations with their friends (interlocutor, Table 1).

The ideology of modernity serves to ‘purify’ the school setting from the presence of local languages and to promote the belief in the inadequacy of these codes. MA is used alongside French in MA–French CS only to facilitate discussions between students, both inside and outside the classroom (interlocutor × setting, Tables 1 and 2). In fact, attitudes toward MA have been unfavorable in general (Gravel 1979), and neither MA nor MA–French CS (Bentahila 1983) is regarded by respondents as languages suitable for instruction (Table 3; also Spitulnik 1998). This is particularly seen in the fact that access to teachers is limited and any conversation with them must be in French for, as one of the medical school respondents related, addressing them in MA constitutes an insult.

In Morocco, ‘education has come to occupy a central site for the constellations of power in shaping socioeconomic structures’ (Chakrani 2011), and the socioeconomic divide is reflected in the differences between student respondents’ language use and attitudes. Members of the upper class have an easy transition into French-based university education because of their monolingual French educational background and also capitalize on the early acquisition of English. The middle-class respondents are from either private French–SA bilingual schools with a heavy emphasis on French or SA-taught public schools, and they often have resources to study French and English in a private setting. In contrast, lower-class students come from public schools that teach in SA, and securing private instruction in French and English is usually beyond their economic reach. Within French-based universities, as in the wider Moroccan society, there is a valorization of the French language and its use in education, especially its exclusive use in the natural sciences. The credibility of students’ knowledge as future professionals is tied to their perfect acquisition of French.

Of the three groups, upper-class respondents use French most frequently inside the classroom (class, [Table 1](#)), regardless of interlocutor or setting, as an indication of their compliance with classroom speech norms. Once outside, where speech is less monitored and less formal, the use of French is still predominant among upper-class members. Conversely, lower-class respondents, although compliant with the teacher's sanitized interactions with them in French, limit its use to the classroom. The lower class uses more MA than other groups outside school (setting × class, [Table 1](#)), as MA is the language they use most in their daily lives (Chakrani 2010). As the lower class uses more MA outside the classroom as compared to the middle and upper classes (setting × class, [Table 1](#)), and because students use more MA–French codeswitching outside school with their friends (interlocutor × setting, [Table 1](#)), one would assume that the middle and upper classes substitute MA for MA–French codeswitching outside class when addressing friends.

Not only is the middle class's language use similar to that of the upper class, but also their attitudes are aligned with the upper class in their preference for French, significantly more so than SA, English, and Berber, as the language of education ([Table 3](#)). Overall, the middle and upper classes favor French, SA, and English in this domain, whereas the lower class does not favor French in education as much as do the middle and upper classes ([Table 3](#)). Overall, the lower class prefers French and SA for education, with no significant difference between them, therefore supporting French–SA bilingual education.

As seen in patterns of language use, the sanitization of the classroom by the instructors has cemented the close and natural association of science with French and English. Latour (1993 in Bauman and Briggs 2003) explains that an on-going purification process has motivated the discourses of modernity, where the natural sciences, as a field belonging to nature, have been separated from the social sciences. For these respondents, French and English provide direct access to scientific knowledge and resources. The power of the ideology of modernity and the belief in science to shape social change (Bauman and Briggs 2003; Marrākushī 2006; Zīnātī 1993) and in Western languages to play a role in delivering that change explain why student respondents equate progress and modernity with the acquisition and mastery of French and English. This is clear in the unanimous agreement among these respondents regarding French and English as the codes that can best teach science and technology.

Regardless of class membership, the local languages of MA, SA, and Berber are attitudinally marginalized in regard to representing science and technology. The language of education for these university students taught in French has grown increasingly to be identified with French and English. With regard to science and technology, respondents are uniformly affected by the ideology of modernity, as all class members support the nonuse of any local language in this domain. The implication of the introduction of SA as a 'scientific' language within the nation-building project has not affected the attitudes of these respondents toward its presence as a possible local code that can compete with Western languages for teaching science and technology. The recommendation of Western linguists that post-colonial countries such as Morocco maintain the use of foreign languages as modernizing codes in the post-colonial era, Ricento (2000) argues, have not only helped maintain the linguistic order pervasive during the colonial era but also cemented the close association of these languages and their acquisition as precursors to membership in the modern world. In fact, language usage as prescribed by the

political elite in Morocco makes maintaining France's linguistic asymmetries a logical choice of control in lieu of using SA – although using SA would, according to Hammoud (1982), make pedagogical sense.

One can argue, therefore, that preserving French as a scientific code in Morocco does not make linguistic sense. This is seen in the presence of MA–French CS within these French-taught classrooms, which is indicative of the extra effort the students exert in mentally processing material presented to them in French, a code that is not their mother tongue, MA, as well as, for many, being different from the language of their prior education, SA. The presence of their mother tongue within MA–French CS helps to familiarize the subject presented to them in French. One of the medical school student respondents maintained that it took him a long time to learn and internalize the word *fémur*, although he understood the meaning. He reported that it would have been easier for him to learn this vocabulary in SA, as 'admat alfakhid' is very close to its MA equivalent, 'la'dam diel lafkhad.' Meanwhile, the appropriation of the domain of natural science by French, and increasingly, English, in addition to the classroom sanitization on the part of their teachers, makes students' access to modern knowledge both dependent on and synonymous with the knowledge of French and English. Therefore, the political economy of local languages has diminished as access to the domain of natural sciences, which many believe is at the forefront of defining modern society (Bauman and Briggs 2003), has become defined as inherently belonging to Western languages.

Conclusion

This article demonstrates the relationship between language use and attitudes among three social classes of Moroccan university students taught in French, and examines the role that ideology and class membership play in shaping their attitudinal dispositions and language behavior. Results indicate that students' patterns of language use when addressing their teachers conform to teachers' strict monolingual French classroom instruction. The hegemonic role of French is reinforced within sanitized classrooms as the de facto language of 'modern' knowledge, whereas local languages are portrayed as inadequate to serve within the school context. However, student respondents are divided along socioeconomic class lines in their responses to the French-dominant school culture. The students from the upper class conform to norms of language use set by their teachers, but lower class members contest French domination by limiting its use to addressing their teachers in the classroom. Not only is the middle class's language use similar to that of the upper class, but also their attitudes are aligned with the upper class in their support for French as their preferred language of instruction.

The class divide is also reflected in student attitudes, as the lower class favors both French and SA for education, therefore supporting the maintenance of a French–SA bilingual education. However, responses regarding the optimum languages for the instruction of science and technology are uniform among all three classes, favoring French and English. This shows the effect of the ideology of modernity in associating western languages with natural science and modern knowledge to the exclusion of the local languages of MA, SA, and Berber. This ideology influences language behavior through classroom sanitization and affects language attitudes by reinforcing the dominance of French and English in school. Language politics within schools in the post-modern context still reflects the

continued influence of French colonial ideology, which marginalizes the political economy of local codes. Unless the dominance of French and English is challenged, local languages will continue to be excluded from defining Moroccan society.

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Notes

1. The frequencies of the use of these languages, including codeswitching (CS) options, were rated according to a five-point Likert scale (5 = Always/100% to 1 = Never/0%).
2. Following the typical standard practice in null hypothesis testing, a Type I error rate of 0.05 was used to detect statistically significant effects (i.e., an effect is significantly different from 0).

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