Multilingual education in Morocco and the question of cultural identity: Toward implementing a critical thinking approach in high school English textbooks

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Intercultural pedagogies theorists and cultural studies scholars have no controversies over the fact that language is the appropriate realm for the formation, contestation and negotiation of identities. As a matter of fact, language teaching and learning are not only involved with linguistic structures and lexical components. They are more engaged with cultural processes which are arguably conducive to the making and reshaping of identities. Given its new status in the Moroccan multilingual education scene, no sustained research, to my knowledge, has been done on the cultural implications of English in Moroccan high schools. Based on these premises, this paper aims at investigating the issue of English education and identity in Morocco. Then, the paper will show how promoting critical thinking strategies in high school English textbooks is an intercultural communication competence that is grounded on, besides enhancing English language skills, appreciation of local cultural identity and openness and respect of other cultures.

Key words: Education, multilingualism, cultural identity, intercultural communication competence, critical thinking.

INTRODUCTION

Multilingualism in Morocco has been the accumulative outcome of the various cultural and linguistic traces left by the European and Middle Eastern intrusion in the country. From indigenous Tamazight tongue, the natives of Morocco had to learn to live with new comers in the eighth century. Since then, Arabic had been established as the unifying language of the successive Islamic dynasties that reigned over the Moroccan throne, while Tamazight was always in the background. Such an unofficial bilingual state was disrupted at the beginning of the 20th century by the arrival of the European late comers. Morocco was divided into French and Spanish protectorates in 1912, precipitating the enforced circulation of other two major colonial languages. In spite of its arrival into the country in the second half of 17th century (In 1661, the English king Charles II received the ports of Tangier as a dowry of his Portuguese wife Catherine Braganza. The English had occupied Tangier 23 years before they were withdrawn under the fierce resistance of the natives), English has less overtones with colonialism, being practically more related to business and education.

Among all these languages, French was the most ingrained language in the country owing to its status as the language of instruction in the Moroccan schools. After independence, the newly born nation initiated a language policy that intends to reduce the absolute sway of the French culture and language, and the recovery of what is thought as the national identity of Morocco. Indeed, French education was believed to jeopardize the Islamic
tradition and national unity. It was always evocative of the Berber Dahir which canonized the Amazigh people as Berber-speaking zone, under the customary law courts in place of the Islamic jurisprudence. The French language became uneasily separable from the Moroccan spoken Arabic as it appears in the frequent use of code switching and domestication of French.

Against this backdrop, the new educational architects came up with the monolingual approach of Arabization (Arabic-only policy) for the purpose of preserving the cultural identity of the country and reconsolidating its alignment with the Arab world. The national unity was consequently expected to thrive as the various vernaculars were supposed to disappear.

However, the process of Arabization brought about a host of educational and cultural problems. For instance, it does not take into consideration the multilingual and multicultural reality of the Moroccan society. If Moroccan Arabic speakers had to adjust to a more or less identical and sophisticated Arabic, the Imaizighens population (more than 50%) had to learn a new language as a prerequisite for success at schools. Besides, the Arabization process does not cover tertiary education, which leads to remarkable failures in the areas of science and technology. Furthermore, some scholars go further to speak about the ideological underpinning of Arabization. They argue that that policy aims at creating inequality of opportunities among students. While the rich students are enabled to access French education and thus succeed in science and technology, the poor ones do not have the means to enroll in private schools. Such a point of view echoes the sociological interpretation, advanced by Pier Bourdieu, of public schools as the arena for the reproduction of social classes. Schools impose some linguistic norms (the bourgeois language which has a tendency “to abstraction, formalism, intellectualism”, as opposed to working-class language) in order to define “socially recognized criteria for linguistic correctness” (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977, p.116).

As a matter of fact, the drive toward a monolingual policy in Moroccan educational system came to a halt at the beginning of the third millennium. As a cure to its embarrassing cripples and to face the emerging challenges, the national chart of education stressed the significance of improving multilingual education in Morocco and the imperative of acknowledging the local linguistic needs of the heterogeneous population. In act 9, article 10 (Special Commission for Education Training 2000:41) the chart states clearly that one of its main objectives is to “perfect the teaching and use of Arabic language, strengthen foreign languages and be open to the teaching of Tamazight.” The fact that Tamazight is recommended as a significant language of instruction implies a rectification of the monolingual policy that hampered equity in education opportunities. Moreover, by referring to foreign languages rather than French, it is suggested that English is going to reign as the possible language of the future. This implication is backed up in reality by the introduction of English in public middle schools. However, in spite of this exoneration of colonial contamination, the way it is taught in the Moroccan schools is symptomatic of paranoid and xenophobic worries about its endangering of Moroccan culture.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The aim of this study is to examine the place of English language in the Moroccan high school textbook. The focus is laid particularly on the common assumption underlying the anxious stripping off the culture related to English language. It challenges the culturalist worries about the jeopardy represented by the international language on the local cultures and identities.

RESEARCH PROBLEMS

1. Bearing in mind its association with globalization and what is known as ‘linguistic imperialism’, is English language jeopardizing of Moroccan local culture?
2. Is multilingualism a healthy educational phenomenon? What are the main factors behind the swing between monolingualism and multilingualism in the Moroccan public schools?
3. How can critical thinking approach enhance English teaching and lead to the development of intercultural competences among students, and hence circumvent the associated threat of cultural colonialism?

METHOD

This research paper is a descriptive study that draws on the theories of linguistic imperialism and cultural identity. For more concrete connections between such theories and the actual practice of English teaching, a questionnaire and open conversations are conducted and analyzed in the light of the established theoretical framework of the present study.

SUBJECTS

The study targets 108 miscellaneous informants: 78 are classroom teachers of English (T) randomly selected from different high schools that belong to Regional Academy of Education and Training, Oujda, Morocco. 47 are males and 31 are females. 70% graduated from Mohamed I university, faculty of humanity in Oujda and their age ranges from 25 to 45. 30% graduated from other universities. However, all of them had their pedagogical training in higher institute of education (ENS) in Rabat. 14 are bachelors of English (B), 8 are males and 6 are females, aged between 27 to 38, graduated from Mohamed I university, faculty of humanity, class of 2004 (former colleagues of the researcher), occupying other administrative jobs. 16 are Peace Corps volunteers (P), 7 are males and 9 are females, in the province of Oujda, Morocco during the years 2011-12. The informants were sent the questionnaire, on August 2012, on the form of attached document via internet. As for
the informants in the open conversation, the total is 37 graduated students including 18 are females and 19 are males. These are senior classes the researcher taught English in Ibn Khaldoun high school, district of Jerada, province of Oujda during the academic year of 2010-11. 23 students chose to follow Art or Law studies (A). 8 Students pursue English studies in college (E). 6 Students follow specialist education (S) such as engineering, medicine or commerce. The conversations took place with separate groups the researcher met in the library of the campus of Mohamed I university throughout May and June 2012. The responses of all the informants are analyzed and a percentage table is established to clearly capture them. Before embarking on data collection and analysis, it is useful to stop briefly at the theories that deal with discourse, language teaching and cultural identity in the age of globalization.

ELT AND THE QUESTION OF CULTURAL IDENTITIES IN MOROCCO

Most of the discourse analysts believe that the teaching of language is inseparable from the teaching of cultures. Tsui and Tollefson (2007) argue that “the relationship between language policy and national cultural identity is dialectical” (p.7). That is to say, any change on language policy is supposed to have decisive impacts on the national and cultural identities. Fairclough (1992, p.6) affirms that “language use reflects culture and it is impossible to dissociate the two in any real sense.” Indeed, Fairclough was not the first to speak about the reflectivity of culture through language. The American linguist and anthropologist, Edward Sapir (1884–1939), and his student, Benjamin Whorf (1897–1941) had long raised the issue of the capacity of language to mirror the culture of its speakers and shape their ways of thinking. The Sapir–Whorf hypothesis demonstrates that our worldviews are determined by our language (Anderson and Lightfoot, 2002; Crystal, 1987; Hayes et al., 1987). B. Otto has shown how illustrations of cultural language differences can be proved in that “some languages have specific words for concepts whereas other languages use several words to represent a specific concept. For example, the Arabic language includes many specific words for designating a certain type of horse or camel (Crystal, 1987)” (Otto 2009, p.65).

In his turn, Enajji (2009, p.5) insists that “language-culture interface is commonly acknowledged as an important symbol of citizenship and group identity, often engendering solidarity among communities and feeling of belonging to larger population.” Apparently, national and cultural identity is incarnated by the interlacing of language and culture. This implies that learning another language/culture can interfere with the formation of local identities. The Moroccan educational architects usually associate the teaching of Arabic and Tamazight with the preservation of the national culture. This appears in the various aspects of cultural jeopardy and not only in the themes and topics) to prevent certain students “reasons for learning English” (Anthony, 1997). The problems of applying this method are inexactitude of the responsible educationalists in determining the needs of the students who are graduating from high schools.

Another argument against the preemptive separating of language and the culture is that students are exposed heavily to the Western American cultures even if they do not encounter it in the language. One has just to think about the American movies, TV shows and documentaries, western music, advertisement and various products which students are in continuous contact with thanks to tremendous advances in mass media.

The assumption that these external influences corrupt and is detrimental to the local identity is replete with misunderstanding. The widespread belief that the American cinema and media reflect the American culture is not quite correct. In this vein, I cannot overlook a very interesting statement made by one of my American Peace Corps informants. 

I think as far as English goes (and in particular the American influence) the bigger issue is movies, music, TV, etc. which corrupts the youth and culture (but this is a world-wide phenomenon, even in America youth are corrupted by the media). Maybe if the students study English they will get a more realistic understanding of the American youth and culture instead of just trying to imitate pop-culture, thus helping preserve their own culture.

In reality, Moroccan speakers of English who are knowledgeable of its cultural issues are not culturally deracinated. They are more conservative and proud of their Moroccan cultural identity. At this age of globalization, where the economic and ecological destiny of the whole world becomes interrelated, it is unrealistic to retain insulated and pure cultures. To strip English off its underlying culture is tantamount to missing very constructive incentive and atmosphere of language learning.
Table 1. The figures corresponding to the informants’ responses.

1. What do you think about multilingual education in Morocco?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Maybe</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Useful and beneficial (key to job markets and economic progress)</td>
<td>98 informants (I)</td>
<td>6 (I)</td>
<td>4 (I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilitating of openness to other cultures</td>
<td>74 (I)</td>
<td>18 (I)</td>
<td>6 (I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threatening of local cultural identity</td>
<td>4 (I)</td>
<td>85 (I)</td>
<td>19 (I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demanding and draining for students</td>
<td>5 (I)</td>
<td>27 (I)</td>
<td>16 (I)</td>
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2. Do you think that English is gaining ground in the Moroccan educational system?

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>I don’t know</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>66 (I)</td>
<td>29 (I)</td>
<td>13 (I)</td>
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3. Do you think that English is beneficial than French and Spanish?

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<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>I don’t know</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>103 (I)</td>
<td>4 (I)</td>
<td>1(I)</td>
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4. Would you suggest the introduction of English in primary school and the first years of middle school as a step for enhancing it?

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<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
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<td></td>
<td>77 (I)</td>
<td>22 (I)</td>
<td>(I)</td>
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5. Bearing in mind its association with globalization and what is known as ‘linguistic imperialism,’ do you think of English language as jeopardizing of Moroccan local culture?

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<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>I don’t know</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27 (I)</td>
<td>76 (I)</td>
<td>(I)</td>
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6. What do you think about the performance of high schools’ students in English?

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<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unsatisfactory</td>
<td>62 (T)</td>
<td>8 (T) 3 (P) 3 (B)</td>
<td>8 (B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average/ just ok</td>
<td>8 (T) 13 (P) 3 (B)</td>
<td>3 (B)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td></td>
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7. Are you satisfied with the way it is taught?

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<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36 (T) 2 (B) 8 (P)</td>
<td>42 (T) 3 (B) 1 (P)</td>
<td>9 (B) 7 (P)</td>
</tr>
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8. Suggest an effective way of teaching English language in Moroccan schools? 40 (T) generally recommend the communicative approach; 32 (T) suggest an eclectic method; 3 (T) go for the competency based approach; 3 (T) proposes teaching through drama, music and fun. As for the other informants they provide no clear pedagogical method for effective teaching.

DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

The research depends on the reactions of the informants to a more or less guided questionnaire to determine their attitudes vis-à-vis some issues pertinent to the argumentative problematic raised in this paper. These are questions that probe into the multilingual education in Morocco; whether English is gaining ground in the Moroccan educational system at the expense of French as a second language; whether English is beneficial than French and Spanish; if English language is jeopardizing of Moroccan local culture; the performance of high schools’ students in English; whether the introduction of English in primary school and the first years of middle school is a step for enhancing it; finally a suggested effective way of teaching English language in Moroccan schools. Table 1 summarizes the results of the questionnaire. Moreover, the open conversation with the graduated students aims at eliciting their evaluation with respect to their retention of the English language proficiency they acquired in high school. Table 2 demonstrates their views.

DATA ANALYSIS

The data worked out of the questionnaire show clearly that 90.7% of the informants support the multilingual education in Morocco and see it as fundamental to the economic development. Indeed, this result accords with the dominant view of the Moroccan public regarding the policy of monolingualism (Arabization). Ask any Moroccan teacher or just a layman about the achievement of Arabization and all you will hear is that education went bankrupt when Arabic was used as the only means of instruction. As for the association of multilingual education with cultural openness or
endangerment, the informants demonstrate again positive attitudes in that 68.5% see it as helping to the process of cultural dialogue, while only 3.7% believe in the grave consequence of multilingual teaching on the local culture. Within such multilingual educational atmosphere, English is emerging as a dominant language that is capable of competing even with the colonial second language French. A percentage of 61.1% think that English is gaining ground in the Moroccan school at the expense of French and Spanish because the latter are declining at the level of their international economic and political importance, and also for their association with colonial past. Likewise, the majority of informants 95.3% agree that English is more functional and valuable and that students will need it in their future education and job careers. This is evidenced by the 71.2% support for the introduction of English in the primary education for the sake of improving its acquisition.

Furthermore, the escalating ascendency of English in the Moroccan educational system does not coincide with any cultural imperialist threats as it is largely believed in the theory of cultural imperialism. 70.3% deny the implication of English expansion in Morocco with jeopardizing the native culture of the Moroccans. However, the way it is taught in Morocco has the symptom of a real cultural skepticism which surprisingly corresponds only with 25% of informants who affirm its association with cultural risks. This kind of distrust is negatively reflected on the unsatisfactory English level of the students as it is claimed by 57.4% of the informants. The open conversation with students as summarized in table II displays students’ dissatisfaction with their performance and retention of English. Just 21.6% of them–these are the brilliant ones who opted for majoring in English in their higher education–claim to preserve some language components and grammatical structure. As a point of fact, the reason for such disappointing achievement in English is not only the negative attitudes and cynicism towards it. More than probably, the way it is exposed to students is not efficient. 42.5% are dissatisfied with the methods and the means used in instruction and training.

**FINDINGS**

The outcome of the questionnaire shows that English language poses no real threat on the national culture in Morocco. However, students are exposed only to the skills, functions and language components that they simply need during or after their learning in high school. There is a sustained suppression of visible facets of western cultures in the syllabus of English courses for fear that would end up in discontent with local traditions and values. This cautioned approach of ELT (restriction and specification of the scope and content) is believably affecting, negatively, the performance of students. In general, there is a tendency in the Moroccan secondary schools to balance between all-purpose English, as it appears in the lessons designed for teaching functions (such as expressions of purpose, asking for clarification, apologizing, giving information, etc.) and the teaching of English for particular use. This, supposedly, culminates in amalgamation between ESP and EGP that leaves students unsure about the future appropriateness of their English to their emerging needs and collegial necessities in engineering, medicine or commerce etc.

More importantly, all the informants agree on the advantages of English over the other taught languages such as French and Spanish. But when it comes to suggesting possible effective ways of teaching English language in Moroccan schools, no informant, particularly teachers, refers to critical thinking approach in teaching or skills of enhancing intercultural communication competence. Indeed, as the wheel of globalization seem to spin steadily, it becomes inflexible to avoid confronting the international culture connected to English language. It is recommended that English as a foreign language should be taught in its cultural context. The following discussion attempts to suggest, in the light of the research results, that the adoption of intercultural education and critical pedagogy can enhance the situation of ELT in Morocco and preempt the cultural skepticism and paranoid related to English spread.

**DISCUSSION AND SUGGESTIONS**

Most of the advocates of multilingual education believe that the learning of second language develops students’ predisposition to constructive critical thinking (Garcia et al., 1998, p.104). Dealing and being exposed to new languages and cultures sharpen their awareness of different alien mindsets and ways of living, and challenge their preconceptions and knowledge of the world. Indeed, the critical approach to other languages facilitates fostering “positive language attitudes” which, Firde vs Karhan concludes, “let learners have positive orientation towards learning English” (Karhan, 2007). Through inspectional analyses of, interpreting and comparing of their own cultural views with others, they get initiated into the practice of critical language awareness (Fairclough, 1989) as they are entering an age of global societies. This critical pedagogy becomes a necessity to help students overcome their stereotyping and xenophobic attitudes when encountering contents from the culture of the target language.

Alastair (1994, p.262) corroborates Fairclough’s assumption of the embedding of language in power. He considers the one-way flow of idea from the west to rest as detrimental to local cultural identities and national sovereignty and independence. Nonetheless, English, in
his eyes, is not only an international capitalist language that supports the expansion of Anglo-American power. It is as well a language of resistance and protest, “not merely as a language of imperialism, but also as a language of opposition.” The solution for him is “critical pedagogy” which enables learners to communicate, “away from dogmatic and abstract prescriptions,” (p.262) with dominant cultures that carry different values and systems of beliefs.

The conceptual relationship between language and culture has remarkably been affected by the vectors of globalization. It is no longer fixed and stable. Cultures are subject to ubiquitous redefinitions by the global-local inflections. Pal (2000, p.124-129) claims that the local nowadays appropriates, transforms and adjusts to the global models to satisfy the needs of the local communities. It is a kind of transculturation by which people redefine the meaning of the global and tradition is preserved. The author asserts that this variety of hybridity opens the space for constant creation and recreation of the local identities. As a consequence of this, the relationship between culture and language becomes “fluid and dialogic”; as such, people start to “negotiate new modes and tools of communication in accordance with changing circumstances and purposes” (Findlow, 2006, p.22).

Accordingly, language teaching entails a reconfiguration of the status and role of teachers. The acquisition of language is seen now as an ongoing process of investigating and assessing of information rather than packing of knowledge. The teachers are supposed to maintain a liberating imagination and distanced control into the classroom. Learners are encouraged to engage into negotiable relationship with the contents from the other culture and avoid predetermined conclusions and taken for granted facts. Open-ended questions and problem-solving activities are conducive to learners’ creativity and improvement of effective communication with speakers from the target language and better understanding of its culture. In this regard, Enajji (2009, p. 22) concludes: “integrating multiculturalism and citizenship issues may develop critical thinking, empower students to take action for problem solving, and develop their awareness of citizens’ issues and global issues.” Critical thinking, thus, is part and parcel of intercultural competence in the realm of education.

Intercultural competence consists of a change from the transmission pedagogy to reflective learning and critical thinking. To develop an intercultural competence in the students demands, as Claire (2007, p.2) suggests, “a shift from an information transmission aim to an approach based on mastering cultural analysis and cultural communication,” which equip learners with necessary instruments and strategies to carry out a successful interaction with speakers of other identities and contents from different cultures. Such mastery of cultural analysis and adoption of critical reflection are counteracting to the risks of stereotyping, essentializing and reductionist representation of cultures, which accompany the transmission method of teaching and learning about cultures. With critical thinking, the other is not thought of as representative of an exclusively single identity. Learners are trained to appreciate cultural differences and other people with dissimilar worldviews, values and mores. This sustains them to be motivated to learn more about the other culture and acquire ‘appropriate’ way to communicate with native speakers. It follows from this that: the ‘best’ teacher is neither the native nor the non-native speaker, but the person who can help learners see relationships between their own and other cultures, can help them acquire interest in and curiosity about ‘otherness’, and an awareness of themselves and their own cultures seen from other people’s perspectives (Byram et al., 2002, p.10).

There is no ready-made prescription for teaching intercultural communication or a workable method to copy. What matters mostly is to trigger learners’ curiosity to discover about the other cultures and compare them to theirs. They need also to be open and ready to forsake their prior biases and prejudices. Needless to mention the imperative for critical perception of their cultural values and attitudes and how that affects the viewing of the others; “Critical cultural awareness (savoir s’engager): an ability to evaluate, critically and on the basis of explicit criteria, perspectives, practices and products in one’s own and other cultures and countries” (Byram et al., 2002, p.13).

For Moroccan Baccalaureate students, critical thinking and intercultural skills can be developed through the themes and grammatical materials and language components included in the textbooks. Textbooks’ designers should select contents that can be exploited for critical and intercultural perspectives. For instance, the themes of education, family, youths, women, citizenship, immigration, development, environment, celebrations, cultural values, children rights, art… in the United States or Britain should be investigated from different angle of visions such as age, region, gender, religion, class and race. Then students are required to compare and related them to their own cultural context. Crucial here is their acquisition of the ability to contrast, discuss and interpret more than stuffing their minds with factual details.

Students are, by contrast, exposed to such topics from local perspectives, believing that their needs are met and English is excised of its cultural ‘imperial’ side. What happens, in fact, is that students, usually, feel bored and unmotivated when they discover that the new language is not telling them anything new; thus they lose interest in the lesson and those who managed to assimilate the lesson end up with language competency that does not sustain them in undertaking a modest conversation with foreigners.

The teaching of grammar and vocabulary should be also based on language items that revolve around
cultural diversity, equality, minority, human right, mutual respect, racism, discriminatory generalization and observations... The illustrative examples should target questioning prejudices, stereotypes and superstitions. For this purpose, the teacher should engage the learners in critical discourse analysis. They are enticed to interrogate absolute truths and not to agree with one version of reality or variety of knowledge. As an example, we can evoke the comparison of some coverage of immigration by Spanish newspaper article and a local one, and how applying critical discourse analysis could demonstrate that such varieties of coverage "may reproduce, resist racism, abuse of social power, dominance and inequality" (Byram et al., 2002, p.27). In short, learners must understand that all sorts of generalizations and stereotypes are most of the time grounded on emotional reactions rather than rational thinking. Hence, they should be challenged and overcome.

CONCLUSION

Before demanding learners to forsake their prejudging habits and stereotypes, teachers must circumvent their own misconceptions and prejudicial thinking. They should find out about other cultures and unravel the foundation on which they base their conclusions and point of views on other people and cultures. It is only then, that they can facilitate the development of intercultural competence and enhancement of critical thinking among learners.

This research paper has been concerned with the problematic of whether it is justifiable and useful to teach English Language in isolation from its related culture that is largely depicted as imperial, expansionist and degrading of local identities. It has argued that EL, and languages in general, are never "objective social instrument for conveying meaning," (Ihemere, 2006) but they are closely related to the identities of the corresponding national and ethnic affiliations and groups. As such, the integration of an intercultural competence approach features as an imperative to boost the process of ELT and learning in Moroccan secondary education. Critical pedagogy, which is timidly and hesitantly being tried at schools, figures as effective in stirring learners' motivation for acquiring "appropriate" usage of English. Coupled with intercultural education it is supposed to lead to learners' appreciation of local cultural identity and respect of other cultures.

LIMITATION

One of the undeniable limitations of this present research is its focus on a very narrow group of informants as far as their number and geography distribution are concerned. Likewise, the attempt to establish a link between the theoretical framework regarding ELT and multilingualism, critical discourse analysis and intercultural studies on the one hand, and results of the questionnaire and open conversations on the other hand need lengthy elaboration that exceeds the scope of this research paper. However, it remains a modest invitation for academic dissertations and theses that probe into other facets of the problematic raised above, relying on bigger number of informants from the whole country, or even larger like North African countries, as well as professors and students belonging to tertiary education.

REFERENCES


