**Unheard Voices: A Narrative Exploration of Moroccan Science Learners' Experiences with French-Medium Instruction Policy**

Laanani Khalidª

**Abstract**

Claiming the 'failure' of the Arabicization policy adopted a few years after independence, the Moroccan Ministry of Education decided in 2019 to officially reintroduce the French language as a medium of instruction (FMI) for science subjects. This decision ignited a tense debate about languages in the country especially among politicians. In this very polarized political debate, the educational facet was eclipsed and learners’ and educators’ voices remained largely ‘silenced’. This study seeks to break this silence by giving students a voice. Taking a narrative approach to language beliefs, it aims to reveal how language ideologies shape students’ experiences in FMI science classes. To that end, a cohort of 15 high school students were asked to write narratives about their experiences of learning science in French. The dataset was analysed using inductive thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Three central intertwined themes were identified: a) ambivalent language ideologies, b) FMI as an opportunity and c) FMI as a hurdle. The results indicate that students have inconsistent beliefs regarding FMI policy. These inconsistencies are largely due to their conflicting beliefs, on the one hand in the prestigious status of French and, on the other hand in their low proficiency in this language. The study concludes with implications for language policy decision makers and educators.

Keywords: Language policy, narrative inquiry, experiences, beliefs, language ideologies, science students, French medium instruction.

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ª PhD candidate, Laboratory of Language, Literature and Translation, Faculty of Humanities, Mohammedia, Hassan II University, Morocco. ORCID: 0000-0001-5520-3292

**\* Corresponding author(s)**

Laanani Khalid, Faculty of Humanities, Hassan II University, Hassan II Avenue: O. Box 546, Mohammedia, Morocco. Email: khalid.laanani@gmail.com

**Introduction**

After nearly three decades, the Arabicization policy was declared a ‘failure’ more implicitly than explicitly through a series of educational reports and evaluations. In 2014, the Higher Council for Education, Training and Research (CSEFRS) conducted an assessment of the implementation of the National Charter for Education and Training[[1]](#footnote-1) (NCET) and it concluded that the public education system still suffers from several serious dysfunctions. Ambiguity in language-in-education planning was identified as one of these persistent problems. Based on the results of the 2014 report, CSEFRS proposed another reform baptised “A Strategic Vision of Reform 2015-2030”. Echoing the National Charter, the vision proposed a new language policy called ‘Language Alternation’ as a new strategy to promote the acquisition of foreign languages. The new policy recommends teaching scientific and technical school subjects through French as a medium of instruction (FMI). Despite the heated debate instigated by this language policy, it was eventually turned into a law in 2019, known as the ‘Framework Law 51.17’.

As is the case with most language policies in Morocco, the FMI policy took a top-down approach to educational reform. The major stakeholders of this policy, for example, students, were not integrated into the decision-making process. Instead, their *voices* were monopolized by ideologically motivated political agendas and ministerial administrative bureaucracy. Students’ readiness and proficiency were not evaluated, nor were their language beliefs gauged before implementation. Learners’ beliefs about MoI are generally investigated to highlight, inter alia, the impact of the medium used on learning (e.g., Macaro and Akincioglu, 2018). Students’ beliefs are also utilized as a lens to gain insight into the process of language policy (LP) implementation and to uncover the language ideologies held by students (e.g., Sung, 2022). However, most previous research takes a quantitative approach to students’ beliefs about MoI policy and it rarely places their personal ‘*experiences’* as learners in L2-mediated content classes centre-stage in the research design.

Grounded in the conceptualization of language policy as *experiences* (Shohamy, 2009), the present study explores how Moroccan science students’ experience the FMI policy in public secondary schools. It takes a narrative approach to data collection and uses thematic analysis as an analytical tool (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Ontologically, this study is underpinned by a critical realist understanding of reality (Maxwell, 2012; Willig, 2021) and an experiential orientation to data interpretation to preserve the meanings ascribed by students to their experiences. The study attempts to answer the following research questions:

1. How do Moroccan public secondary school science students experience the FMI policy?
2. What beliefs and language ideologies do they hold regarding the FMI policy?

**Theoretical Framework**

1. **The construct of beliefs**

Beliefs have emerged as a pivotal area of focus in educational research because of their explanatory potential in relation to various aspects of the teaching and learning processes. Fenstermacher’s prediction that beliefs will become the “most significant construct in educational research” (Pajares, 1992:329) has indeed come true. A growing interest in demystifying both teachers’ and learners’ beliefs yielded scholarly insight into a multitude of education-related phenomena, such as motivation, comprehension, and self-efficacy to name but a few.

Beliefs, however, are defined in different ways. Still, as Skott (2015:19) notes, most definitions of beliefs in the literature share “a common core”. In his oft-cited article, Pajares (1992:316) defines beliefs as “an individual's judgment of the truth or falsity of a proposition.” Richardson (1996:103) states that beliefs are “psychologically-held understandings, premises or propositions about the world that are felt to be true”. Beliefs are also defined as “relatively stable, value-laden, mental constructs, which carry a subjective truth value” (Skott, 2013:548). Of interest to us here is the common denominator of these conceptualizations of beliefs, i.e., the assumptions individuals make about the world of experience are *subjective* in nature. It is worth noting that language beliefs and language ideologies are used interchangeably in this study.

1. **Language policy as *experiences***

In the present study, language policy (LP) is conceptualized as ‘*experiences* (Shohamy, 2009). This approach foregrounds the way individuals experience the effects of language policies in their daily lives (Shohamy, 2009). Research taking a similar approach to LP is now abundant and methodologically diversified (e.g., Johnson, 2009; Tollefson, 2006). Following Ricento’s (2000) three-phase account of language policy and planning (LPP), LP as ‘experiences’ approach can be contextualized within the third phase of LPP’s theoretical trajectory. This third ‘wave’ (Johnson, 2016) shifted focus to language practices at the micro-level and highlighted the experiences of local agents at the bottom of the LP structure. The concerns in this new humanist tradition are social justice and linguistic rights.

According to Shohamy (2009:187), shedding light on the experiences of policy subjects is one way to uncover the ideologies that undergird LP, and in so doing “prevent unjust applications of LP within societies.” Achieving this goal means that “valid” LPs can be formulated and, therefore, more ‘linguistic victims’ are saved (Shohamy, 2009:188). The value of such an approach resides in its ability to bring to the fore the human dimension in LP design and make the muted voices of local agents dwelling at the bottom of the LP structure heard. Shohamy (2009) notes that personal experiences went unnoticed in earlier LP research. She writes:

Personal experiences have rarely been viewed as part of the domain of language policy, which has traditionally maintained a bureaucratic blindness to, and a detached perspective on, how people experience policies driven primarily by political, national, educational and economic ideologies. The human and personal dimensions have been overlooked or ignored, as though language policies occurred in a personal vacuum. (185)

By taking this approach, Shohamy postulates, researchers will be able to highlight the tension between policy as text (Ball,1993) and policy as practice (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012).

**Review of the literature**

Research on learners' beliefs about MoI has been conducted in diverse contexts and educational phases, including primary, secondary, and tertiary education. Studies have employed a range of perspectives and methodologies to investigate these issues. It is worthy to note that studies exploring learners' beliefs about MoI frequently report conflicting results. This is partly due to variations in study focus, context, participant cohorts, and research methods employed. However, these inconsistent findings reflect the nature of beliefs as a construct which tends to be multifaceted and can include a mix of positive and negative perceptions (Pajares, 1992: 318).

Various beliefs regarding foreign MoI, such as English, have been identified among learners in higher education (HE) studies. Both positive and negative beliefs have been reported in this regard. For example, learners believe that English-Medium Instruction (EMI) can enhance their English language proficiency (Lee et al., 2021; Macaro and Akincioglu, 2018; Rowland and Murray, 2020). Conversely, other studies have reported that while students are satisfied with EMI classes, they do not believe that such instruction significantly improves their English language proficiency (Kym and Kym, 2014). Additionally, foreign MoI is perceived to enhance future work and study opportunities abroad (e.g., Jiang and Zhang, 2019).

 In the context of secondary education, although foreign MoI is claimed to impede the acquisition of scientific knowledge (Pun et al., 2022), highly motivated students typically hold positive beliefs about L2 MoI and are generally unconcerned about any potential disadvantages (Paulsrud, 2016). These students view the use of L2 medium as an opportunity not only to learn but also to have fun (Paulsrud, 2016). Limited proficiency in MoI, however, can hinder classroom interaction (An and Thomas, 2021; An et al., 2021). This explains why less proficient students usually express the need to integrate L1 as an instructional strategy since they believe it can reduce anxiety and help overcome comprehension difficulties, particularly in science classrooms (An and Macaro, 2022). Yet, they are aware that L1 integration should be used in controlled amounts (Pun et al., 2022).

In the Moroccan context, we could not identify any studies that operationalized the notion of ‘experiences’ to examine science learners’ language beliefs and ideologies. Instead, previous studies either focused exclusively on language attitudes or used the concepts of attitudes and beliefs indistinctively, overlooking the fact that they are theoretically dissimilar (e.g., Fishbein & Ajzen 1975). Recent **empirical** studies that investigated language attitudes in Morocco are reviewed below with a focus on the French language.

Marley (2004) found that although Moroccan students preferred bilingual (Arabic-French) education, they still viewed French as a ‘vital’ language for its instrumental benefits. Similarly, Bouziane (2020) reported that both tertiary and high school Moroccan students had positive attitudes towards all languages, mainly for instrumental and integrative motives. Moroccan students tended to associate French with modernity and openness, showing the ideological nature of their attitudes (Chakrani, 2009). Social factors such as class were also found to influence learners’ attitudes as upper- and middle-class students showed a preference for French to the detriment of other national languages (Chakrani and Huang, 2014).

 French language in science disciplines poses problems for Moroccan learners. Bouziane and Rguibi (2018) found that French was the major reason why freshmen science students switched to literary streams. French is also found to cause content comprehension problems. For instance, kaddouri (2018) reported that over 85% of BIOF[[2]](#footnote-2) students found difficulty in understanding the content taught in French. This was mainly due to science students’ limited technical language repertoire (Lahlou, 2018). Moreover, although the use of French in the science classroom exposed learners to scientific discourse, many students failed to produce and master discipline-specific discourses (Sagh, 2022).

The studies discussed so far have used mainly quantitative methods and none of them explored learners’ *experiences* with the recent FMI policy through narratives. This study aims to address this conceptual and methodological lacuna by prioritizing students’ personal experiences with FMI in science classes. By doing so, it aims to provide a deeper understanding of Moroccan high school science students’ language ideologies and show how they affect their views about the FMI policy.

**Methodology**

1. **Participants**

Moroccan public High school science students (N=15) participated in this study. All students belonged to the same high school and they were recruited using random sampling. They all belonged to the same age group (16-17 years old) and were all at the same school level (1st-year Baccalaureate[[3]](#footnote-3)). Students were debriefed about the aims of the research and their consent for participation was obtained. The names used in the analysis to refer to participants are all pseudonyms.

1. **Data collection**

The narrative approach was used as a data collection method. Participants were asked to write a narrative account about their ‘*experiences’* with FMI policy. To make the writing process less daunting, no page limit was imposed. The following prompt questions were provided to help students produce their written accounts:

* What are the challenges that you face in studying science subjects in French?
* What is the positive/negative impact of FMI policy on your studies?
* How do you evaluate your overall experience of studying science in French?

In this study, we use the term *narrative* in a general sense, i.e., an account of a lived experience “written in essay form” (Polkinghorne,1988:13). Initially, it was not part of the design of this study to make students produce narratives that display a clear “organizational scheme expressed in story form” (Polkinghorne, 1988:18). Put differently, most of the written accounts produced did not have a clear ‘plot’, however, some of them did have a temporal structure within which students’ experiences were framed.

1. **Data analysis**

Thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 2022) was used to analyse students’ written accounts. The accounts were coded using NVivo software and an inductive approach was taken to the process of coding. First, students’ productions were open-coded to develop initial codes. Afterwards, developed codes were collated and examined for potential themes. At an earlier stage in theme development, **five** themes were developed. Later, these themes were reviewed and reduced to **three** major themes that we believed best capture students’ experiences with FMI policy and their language ideologies.

**Results**

This study reports **three** major themes (see Figure 1). a) **ambivalent language ideologies**: the set of mixed language beliefs students’ have about the languages they encounter in the school domain, especially French. b) **FMI as an opportunity**: the positive beliefs students hold about the use of French as MoI in science classes. c) **FMI as a hurdle**: the negative beliefs students hold about being instructed in science in French.



***Figure******1****.* The three final themes that were developed in this study

1. **Ambivalent language ideologies**

In the sections that follow, we describe the theme of ‘ambivalent language ideologies’ through a discussion of its three main subthemes: a) beliefs about French, b) beliefs about Arabic and c) beliefs about English.

* 1. **Beliefs about French**

The data shows that students tend to hold both positive and negative beliefs about French. We think the use of the following short titles will best capture students’ inconsistent set of language ideologies.

* + 1. ***A complex language***

Students believe that French is a ‘*complex’* language. This belief may have been developed from the fact that although they have spent years learning this language, they still encounter serious problems in its mastery. Such a dismissive view of French as an intrinsically complicated language is also due to students’ positive experiences in learning other foreign languages such as English. For example, participant Sarah, writes: “French is not a science language and it is a *complex* language. English is a good alternative; it is easier” [emphasis ours]. Likewise, Oussama declares that he finds scientific French ‘complicated’. He writes: “It is hard to memorise scientific concepts in French and I find them complicated…” As evidenced by these cases, students’ beliefs about general and scientific French conflate to strengthen their negative beliefs about it.

* + 1. ***You don’t speak French? Abnormal!***

As mentioned earlier, in Morocco, public-school students spend long years studying French. However, the majority fail to master it by the time they obtain their baccalaureate degree. The norm is that every schooled Moroccan should be able to speak some French, however, failing to do so is often characterized as an ‘abnormality’. Students’ written accounts show that this is the case. Hanane, for instance, writes, “For me, the decision (i.e., FMI policy) is beneficial…because you will learn French... and speaking it will become something *ordinary* for me…” [emphasis ours]. Being immersed in this ‘linguistic culture’ (Schiffman, 1996) which ideologically redefines language behaviour across the lines of normality and abnormality, students believe that the mastery of French is the ‘norm’ which they should aim at. This is probably due to their other belief that French as a colonial and first foreign language in Morocco is ‘here to stay’, at least, for the foreseeable future. For example, Lobna, encouraging her peers to study French, writes: “Don’t quit! Just try! for French will *remain* an *essential* language”.

* + 1. ***‘Essential’ means official***

Viewing French as an ‘*essential’* language is a recurrent belief in the dataset. The majority of students deem learning French as a major goal that one must achieve. The ‘essentiality’ of French is sometimes stated explicitly and more often implicitly in students’ written accounts. Lobna writes: “[French] is an *essential* language…it is good for communication and writing” [emphasis ours]. As implied by this statement, French is viewed as being equal if not superior to other national official languages. This belief rests on the status of French in the education system where it is taught as a subject and used as MoI for a sum of hours that exceeds that allocated to an official language like Arabic. Moreover, the selection of French as MoI for science made it even more prestigious. Also, the fact that French is mandatory in science instruction strengthens this belief. In this respect, Doha writes: “French was selected to teach scientific subjects and it is *obligatory*”. ‘Obligatory’ here means ‘very important’ and this attests to the fact that French is a de facto official language.

* 1. **Beliefs about Arabic and English**

Students generally believe that Arabic is an easy language. This belief is reinforced by the difficulties they encountered in FMI science classes. Lobna writes, “I used to study in Arabic...the lessons were easy...I did not face any difficulty.” English, on the other hand, is viewed as an international language, the language of science, and relatively easier than French. Students believe that EMI is the right alternative to FMI. English is also a source of self-satisfaction for some students. One student writes, “English is, and will always be an open gateway...it makes me feel self-satisfied...I gave all my love to it!”

1. **FMI as an opportunity**

Some students believe that the FMI policy is a timely solution to remedy their accumulated French language problems and ultimately achieve academic success. They divide their language learning experiences into two distinct phases: an initial phase marked by anxiety and apprehension, and a second one during which they believe they could overcome the challenges, albeit, not entirely. In the ensuing sections, we elucidate the overarching theme of ‘FMI as an opportunity’ through its two salient subthemes: (a) FMI as a pathway to self-fulfilment, and (b) FMI as a means to augment one's linguistic capital.

* 1. ***FMI as a pathway to self-fulfilment***

Students' instrumental orientation is evident in their efforts to overcome the longstanding issue of low proficiency in French. FMI is perceived as an opportunity to enhance self-confidence and, therefore, to achieve more. Douae, for instance, states that the FMI policy enabled her to “face up to the difficulties, especially the *phobia* of speaking in French” in the classroom. Also, future-oriented goals such as getting a good job, pursuing higher studies and studying abroad, are believed to be attainable if one masters their French. Talking about higher studies, Said writes:

I believe that teaching science in French has more advantages than disadvantages....because it will help me in my higher studies and… it will also enable me to study abroad without taking the pain to learn French again.”

French mastery is construed as an enabling attribute that leads to academic and professional success and, therefore, self-actualization.

* 1. ***FMI as a means to augment one's linguistic capital***

Some students believe that increased exposure to the French language input in these classes facilitates language development. For instance, the acquisition of vocabulary is a recurring theme in students' narratives. Students affirm that FMI enables them to acquire new vocabulary and broaden their existing lexical repertoire. In this regard, Aida states that FMI classes helped her “accumulate a 'modest' vocabulary asset”. Similarly, Mohammed asserts that his FMI science classes enabled him to “learn new vocabularies” which he now uses “to express” himself. Moreover, in addition to general French vocabulary, students believe that FMI also facilitates their acquisition of scientific terminology. Said confidently declares, “I have now acquired scientific knowledge that I can explain in French.” Although these examples indicate that FMI can help learners reinforce and enrich their general and discipline-specific vocabularies, it also shows their restricted definition of language acquisition as simply the activity of ‘*picking up’* terminologies.

1. **FMI as a hurdle**

While students show positive beliefs about the FMI policy, they also express their frustration with the difficulties they encounter as learners of science through a foreign medium. The FMI policy is construed as a *hurdle* to successful learning. This section delves into the theme of ‘FMI as a hurdle’ and describes its three identified sub-themes: a) proficiency is my bane, b) psychological pressure, and c) equality matters.

* 1. ***Proficiency is my bane!***

Students encounter several challenges stemming from their limited proficiency in French. Comprehension is one key problem. Yahya, for example, highlights that he “started facing difficulties in understanding” scientific concepts after the implementation of the FMI policy. However, the level of difficulty in lesson comprehension varies across disciplines. Some students identify Life and Earth Sciences (LES) as the most challenging science subject to comprehend. Doha, for instance, notes, “I faced problems in FMI science subjects and mostly in LES.” Similarly, Said admits, “I find it difficult to understand what the teacher says, especially in LES because, unlike other subjects, it is taught only in French.” Students’ limited comprehension of subjects such as LES necessitates their reliance on rote memorization as a coping strategy. Aida's experience is a testament to this, as she explains, “I faced a great difficulty in studying LES in French…so I just memorize without comprehension.” Moreover, these comprehension issues negatively impact students' overall performance in science subjects, particularly in tests. One student writes, “I now try to understand the questions instead of finding the answers, and most of the time, I hand in my exam paper with nothing on it but my name!”

* 1. ***Psychological pressure***

The adoption of French as MoI for science subjects has made the workload students already struggle with even more substantial. Despite making concerted efforts to adapt to the new situation, many students report experiencing immense psychological pressure due to the work they have to cope with. Hanane, for instance, states, “I kept struggling with this *problem*...I made an effort.” The accounts reveal that the FMI policy induced fear in some students, Chaimae, for instance, writes, “I had and still have a fear of how I can study maths in French.” The policy also affects students’ self-esteem. Mohamed's experience is a good example, he recounts, “I passed (to the next level), but my success was with a feeling of unworthiness…” Predictably, demotivation and self-exclusion emerged as the result of the psychological pressure students face. Sarah succinctly summarizes this; she states, “I noticed a change in a lot of my friends who used to get good grades, and now they sit at the back seats in the classroom because they cannot cope with the lessons which have become more challenging.” These cases demonstrate that the FMI policy places significant emotional pressure on students and, therefore, affects their ability to learn science.

* 1. ***Equality matters!***

A medium-of-instruction policy can be used as a means of exclusion (Shohamy, 2006). It can deny learners epistemological access (Morrow, 2009). Students’ written accounts show that they are aware of the exclusionary role French plays in their science classes. For instance, Mohamed complains that French “doesn't allow” him “to learn much knowledge” because he finds it “hard to learn new information in this language.” In this way, FMI policy creates *inequality* by denying weaker students access to scientific knowledge in the language they are proficient in. Most of these students often come from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds. Sarah, as a case, demonstrates awareness of this particular fact. She writes, “I believe the decision was wrong and hasty. It neither took into account the conditions of ‘*the sons of the people’*[[4]](#footnote-4) nor their proficiency in this language”. These statements show students’ awareness of the role of the FMI policy in the reproduction of social inequality and the restriction of access to knowledge.

**Discussion**

Drawing on the view that language policy is best understood as *experiences* (Shohamy, 2009), this study examines the beliefs of science students regarding the FMI policy in public secondary schools. Adopting a narrative approach, the primary aim of the study is to highlight students’ experiences with this policy by exploring their language ideologies regarding the use of French in science classes.

The findings of the study suggest that students hold ambivalent and conflicting language ideologies about French when used as MoI. While they believe that French is a complex language that hinders their learning of science, they also acknowledge its importance as a de facto official language for achieving various instrumental and integrative goals. Instrumental goals include accessing higher education, securing a job in the economic market and gaining social prestige. As integrative goals, they perceive learning French as a means to forge stronger social connections and know other cultures.

The FMI policy is, thus, seen as both an opportunity and a hurdle. On one hand, students believe that it is an opportunity to overcome their lack of proficiency in French and, consequently, increase their chances of academic and professional success. On the other hand, and quite *contradictorily*, students view the policy as a ‘barrier’ to their learning due to its negative impact on their comprehension of science concepts and the significant psychological pressure it places on them. Additionally, they think it contributes to social inequality and hinders access to knowledge.

As highlighted in the literature review, a wide discrepancy characterises the results of the studies on students' beliefs regarding MoI. This fact is attributed to the *essential* nature of beliefs which are most of the time contradictory and inconsistent (Pajares,1992). The results of this study support this fact as they reveal that students generally hold inconsistent beliefs about the FMI policy. In line with other studies (e.g., Jiang and Zhang, 2019; Macaro and Akincioglu, 2018), this study found that FMI is believed to improve learners’ language skills, especially vocabulary acquisition. Comprehension difficulties, however, seem to persist mainly due to MoI (Hellekjær, 2010). On the other hand, and in congruence with the findings of Rowland and Murray (2020), this study also found that students believe that FMI classes are an opportunity to practice and improve their L2 skills. Furthermore, in line with studies in the Moroccan context, the study highlights students' belief in French as an “essential”[[5]](#footnote-5) language (Marley, 2004) that facilitates access to higher studies (Bouziane, 2022) and other cultures (Chakrani, 2009).

These noticed inconsistencies in students’ language ideologies are attributable to students' belief, on one hand, in the prestigious status of French, and on the other hand, in their low proficiency. This unresolved conflict between the firm conviction in the dominance of French in the social, educational, and professional domains and their dissatisfaction with their language skills frames their experiences in FMI science classrooms. This also explains why in spite of the language difficulties students encounter, the majority of them *willingly* accept to take the challenge, confirming the pervasive influence of beliefs and their profound impact on the interpretation of personal experiences. Moreover, based on the analysis of the results above, it is apparent that students' language ideologies and beliefs about FMI policy reflect those already circulating in their society.

The findings of the present study imply that it is a prerequisite for the success of any MoI policy to first understand students’ language ideologies, gauge their beliefs about the used medium and assess their proficiency prior to implementation. To use Shohamy’s (2006) terms, students are the ‘*consumers’* of language policy and, therefore, their opinions matter. In this respect, Shohamy (2006:188) states that those “who use or resist the languages dictated to them from the top down, have something to say from the bottom up: their voices need to be heard and incorporated in the formulation of policy.” The study also implies that L2 acquisition should not be attained at the expense of content learning as this produces educational inequalities. Denying learners, especially those with limited language proficiency, access to knowledge in the languages they master clearly encroaches on their linguistic rights. This study, however, has many limitations such as the small sample investigated and the fact that all participants belonged to the same level and the same school. Thus, the findings are by no means generalizable.

**Conclusion**

This study explores Moroccan high school science students’ language ideologies and beliefs about the implementation of the FMI policy. Theoretically, the paper rests on Shohamy’s (2009) notion of language policy as *experiences* and takes a narrative approach to data collection. Analytically, the study uses thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) to identify the major themes present in the written accounts produced by students. The results of the study indicate that the investigated cohort of students has ambivalent language ideologies concerning French and, as a result, they construe FMI policy as both an *opportunity* and a *hurdle*. That is, FMI is believed to improve language skills, however, it is also believed to impede science content comprehension and produces educational inequalities.

Based on the findings of this study, it is recommended that decision-makers in the field of education take a participatory approach to language-in-education policy. Hearing and integrating the ‘voices’ of those who ‘consume’ LP such as learners is a decisive factor for the success of educational policies. Also, to democratize education, science courses should be offered both in Arabic medium instruction (AMI) and FMI and enrollment in each should be optional as this will make students responsible for their choices. In the case of FMI, we suggest offering FSP[[6]](#footnote-6) courses alongside science courses to equip learners with the necessary science technolect. Pedagogical *translanguaging* should also be allowed as a strategy that may mitigate the negative impact of FMI policy. Future research may look at the other contextual factors that influence Moroccan science students’ beliefs about media of instruction.

**Acknowledgements:** the authors would like to express their gratitude to participant students and to the principal of the high school to which they belong.

**Declaration of Interest Statement:** The authors declare no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

**Funding:** This study did not receive any specific financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

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1. National Charter for Education and Training (NCET) is a reform document that was drafted in 1999 and the objective of which was to overcome the crisis in the Moroccan education system. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. BIOF: International Baccalaureate -French Option (baccalauréat international- option français) is a stream of study that was introduced to high school back in 2013-2014 school year. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. In Morocco, the baccalaureate level is divided into two cycles: 1st and 2nd year bac. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. This is a literal translation of the words in Arabic. The phrase is used to refer to common people who belong to a lower social class [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. In Marley (2004) students used the adjective ‘vital’ to refer to the French language. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. FSP: French for specific purposes [↑](#footnote-ref-6)