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أطروحة لنيل الدكتوراه في الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية تحت عنوان:

**An Investigation into Youth Political Participation in Morocco:  
Challenges and Prospects**

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the 'Doctorate'

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## **Dedication**

I dedicate this humble work to my dear parents whose love and support have inspired me to melt into a journey full of challenges. My gratitude is also extended to my beloved brother Mohammed, and to my sisters Naoual and Imane.

## **Acknowledgment**

First and foremost, I would like to express my deep and sincere gratitude to the venerable professor prof. Abderrahim El Karfa whose wise guidance inspired me to start my journey of investigations. This challenge was supported by his consistent encouragement and motivation.

My gratitude is also extended to prof. Tayb Gourdou for his precious time and effort to read this dissertation. His concrete and insightful comments have contributed in the development of this study.

## **Abstract**

The presence of youth in any society constitutes its beating heart and the investigation into the various components that shape Moroccan youth presence in the decision-making process is what this study is trying to investigate. The interest in studying these elements is meant to elaborate more on the social, cultural and political factors that determine the effectiveness of youth in the decision-making process. Data for this study are collected from 400 university students, who have managed to respond to the paper-hand survey's content. As for the semi-structured interview, four young political leaders have been non-randomly chosen to bring their experience to the surface. To serve this purpose, a mixed-method case study design is used for the collection, the analysis and the interpretation of data along with a concurrent triangulation methodology as a research strategy. Both quantitative as well as qualitative data gathered are described and analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics. The findings confirm the presence of a strong relationship between the cultural and political discourses and the presence of youth within DMP. The results indicate also that there is a statistical significant link between these discourses and the young politicians 'effectiveness within this process.

### **Key words:**

**Moroccan youth**

**Youth identity**

**Political participation**

**Decision making process**

**Political culture**

## مقتضب

يعتبر تواجد الشباب داخل المجتمع بمثابة القلب النابض الذي إذا ما تم توظيفه بشكل فعال يصبح قادرا على كسب رهان المستقبل. ولهذا، فإن الهدف الرئيس من هذا البحث هو محاولة دراسة مختلف المكونات الثقافية والسياسية التي لها تأثير مباشر على تواجد الشباب داخل مراكز القرار السياسي.

و لقد تم تجميع البيانات الكمية اعتمادا على عينة مكونة من أربعمئة طالب وطالبة جامعيين، أما في ما يتعلق بالدراسة الكيفية، فقد تطلبت طبيعة الموضوع استجواب أربعة برلمانيين شباب بهدف التعرف على تجربتهم باعتبارهم فاعلين في صناعة القرار السياسي؛ ولهذا الغرض تم اعتماد "تصميم الأساليب المختلطة لدراسة حالة" باستخدام منهجية "التثليث المتزامنة كاستراتيجية للبحث". اعتمد البحث على إحصائيات وصفية استدلالية لتحليل البيانات النوعية والكيفية التي تم تجميعها انطلاقا من فرضيات وأسئلة بحثية. و بالتالي، فقد أبانت نتائج البحث على أن هناك علاقة جد إيجابية بين الخطاب الثقافي و السياسي و فعالية الشباب داخل مراكز القرار. وتظهر الإحصائيات كذلك على أن هناك نتائج تثبتية تجادل أحقية الرابط المدلول بين هذه الخطابات وفعالية السياسيين الشباب في هذه العملية.

### الكلمات المفتاح

الشباب المغربي

هوية الشباب

المشاركة السياسية

عملية اتخاذ القرار السياسي

الثقافة السياسية

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## **List of Acronyms and Abbreviations**

USA : *United States of America*

UK : *United Kingdom*

DMP : *Decision Making Process*

PJD : *Parti de la Justice et Développent* (Justice and Development Party)

USFP : *Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires* (the National Union of Popular Forces)

PAM : *Parti d'Authenticité et de la Modernité* (Authenticity and Modernity Party)

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# **Introduction**

The study of youth provokes a set of questions related to the various internal and external forces that forge youth identity. These aspects do indeed allure researchers to dig into the major constituents that impact youth's presence in their own socio-political context. In this regard, when two different cultural systems meet, one tries hard to subordinate the other; it is the deeply rooted cultural practices that have the power to marginalize the presence of youth. Thus, the notion of youth is always in dispute with the discursive formations that have been constructing their identity throughout history.

In the case of Morocco, it is the meeting of a deeply rooted cultural system with newly invented cultural forms expressed by youth, which does indeed threaten the absolute power maintained by the main cultural stream. This culture which glorifies old people at the expense of young ones; seeing that experienced people are valorized for the time they have been through especially when it comes to their presence within the decision making process.

This thesis is considered as a milestone in the investigation of the main cultural and political factors that shape youth political identity, and therefore, impact their effectiveness on the decision making process. This study can be portrayed as a stage where young political leaders are supposed to perform different roles whose impact can be evaluated by the readers. By approaching the issue of youth as decision-makers, a set of elements that contribute in forging youth political identity sub-emerge; this makes us re-question the sacred notions that have always been associated with youth' roles within society; especially those which determine the relations of power. By reversing these concepts, one can easily understand the various policies characterizing the cultural and political components of youth identity.

Being at the center of decision-making necessitates deep and well planned policies that urge the contribution of more than one factor. The formation of young leaders is a collaboration

of all that is cultural and political to provide a wise and consistent development of youth personality.

### **Research Questions and Hypotheses**

In approaching the issue of youth in the DMP, we are at the same time trying to unravel different factors that contribute indirectly in shaping and influencing youth identity. To deeply and objectively examine the social, cultural and political discourses that determine youth' effectiveness within DMP, it is necessary first to go through a deep study to this topic along with an honest need to investigate the impact of these discourses on youth, and how they are employed by means of power to serve particular ends. The aim is to address youth specificities, and assess their roles as decision makers later on. Based on the previous stated objectives, the following research questions are designed for the practical research:

- ✓ Research Question 1: To what extent does the cultural discourse impact youth' participation in politics?
- ✓ Research Question 2: How effective are the political parties in forming youth politically?
- ✓ Research Question 3: How can the stream of democracy and human rights empower the presence of youth within DMP?
- ✓ Research Question 5: To what extent does the cultural perception of gender impact the latter's effectiveness within DMP?

These research questions have given birth to two major hypotheses that enter into examination in accordance with the presence of youth within DMP:

- ❖ Research Hypothesis 1: There is a significant link between the constructed images about youth in relation to their effectiveness within DMP.

- ❖ Research Hypothesis2: There is a significant link between political parties' orientation and youth presence within DMP.

Being the guidelines of this study, the above-mentioned research questions as well as research hypotheses serve to remind us in every stage of this study that there are issues which need a necessary intervention in order to answer them.

## **Methodology**

Mixed-methods case study design is employed for the collection, the analysis, and the interpretation of data along with concurrent triangulation methodology as a research strategy. This research makes use of quantitative and qualitative methods with a focus on concurrent methodological triangulation strategy in an attempt to reinforce the study of the cultural, social and political components, and to test their influence on Moroccan youth within DMP. It is worth mentioning here the importance of merging the quantitative as well as qualitative research methods to strengthen the course of investigations, and to ensure a valid mode of inquiry.

As far as the nature of research is concerned, one qualitative data collection tool is used to collect data from university students; a questionnaire is employed to address the university students' perception of youth' presence as decision makers. The use of this questionnaire can expose the implicit policies of the socio-political discourses to denote a set of clashing items. Furthermore, the use of semi-structured interviews has a great impact on the real incarnation of all these policies especially if they are represented by those young political leaders who are in action. The rationale behind using concurrent triangulation strategy is to evaluate the consistency between the findings achieved through the use of different data instruments and research methods.

Since the human element is the focus of this study, the convenience purposive sample has been chosen to react to the main objectives of the research. The rationale behind this non-random sample is that the investigation into the elements that characterize young political leaders cannot be applicable for all Moroccan youth. Moreover, there are a set of alluring aspects in this kind of sample; its availability, and also its being timelier than the probability sampling serve the purpose of the study by concentrating on intellectual youth.

### **Rationale of the study**

The rationale behind conducting this research is to unravel the mystery that has stayed years under investigation; by exploring and understanding the social, cultural and political discourses which build youth identity, and determine the latter's effectiveness within the process where decisions are being made. The extent of this influence in such positions depends on the quality and strength these discourses can contribute in the production of young leaders; the political training youth have been through is the first basis for them to act as effective decision-makers.

If we look deeply at the various factors that either strengthen or limit youth's engagement in the process of decision-making, we will discover a set of internal and external challenges that strongly contribute in creating a particular image about youth. Between the apparent challenge expressed mainly through youth's impact on these positions, and the discourses that have been shaping cultural perceptions of youth within their own social context, the objective of this research, then, is to evaluate the impact of these discourses on the presence of youth within DMP.

For a full participation in the political action, and being part of the decision process, youth ought to have a clear knowledge about political jargon, which is the first catalytic towards getting a clear image about the meaning of politics, and how it functions according to different

contexts. This dissertation contributes in enlightening and bringing into the surface the main theories related to political field in general, and the process of decision-making in particular. By mastering these notions, youth start feeling confident towards practicing politics. Therefore, the sense of marginalization smoothly begins to disappear. The rationale behind this is to shed light on the various forms of political participation. For instance, the formal type is determined by having a political affiliation, which allows youth to be elected and become members in the process of decision-making. Political participation can also be practiced in non-formal modes; such as being interested in political life through watching and attending political seminars and conferences, having political attitudes and sharing them publicly.

The progress of any nation is mainly associated with the educational norms it transmits to its youth. A well planned education along with wise governance is what ensures the production of future agents; able to act according to their own sense of national belonging fused with the training they have been through. The presence of a well structured educational system is what forges flexible nursery of values from which youth can develop a critical understanding to their own context, and prove themselves as effective members within the political field. This also paves the way for new breakthroughs that best analyze the importance of having a well planned educational system which targets the strength points among youth to deeply surround and impact positions of power.

### **Organization of the Thesis**

This research is made up of a general introduction and general conclusion, and three major chapters including the review of the literature, the methodology and the third chapter where the data are described, analyzed and interpreted. The introduction exposes the general aim of this study within its context. It also highlights the questions and hypotheses set for this project. The

first chapter investigates the literatures that approach the issue of youth as decision-makers along with key terms and theories related to the same topic. Chapter two describes in detail the types of research method chosen for this study, data collection instruments and the sampling procedures. Chapter three brings into description the set of data collected to serve the study; it describes, analyzes and interprets them appropriately. The purpose of this chapter is to answer the set of questions designed for this research, and either confirm or refute the research hypotheses. The conclusion, in this regard, summarizes the major findings of this dissertation.

# **Chapter One**

## **Review of the Literature**

Youth can be considered as a particular period in human's life which has got its own specificities and characteristics; it is a transition from childhood, dependency, to a more independent and mature mode of life. Youth is considered as being an ever changing process in one's self which cannot be disassociated from its social and political components. The relationship between youth and society can be viewed as an ongoing journey towards asserting the individual's existence and identity. Thus, youth ought to be analyzed in relationship with all the factors that impact this segment, not only in relation with society, but also with the global changing world that surrounds them. This is why the investigation into youth character is quite attractive.

### **1.1 The Concept of Youth: between Convention and Age limit**

The concept of age has always been a traditional criterion in determining youth period. The social perception of the theme of age has been shaped especially by social and economic factors. Hence, the undergoing transformations in different sectors do indeed touch the psychological and social relationships between youth and their own society. This change has also had a great impact on different sectors; therefore, a set of notions started to disappear, and paved the way for others to take place.

The concept of youth is a representation of the social and cultural forces that accompany these youth throughout their life stages. In this regard, youth identity is an outcome of all that is socially constructed, culturally made and political designed. (Wyn & White, 1997). In this sense, being the main pillars in the development and construction of any society, youth have multiple energies that need to be guided; they can excel in different fields if well prepared. In fact, society's role in qualifying youth' potentials is one of the basic element in the advancement of society especially in the age where democracy is the label of progress.

Globalization has transformed people's mind and shaped it to think in the same way and act accordingly, it also has impacted relations between ages. In the same line of thought, the change in society can easily impact the relationship between youth belonging to different social groups, ethnicities and cultures, which explains the extent to which, youth cannot avoid being influenced by a non-stop stream of transformations at different levels. These changes have the power to affect youth' presence within their own social context, and therefore, determine their effectiveness in the rest of the fields. According to the Moroccan context, the age of youth has been determined by the 25<sup>th</sup> November 2011 elections between 18 and 40 years old; this classification was meant to determine the quota of youth in these elections. As for the High Commission for Planning, in the midst of its determination, it has adopted the definition of The United Nation concerning the age group of young people between 20 and 24 years old.

In term of defining the youth category, different notions have become determiners to this stage; the presence of youth in various fields can be associated with socio-political discourses. In the course of designing policies, plans and programs dealing youth, the reconsideration of all the factors that surround this category are to be taken into account, and not only limit youth' presence to age numbers. For this purpose, it is of an equivalent importance to investigate the cultural and political discourses that constitute youth identity.

### **1.1.1 The Cultural Components of Youth Identity**

Youth identity is an outcome of various factors that contribute in shaping its aspects. The examination of youth cannot be disassociated from the cultural and political domains in which youth's presence is to be viewed from different perspectives. One of the major reasons that create feelings of intellectual turmoil and anxiety among youth is the struggle for asserting the self. Therefore, building a balanced identity is one of the most important objectives that youth

seek to realize, especially in places where they can contribute actively to change different facts, design decisions and impact public policies.

Youth' need to locate themselves within different fields is inspired from the individual's sense of being and belonging; especially if they are involved in shaping and deciding for decisive matters. In this regard, cultural perceptions of youth have also an impact on youth' personality more particularly in what concerns their attitudes. In order to understand the dimensions of these factors on youth identity, it is important first to determine the concepts related to this category.

The concept of youth cannot be limited to only age determiner; cultural factors are also major components that define the category of youth in relation to their social context. Age indicator is not enough to define the meaning of youth; since this latter has become shaped by a set of social and economic factors. The transition in youth life, in this respect, is no more associated with the notion of fertility; it is an outcome of the social, cultural and political conditions that impact it. Therefore, productivity is a new definition to what it means to be young.

Accordingly, cultural understandings of youth are being developed according to the social and political conditions that influence the world; the growing up of young people is constructed through a set of cultural and political discourses. However, the notion of age has transcended its traditional function in distinguishing young people from old ones. Therefore, to understand this relation, we have to approach or to analyze the socio-cultural norms which dominate most societies.

Youth cannot avoid being influenced by the main cultural stream, which constitutes the dilemma in which they live. Sometimes, youth are desired, but in many other times, are neglected for different reasons. This is what explains the changes that youth are experiencing

throughout their journey towards adulthood. Youth are always under social surveillance that limits their freedom and controls it. The relationship between youth and society expresses the complexity and fragmentation through which youth identity is being built.

Cultural identity is always in change, it is never fixed; it is shaped by various moments of transformation. This has influenced the way youth consider themselves within a society that is always in a continuous change. Due to these cultural and social factors, it has become difficult for youth to locate themselves within their own societies as free members able to act. In the same line of thought, Aluvara (2014) sees that “it has become commonplace to think of the world’s youth as that part of the community who are most receptive, or, alternatively, susceptible to, foreign cultural practices, if childhood means acceptance, and adulthood means conservatism, youth means rebelliousness” (p 203). This contradictory relationship explains the fact that whenever there is change, there is a problem, because society would like its youth to obey the rules and not to contradict them. The relationship between youth and society is merely derived from the relationship that portrays the colonial and colonized. Youth in this regard, are the colonized which is different from the main cultural stream. In this regard, “Colonial discourse does not merely represent the other, therefore, so much as simultaneously project and disavow its difference” (Young,1990,p.145). This non-completion in identifying the other encourages the colonial discourse to create differences among one nation; it provides the colonized with some moment of visibility and freedom in order to look free. Therefore, society can provide a limited freedom to its youth, but they are obliged to be obedient members to the cultural codes and structures. Identity, in this regard, is never fixed; it is considered as a source of ambivalence and uncertainty, which affects youth’ perceptions and reactions to the social and political matters. In

approaching youth' identity, we are at the same being getting inspired by the colonial discourse and its political inclinations.

Society's perception of youth invokes a similarly important understanding to the long process that youth identity undergoes, and interprets it in a way that would suit its policies. Furthermore, cultural interpretations of youth notion might take different aspects such as: human behaviors, dress, life-style, hairdo, language and other cultural aspects. Out of these elements, the description of youth culture can be related to different notions like gender, class, race and ethnicity. The political fragmentation of youth identity reveals the cultural dynamics through which identity is being torn between so many different forces. As we have hinted before, identity can never be limited or restricted to a particular time or space; it can take different forms and provoke various meanings out of which concepts are being produced and believed in.

Cultural identity is an ambiguous process in which identities are always clashing with each other. In this regard, "cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories, but like everything else which is historical, they undergo constant transformation" (Hall, 1990. p.225). In this sense, cultural identity cannot be limited by time or space; it is used to confirm and at the same time refute particular discourses; which are used to valorize certain notions at the expense of others. In other terms, youth are always trying to have major and visible roles society; this is embedded within their kinetic and energetic character that does not accept stagnation.

Different approaches to youth culture were criticized of being homogenous in their nature; the cultural assumptions related to youth as a stage of transition from childhood towards adulthood, are to be questioned and analyzed, as well as the way youth identity is shaped to confront different social, cultural and political factors within their environment.

### **1.1.2 Youth and the Construction of Identity**

The components of any identity are characterized by the politics of exclusion and inclusion; this is how youth identity is being forged by means of power. This paradoxical relation from a sociological perspective can lead to the clash between the most dominant cultures over the sub-cultures. As a result, “the opposition of two identities has to negate the subordinated one”. (Kohlberg, 1969, p.19). With the presence of these social norms, youth are supposed to be obedient members and respect the laws. If we go further, we find that youth are being attacked by different factors which condemn their cultural specificities in relation to the main cultural norms. Hence, youth identity can be interpreted differently. As a case in point, Williams (2011) insists on the fact that “subcultures do exist (sometimes implicitly, sometimes explicitly and sometimes both) in people’s minds as an antidote to everyday life; the distinction between non-normativity and marginality is an important step which clarifies two different logics” (p.10). In this respect, youth resist different concepts implicitly and also explicitly through cultural practices and beliefs. The ambiguity in this case lies in the clash between the social norms as well as youth rebellious character. Similarly important is the relationship between the constructed images about the youth and the sub-cultural forms invented by these youth.

Society tries to convince youth that there are no other alternatives other than the cultural codes imposed on them. This also prevents youth from playing major roles in society, and become effective members in the process of development. The problem then resides in the perception of the notion of youth, whose existence is to be a source of disorder to the cultural regime. Furthermore, being against parental and social modes of surveillance, youth think they are free; through developing a sense of self-identification, self-esteem, and more particularly

self-dependence, youth start cherishing the notion of individualism, and search for ways to build their own identity.

In their journey towards asserting themselves as free citizens, youth might challenge society's absolute power and community standards; they try to reach self-esteem and determination. Hence, Identity crisis can encourage youth to think of other means to build their own identity. The sense of freedom engenders various interpretations embedded within social representations. Therefore, the emergence of sub-culture is a way to achieve a relative freedom.

The socio-cultural and psychological factors that influence youth as a distinct stage in human's life explain the pressure under which this category is put; they are torn between two different cultures; the local and the global one. Youth cannot avoid being engaged in this process of change; they are also required to be part of this global culture. In this regard, society has the power to portray youth as an object of desire when it comes to the valorization of its own image, but on real grounds, the country cannot afford much space for its youth; what explains the clash between the main cultural stream and sub-cultures. In this regard, youth become victims of a deeply rooted culture. Similarly important is how youth are represented in Moroccan thoughts. The psychology of youth is torn between a native culture and a global one. Youth, in this sense experience an inner conflict between the various cultural norms: traditions, educational system, social values, and the global factors, and their nature which is always seeking all that is different and new. The analysis of youth identity has always been exposed to different discourses that forge its constructive process and make of it a mixture of good and evil; the multidimensional faces within different societies have directly influenced the construction of youth identity. Youth are a result of all that is social, cultural and more particularly political. Youth are the main

interest of various political discourses. The attitudes associated with youth are well shaped to meet particular purposes.

### **1.1.2.1 Youth Culture Verses the Main Culture**

The very expressive forms and practices associated with youth within a society indicate that this category is to be different and opposed to the general cultural order. Youth, in this regard, start inventing new modes through which they can look visible to a society that marginalizes their role. Hebdige (1979) argues that “the meaning of subculture is, then, always in dispute and style in the area in which the opposing definitions clash with most dramatic force” (p.3). Youth try to find an alternative identity through which they can consider their presence to be different from the dominant cultural stream. There are various ways that youth adopt to look different or more likely free such as: the dress, hair-style, and other forms. Thus, society becomes reluctant towards accepting such cultural practices with their own specificities, or by other words, society refuses its image to be doubled.

The existence of a different culture within society is considered as a direct threat to the norms that society has already imposed; it is a source of challenge to the general order. Moreover, Jenks (2004) explains this fact stating that “the concept of a subculture designates a group, an enclave, a cult or a distraction of antithetical values that are expressions of either frustrations with or interventions into the dominant structure and control within society” (p.7). The way Jenks explains the meaning of subculture is based on the way identity is being fragmented especially within hybridized societies. In this sense, youth culture can be seen as a threat to the cultural regime. Accordingly, youth consider themselves a part of a harsh social system, which does not allow differences.

In the light of what has been provoked, a deep analysis to the components of a sub-culture can allow the study to elaborate more on the relationship between youth culture and the general one. In this regard, a set of characteristics can define youth culture:

- The concept of subculture is not totally different from the main culture.
- Subculture can be viewed in relation to a society to which it belongs, and where it can develop new perspectives and methods of life.
- Sub cultural groups are always represented as a static homogenous entity that lacks the sense of creativity.
- Values and styles are all elements that cause a threat to the social order.
- Subculture is described as an entity which is not radically separated from the mainstream cultural order, but rather it represents a distorted image about the society to which it belongs (Fine and Kleinman 1997).

By considering youth' specificities, different facts emerge. Youth, in this sense, are perceived by society as a threat to the general order; their freedom has to be always restricted and controlled. When it comes to the representation of youth, a set of concepts come to the surface such as: immaturity, irresponsibility and other stereotypes which make of their role in society a secondary one; their contribution remains invisible. Therefore, Youth start developing their own identity in order to gain independence from the rules, which are never ready to understand their own needs. The character of youth is characterized by mobility and resistance to the general culture. Society tries to create differences in terms of class, gender and race through which, youth start considering themselves as different or as immature social members whose presence in the social and political fields creates only trouble and disorder. The relationship between the subject 'youth' and society to which they belong is overwhelmed with a

set of discursive formations which try to ignore the role of youth, and exclude this segment from the process of change. Social rules indicate that the individual is never free from the cultural norms where h/she is unconsciously enslaved by. In this respect, it tends to build imaginative borders which limit the freedom of its youth and transform them into socially obedient members.

The presence of a different culture with its own specificities is never swallowed by any society; hence, youth would like to distinguish themselves from the deeply rooted thoughts by inventing new cultural forms and beliefs. Youth feel in need to react in a way that glorifies their thoughts, and guarantees their presence. In approaching two different cultures; one that thinks it is superior over the other, a set of clashes submerge to the surface to create a piece of theater where roles are assessed in a much politicized way. Yinger's approach to youth culture is quite distinctive; the way he differentiates between two cultures: one within the other reveals different facts about this social segment. For him, the dominating culture and the counterculture requires a deep reading to their own structures; values transmitted through globalization, and the political changes that are taking place in the world have had a great impact in addressing youth roles within society. Furthermore, Yinger has broadened the scope of his research by suggesting the possible existence of conflicts between subculture and the main culture. In fact, his aim is to study the normative systems of sub-culture from especially those which emerge in ambiguous situations. In this respect, the notion of counterculture dates back to 1960s when first the emergence of rebellious and nomadic youth groups began to assert themselves as an active movement with its own characteristics . Youth who have particular attitudes towards society start developing new ideas and styles that differentiate them from the main cultural order (Yinger 1960).

By trying to change their life style, youth are at the same time omitting the existing difference between the realm of work and that of leisure in their daily life. Therefore, a sub-culture is always in need to distinguish between the realm of work, education and home and the space of leisure. By so doing, youth look for other substitutes to assert their own identity especially through: fashion, language, and also political attitudes. The special character of youth constitutes a threat to a society to which they belong. In addition to that, the emergence of new modes of life exercises certain power over social norms; they try to assert themselves as the best model that ought to be adopted by most people. This is what explains why youth are always in search for alternatives in their society; social norms for this social category are seen as meaningless, they do not correspond to their own aspirations; what justifies youth refusal to traditions that are stagnant and not able to follow the great flow of global values.

Power relations are what characterize the relationship between youth and their own environment. Sill, social communication and interaction between youth and their own community is important in creating a sense of belonging and giving much space for youth to feel free and act accordingly. The meaning of independence may have different interpretations. By calling for freedom, youth then, start challenging the cultural norms that stand as oppressive institutions in front of them. The duality between the mainstream culture and youth culture encourages society to convince youth that there are no other substitutes other than the culture imposed on them. Thus, by rebelling against social norms, youth think they are really free; especially through developing a sense of self-identification, self-esteem, and more particularly self-dependence.

These practices challenge community standards, and norms; which are conceived by youth themselves as compulsory elements that threaten their effectiveness within various realms. As a

matter of fact, youth' resistance to the social imposed norms can impact some choices more particularly those related to family, street and society. By other words, society makes youth responsible for the preservation of its own identity; it uses its youth to encourage certain global concepts to advocate universal values; of which democracy is a part. In fact, the country plays a double function in making of youth an object of desire when it comes to the valorization of its image. However, these youth are portrayed in different moments as a source of disorder and danger that challenges the stability of the cultural basics.

The way society imposes certain rules on youth in order to control their presence can as well re-consider the most effective tool which contributes in forging youth identity, which is education. In fact, having a clear vision and a consistent need to ameliorate youth' status is what determines the success of any educational system; especially by addressing youth' capacities and potentials. Therefore, with the absence of these objectives, the presence of youth as effective members in society is to be questioned.

## **1.2. The Social Components of Youth Identity**

To have an effective presence in different realms, youth have to be self-confident, able to act and react. Therefore, social institutions play a major role in orienting youth' life and encouraging them to be effective members. This important part of society is not only a beneficiary, it should rather be considered as an active component of social, economic and political progress. The rationale behind this is to make youth able to express their attitudes, address existing issues, and contribute in shaping society priorities.

### **1.2.1. Youth and Education in U.S.A**

As a case in point, educational system in USA targets the most receptive aspects in youth character; its policy tries to teach American youth the values of democracy and human rights; it believes that democracy cannot take place unless youth are at the heart of any political decision. Therefore, it is important to shed light on the techniques used by the educational system in the USA to engage youth to be part of the political life. Every state in the USA gives a particular interest to the content taught as well as to the cultural, social and financial conditions that surround the students. Thus, the image that society gives to its youth can define the later as either good or evil. As we have mentioned in some previous paragraphs, youth constitute the most effective part in any social context if well guided. Indeed, a well planned education is what determines the effectiveness of youth at many different levels; it touches youth' heart, guide their way of thinking, and clearly sculptures the mirror through which youth can see themselves. In the same line of thought, Utter (2011) puts a great emphasis on this fact where he urges that:

The future of a society obviously depends on the next generation assuming the roles of their elders. However, as some thinkers have commented, youth, if not properly prepared for those roles, constitute a major danger to the continuation of various customs and values that distinguish the society from others. In a democratic society, the youth are expected to take on the values and traditions of democracy in order to participate along with older generations in maintaining democratic practices (p.1).

Society has the power to distribute roles and assess them; Utter links the success of any society to the importance it gives to its youth; therefore, if youth' potentials are not valorized, the ruling regime will be seen as oppressive and contrastive to the democratic values. There are a set of stages through which youth personality can be shaped. For instance, education plays a major role to implant different values amongst youth and guide their own energy; it contributes in making

young people qualified as political actors and motivates them to be creative by addressing their specificities. The involvement of young people in the political life is mainly shaped by political parties and non-governmental organizations, which are both responsible for the formation of young political leaders.

### **1.2.2. Youth and the Value of Leadership**

The techniques used to improve youth character contribute at the same time in enhancing the values of leadership among this category. The educational system in USA is a reflection of a long journey toward transmitting the values of leadership and democracy to its youth. The teaching methods as well the subjects taught are organized in a manner that meets youth psychological period and also develop their learning skills. School for student, be it elementary or secondary, becomes a fruitful a nursery of values. For this reason, “Educational leadership requires long-term vision and a collective investment in excellence by government and academic officials” (Rendón & Hope, 1996, p.88). If we go further in the same line of thought, we will recognize the importance that the states as well the government provide for the educational system in USA. The subjects taught are meant to teach certain values that forge youth’s character; to become aware of the changing world that surrounds them.

Diversity is what characterizes the education institutions in USA; a lot of students have moved from one state to another or from one country to the other. This movement has, to some extent, shaped the education system which takes into consideration the different backgrounds to which these students belong: Schools become a public sphere where different identities meet and interact with each other. The American schools have shed light on this cultural diversity which is being transmitted through curriculums and subjects that respect and develop student’s knowledge. Hence, if school programs are responsible of shaping the youth’ identity and

character, they ought to orient the energy found within them and guide it towards a positive way, this can also encourage youth to be effective tools in any context.

In approaching the British context, we find that the educational system in United Kingdom gains great attention on behalf of the government; people in charge believe strongly that the future and stability of their kingdom is determined by the wise guidance and support given to youth starting especially from educational system. Therefore, “moral training became a standard feature in the curriculum of the common school” (Eisenmann ,1998 p.97). Similar to USA, the UK’ policy gets in touch with the various curriculum and contents being taught to students. The government has the power to control and guide the human and financial sources; this complementary mission between the government and the schools does indeed meet students’ needs and ambitions.

Youth are in the center of most decisions related to future generations. Democracy and human rights are the kingdom’s’ priorities to form not only good students, but also effective youth in the future. These values cannot be achieved unless all the members of the teaching-learning operation cooperate to meet the student’s competencies, cognitive capacities and psychological specificities. The educational policy in UK is characterized by diversity concerning the subjects taught. The government takes into account the differences found between students. In this sense, this interest in school’s life and its environment expresses the government’s desire towards a prosper future for its generation.

In any democratic society, the state as well as the government has to question all the conditions that constitute the field of education. UK’s policy concerning education has always tended to focus on quality and character as the kingdom major interest. By other terms, “Education is best understood as a social field that stands in a position of relative autonomy to

other social fields” (Jobert, Marry, Rainbird & Tanguy, 1997, p. 36). This is to pave the way for a developed country whose intellectual independence is unquestionable; they play a major role in shaping British youth’ identity. In this regard, the methods used in teaching can strengthen and empower different skills among students like reading, writing and listening. In fact, they go beyond this ordinary function to implant values of leadership, responsibility and the sense of initiative.

Any program has the power to re-direct the energy within youth by considering them relevant to the community where they live. When analyzing the important relationship between the students and the programs taught in both USA and UK, we should look at the characteristics that shape these programs; the content has gone further to transmit social values such as justice and leadership. Therefore, these countries have decided to take the path towards establishing the basic values that can change the student’s life. This cannot be done in a short time; it has taken a long time to accomplish this noble mission.

The education of youth has to start at an early age, so that we guarantee having a well-equipped youth whose presence in different fields can be noticeable. The subjects taught ought to transcend their traditional mission of giving information; schools are the most fruitful space where youth can acquire values of responsibility and leadership. In this case, youth become conscious members whose presence in society is not superficial; it becomes constructed to face different challenges. As a matter of fact, educating kids is related to a set of conditions that contribute in forging the child’s personality; it is the education that we give to our pupils which determines their future character. Leadership and self-denial are values that can shape youth’ attitudes and acts; youth, in this sense, being inspired by these values, become able to act as agents of change.

The abovementioned ethics and values are required in the construction of youth character. Hence, if youth are engaged in this process, they will be prepared to be future leaders and act properly. Furthermore, social context may differ from one society to another, but the most important is the status given to youth; they are considered as a vital element that society should include at many different levels for its own development. Youth contribution in particular fields ought to be valorized. As a matter of fact, the political status of youth cannot be assessed unless we can afford some moment to analyze the ways society considerate its youth' potentials, especially in what frames their being at the heart of DMP. Youth impact on this process is an outcome of a set of different policies practiced by the cultural, social and political factors, all of which have the power to cherish the image of youth, or diminish their contribution.

### **1.3. The Incarnations of Politics on Youth**

The conditions that surround youth in the world may seem to be common, but the focus on the incarnations of the values of democracy and human rights these countries hold as a label towards development in relation to youth's status is what really matters. The interest in studying the political status of youth is an attempt toward understanding the major factors which affect or rather shape youth presence as decision-makers. The collaboration of both internal and external forces is what impact youth participation in this process, and thus determine youth effectiveness within it.

The characteristics of youth can empower their personality to affect political action; the way youth identity is shaped in different moments does indeed empower and orient youth' interest in many fields. Youth are considered a lever for development, whether social, economic or political. On the one hand, youth participation in such domains entails the progress the state has

achieved in term of democratic practices. From the other hand, it is necessary to re-question some hidden policies that tend to marginalize youth contribution especially in decisive matters.

### **1.3.1. The Political Status of Asian Youth**

The Asian youth' experience within policy decision is a mere representation of the cultural stereotypes associated with the notion of youth wherever existed. As a case in point, the participation of youth in political affairs in Manila is deemed to stagnation if not marginalization; their presence remains invisible; the complexity in asserting political identity among these youth is manifested in how the Manilian government conceives its young politicians. For instance, "youth are usually criticized when they introduce a new project ... they are viewed as being inexperienced and incapable, just like children" (Verhoeven, Davids & Schulpen, 2007, p.120).

Thus, the participation of youth does not only appear at the level of action; this soft presence can be a result of the weak image society has already shaped for youth. Young people' engagement in actions is a driving force for change in any society especially if it is systematically programmed. The importance of having a young touch at the level of decision-making is meant to indicate the extent to which development is not determined by age criterion, it is rather an outcome of a good governance and wide guidance to the young segment within any society.

The presence of youth as decision-makers is governed by constitutional and legal texts framing youth participation in the political action. In approaching different facts covering youth aversion from political action, we should question these legal texts which can only be superficial in front of invisible forces that control this presence. For youth to be agents of change, we have to understand and observe the role of socialization concerning youth identity, and the formation

they have been through to become actors. Moreover, a deep consideration to the present in which these youth have to act and influence the political action. Last, it is the future that the state has to consider by asking his question: how can these youth impact the future and contribute in further development?

The answer to this question, according to the objectives of this research requires an understanding to the internal and external factors shaping youth effectiveness within this political process. When analyzing youth presence within this process, our mind directly starts thinking of the institutional bodies whose main function lies in forming and preparing youth to become political leaders; the scarcity of training can also provoke a set of debatable questions concerning the absence of a clear policy to involve youth within public policies, and to decisions related to political life in general.

With the absence of a strategy to embrace youth potentials, and qualify their presence, youth start feeling their contribution to be meaningless; hence, “youth are indeed fostered in feeling that their capabilities are not appreciated” (Verhoeven, Davids & Schulpen, 2007, p.121). Because they are almost absent from the parliament and the government, Manilian youth feel a certain kind of rejection by these institutions where decisions are being made. Therefore, activating the role of youth in decision-making through different syndromes can reduce this tension especially by considering the steps encouraging youth movement and appreciating its strength by investigating in the state’s human capacity.

Asian’s experience may seem relevant to some extent in considering young people’ participation in decision-making; therefore, unlike Asian’s policy, European policy seeks development in the engagement of all social segments, and youth are of no exception. This is how they can apply major aspects of democracy and human rights. As a matter of fact, “The

European system guarantees that the citizens' and thereby, also young people's preferences are taken into account during the policy-making process" (Dolejšiová, Angel and López, 2009, p.139).

The presence of youth within this process cannot be taken for granted as a real form of democratic practice; it is important to dig into the various constituents that shape youth' impact on decision-making. In fact, most nations valorize the prevalence of old age over the youth especially in term of political decision. Youth have long believed that those who manage their affairs should be old and experienced. These cultural perceptions may be a reflection of the limited presence of youth within political action.

### **1.3.2. Youth and Policy-Decision in Africa**

Similar to previous contexts, youth in Zimbabwe can be a manifestation of all the policies that determine youth' involvement in decision-making; to be more specific, Kurebwa and Dodo (2019) explain that "the main obstacle to the participative decision-making by the youth within the country are mainly due to a lack of interest, a lack of initiative and support and development from the community and the government" (p.46).

At the detriment of youth potentials, political youth' immunity starts to be weak in front of polices that forget, to some extent, feeding this young segment with basic values of leadership to act properly concerning the process of decision-making. Youth' engagement in DMP is a long term planning that requires the state' cultural and social preparation for this segment to be able to impact this process; hence, the presence or absence of youth within this process cannot be only a determiner to their own effectiveness; it is also a mere reflection of the state's policy towards engaging young politicians to be part of decision-making.

Youth are more aware than ever of the importance of being at the heart of any decision in order to change different facts; still, the well-established political body whose main objective is to lay a fruitful ground for youth; especially by preparing them to become political agents, is necessary to guarantee an inspiring future and therefore affect places where decision concerning youth own society are being designed. As it is the case in Zimbabwe, the current governing procedures, and insufficient evaluation and accountability mechanisms to date, limit youth participation in DMP.

We cannot quit the African's experience in engaging youth within decision policy without shedding light on the case of this study, which is Morocco. This choice is inspired from the mysterious history where Moroccan youth have been performing different roles as decision-makers. Their effectiveness within this process is what stimulates this study to investigate, analyze and interpret this issue in the coming sections.

Accordingly, by approaching different modals condemning youth' presence within decision policy, one can also reconsider youth' specificities in order to assess their roles within DMP; the way these roles are designed in a continuous process of diligence so that young energies would take part in this process. In this regard, the necessity of defining the concept of politics in general and decision-making process in particular is considered the first methodological step which has to be adopted in order to get acquainted with the problematic under examination.

The reviewing of the authors' thoughts concerning this process where youth identity is being forged, has paved the way, and at the same time, provoked a set of debatable issues that define the main policies governing this topic. This section started first by defining the concept of youth; the different approaches to this concept have located it within economic factors that first

link the age of youth with the theory of consumption and productivity. Furthermore, the social and cultural perceptions of youth constitute an important part in shaping youth identity. In this regard, most of the images associated with this category are inspired from previous literatures as well as current cultural representations of this character whose presence is always between desire and rejection. Thus far, the section' focus was on how youth identity is being built, this is why the study of youth character has necessitated the investigation into the policies employed by USA and UK in term of educational system; therefore, to ensure and prepare the ground for future leaders, the testing of the credibility of all these factors is best manifested through the presence of youth within DMP as it is the case with Asian and African experience. It is a sequential of mechanisms that determine this presence. Hence, it is important first to identify the various aspects related to decision-making process: the concepts, the cultural and the various modes of political participation are the focus of the next theoretical section.

#### **1.4. The Concept of Decision-Making**

To examine the effectiveness of Moroccan youth within DMP requires first the understanding of the various mechanisms that characterize this process, and therefore define the political roles youth can perform. In this case, DMP can be considered as a part of a whole political action conducted within political frames. DMP is determined by a set of aspects embedded within political practices; all these elements contribute in the formation of youth' identity and their political belonging. In this regard, youth participation in this process can take different forms based on their political knowledge along with the formation they have been through.

The notion of DMP is characterized by multiplicity concerning the different zones where this process is taking place. DMP as a concept is assumed to cover the various operations

performed by people in charge of suggesting and implementing decisions. The fact of influencing and being influenced is what determines the meaning of the decision making process. Politics as a field brings into the surface a series of thoughts, practices and objectives the state and government maintain as a form to suggest regulations and control them.

#### **1.4.1. The Concept of Politics**

In approaching the concept of politics, we find that the origin of the word stands for different notions and provokes a set of interpretations. Hence, other researchers suggest another definition to political science asserting that “Political science is a systematic study of governments, of the methods by which governments seek to control people, and of the techniques through which people try to influence government.” (Delespinasse, 2009, p.4). There are a set of social and political conditions that define the concept of politics. As a case in point, the relationship between the government and its citizens can affect youth’s view towards their presence within political sphere.

Going deeply into political science, one can easily recognize the various items that the word politics holds; there are a set of influencing elements which constitute the relationship between the individual and political life. Therefore, the previous definitions of the word politics suggest a set of clashing concepts that meet in the same scene in order to perform different roles; ones in the center, while other roles are marginalized. Thus, various techniques are used in the political scene aiming to raise people’s attention towards political issues; to debate what is going in different fields, and to get closer to the regulating laws. Political action is practiced at different levels to cover most of the cultural, social and political realms in society.

The scientific approach to the concept of politics is perceived as a ground where some political facts that need to be analyzed emerge to the surface. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the different ideas and thoughts embedded within the notion of political theory. In this regard, Heywood (2015) examines the theoretical notion of politics stating that “political theory involves the analytical study of idea and concepts that have been central to political thought” (p.166). Throughout history, political systems have undergone different changes, in terms of structure and content; from the tribal system to modern societies, the establishment of the government was necessary to organize the works and tasks of every social part.

Modern governments, institutions as well as companies have been able to maintain international, social and economic relations. When mentioning the word politics, a set of relations determined by power emerge; it is not about a smooth and subtle way of dealing with local affairs, it is much more than that, it is who can do what, and the extent to which h/she feels free to do it. As a case in point, political agents plan for a well-structured programs by which they are supposed to abide once they succeed in elections. Still, we can consider the political field to be a space that determines pre-chosen political techniques in society.

#### **1.4.2. Addressing Youth’ Specificities within Political Field**

The presence of youth within DMP requires as well an investigation into the relationship that associates individuals with their social belonging. By other terms, the way political scene defines political actors and their impact throughout history has neglected important details that distinguish the individual and qualify his/her specificities. The presence of youth within such places is being determined by a set of criteria that, unfortunately, makes reference to only the oldest noticeable figures neglecting other young actors’ specificities. The impact of youth on political decision is to be seen in relation to the characteristics that young segment is known

with. It is worth here mentioning theories that help understand the way some philosophers, thinkers and even researchers in history have developed this relationship.

This study has seized the opportunity from the beginning to shed light and describe the major cultural and political constituents of youth as a particular stage in human's life; therefore, evaluate their impact on the process of decision-making. In this sense, all these aspects do not only distinguish youth from other social components, but they try also to inform the political field that there is a young segment whose aspects, if well addressed, will contribute in the development of the rest of realms. Wherever you see youth, you can easily observe a great sense of energy, activity and enthusiasm. Youth are distinguished by their innocent desire for reform and change along with a physical strength to defend their nations especially in moments of tension. Thanks to their flexible nature, youth are able to get accustomed to different circumstances; their readiness to contribute in solving problems and find solutions to different situations is inspired from their kinetic character which is always seeking a sense of belonging and identification. Hence, all these characteristics can push the state that once valorized youth participation, to re-question these factors within a political system which finds it difficult to understand the specificities of this period of life.

Political action as a whole is a series of programs intentionally created to maintain relations between people; therefore, the disequilibrium in some of these programs may lead to an political aversion on behalf of the marginalized category. Political science should not be looked at as a separated field; it s a realm that touches the cultural, social and political status of individuals. In term with that, Maclver (2005) asserts that "these various sciences give the basis of ethics, which must regard man in the total humanity into which the different social

relationship enter”. (p.65). In this case, the presence of youth within DMP reflects most of the cultural, social and political policies determining youth identity.

The fair notion of political science may seem to include most of the fields which impact the individual in relation to political field. Still, this fact cannot be applied to different policies; especially those which have the power to suggest laws and implement them. The policies that shape youth presence within political decision are condemned of being bias; the implementation of rules does indeed neglect youth’ specificities, and shape their way of thinking; the various sub-cultural forms that differentiate youth from the general order may condemn youth presence within these places and make of it irrelevant.

These young political leaders enter into the traditional image of political scene which does not allow differences. This fact is supported by the idea which indicates that “the organized state must contain two classes, ruler and subject, governor and governed the ideal of self-government can never be so realized as to break down this division, and even if it could, even if ruler and ruled were actually identical, the two aspects would still remain” (MacIver,2005, p.66). The subordination of the subject youth demonstrates the effects of policies through which young political agents experience different moments of tension; it also defines the cultural and social status of youth throughout history. Nevertheless, the policies that impact the presence of youth within DMP result from cultural, social and political factors where these internal and external forces intersect. The ways political policies are exercised are reflected in how the government operates at different levels to encourage youth participation, and to determine their effectiveness in the implementation of these policies on real grounds. Thus, these factors shape political scene in most developed countries. Most of the aspects especially those related to social policy-making in all its stages, and elements describing policy formulation have a mutual influence between

youth and decision-making zones. The cultural perception of youth and the way these agents are perceived within political action can either valorize or marginalize youth' roles.

In term of these policies, it is important also here to consider the presence of gender within these places; not to quantify their presence, but to qualify their effectiveness within DMP. A pivotal position within the basic human rights has determined the engagement of women within political life; therefore, showed the extent to which women were much more interested in defending national causes than focusing on particular positions. As a matter of fact, “women worked for the cause more than for jobs” (Childs and Krook, 2010, p.93). Political empowerment of women is mainly related to determining the self in relation to social and political contexts. By strengthening women's skills, their effectiveness in different fields can be noticeable; be it at the level of civil society, political parties or at the heart of decision-making.

There is no doubt that different societies would like to consolidate their image in asserting democratic values. Still, practices on real grounds may differ from one context to another. The engagement of women in DMP may question the various policies that, first shape gender participation in such positions, and then formulate society's mind to consider their presence in a certain way. It is of the utmost importance political representation of women in Morocco is; hence, this issue can be interpreted from two major perspectives; theoretical and practical one. As for the moment, we are interested in covering this topic from a theoretical perspective. For the practical side, it will be dealt with later on in this study.

The issue of women as political leaders has been brought up in the discussion between academic researchers and politicians; concerning the same issue, by referring to the history of struggle in Egypt especially where women constituted a great part of this process, theorists have focused on the deluded role Egyptian women have been performed during nationalist

movements. In this case “women had simply been used by a group of men in the nationalist movement to mislead the civilized nations into believing in the maturity and advancement of the Egyptian nation” (Badran, 1995, p.87). The participation of women in political life constitutes an urgent need for the process of development; the effectiveness of women in such zones requires the valorization and support to their own capabilities. By so doing, women can prove their own capability in many fields, especially those addressing public issues, and represent the values of democracy.

### **1.4.3. The Cultural Notion of Politics**

If culture is an everyday practice, politics is a well-planned mode of life programmed to establish orders, and guide society towards certain objectives. In this regard, citizens’ perception of politics becomes already shaped. Political culture can be defined as a set of ideas, attitudes and beliefs established by any society; it is about how citizens ought to act and react towards the government. The cultural attitudes about any political system describe the relationship that links between community and the ruling system; it is mostly characterized by power relations; the ruled community always feels the sense of ambiguity in what concerns the way regulations are imposed. In this case, political attitudes can be transmitted through the educational system; in how society would like its youth to considerate their own participation in the political field. Moreover, political culture can take different forms as far as the cultural specificities of each country require. This fact can also motivate youth to participate politically if their specificities are well addressed.

In addition, culture is known with fluidity and diversity; cultural attitudes may differ from one cultural context to another. Youth’ views towards political field may not be the same in other contexts, and also the way government shapes its own laws can vary within different contexts.

This is what explains the differences found among developed-and under-developed countries. Accordingly, for a country to gain its people's trust, it needs a long process that engages them in all the factors which constitute the political scene, and makes of them essential contributors in the construction of a democratic nation. Political culture provides a set of other influential elements needed in the construction of a strong relationship that links between citizens and the government.

Education also contributes in raising youth attention towards political terms in general; and enables them to be acquainted with cultural specificities of political jargon. As a matter of fact, developed countries have re-directed the traditional role of education which consists mainly in learning the basic skills like reading, writing, and speaking; they were able to re-consider the role of education by focusing on different skills they can develop among youth such as: mental capacities mainly those related to developing critical thinking, reasoning, considering differences in terms of attitudes and perspectives, self-management, participation in finding solutions, and impacting decision-making.

All these competencies have the power to guide the energy within youth, and help them to act within the frames of political action as effective political leaders. This issue has been raised in Euben's thought especially when addressing the role education can perform vis-à-vis youth identity. Euben (1997) sees that "unless 'classic' texts can speak to contemporary political and theoretical issues they will wither, and our students will have a more impoverished sense of political and intellectual possibilities than they would have had otherwise" (p.xiii). For a prudent and efficient practice of political action, youth ought to acquire the necessary values of leadership and responsibility; these notions are what encourage youth to impact and influence the process of decisions. All these programmed notions have the ability to shape the political agenda

of any country. On the one hand, by considering the political orientations of political leaders, different political terms that are embedded within the political style become at the disposal of common people regardless of their own political affiliation; thus, can impact their political behavior. On the other hand, political terms become also more explicit and practiced by every citizen. Political participation can take place only with citizens being acquainted with political terminology; therefore, they can have an impact on the process in which decisions are being constructed. Citizens become interested in following up political programs, attending conferences and more particularly expressing their own attitudes towards political issues in general.

Being characterized by diversity at different levels, political scene in Morocco is determined by a set of historical, social and cultural dominant aspects. For youth to be engaged in this process, we should get closer to the various discourses that contribute in shaping youth political identity, and therefore, determine their own impact on the political life. According to Entelis, the various discourses that shape Moroccan culture have a direct impact on youth engagement in politics. For him, Moroccan youth seem to be reluctant towards a full participation in the political action; this justifies the relative absence of youth from the center of decision making. Entelis explains this fact through the type of attitudes youth have vis-à-vis political system that are inspired from the political upbringing they have been through. For youth, political scene is mainly characterized by personal benefits, favoritism and the inheritance policy (Entelis, 1997).

In fact, the complementarily that political culture can achieve in parallel with political action can motivate youth to be engaged in the political scene through various modes of participation. Another important fact that determines this participation is the relationship

between youth and the political process. In term of political thought, this notion has been reflected in the study of many thinkers. In approaching this notion, the debatable relationship between youth and the political process questions the necessity of the subject portrayed through youth and the regulations implemented mainly by the state. The political participation of youth may seem irrelevant in some contexts due to the cultural stereotypes that reduce the effectiveness of this social segment. Having this in mind, Fahmy (2006) confirms that “despite the dominant stereotype of young people as largely apathetic and self-interested, it is nonetheless evident that many young people have strong views on what matters in society” (p.16). This explains that youth have to submit to their sense of belonging, and the desire to decide on political action. Despite these attempts, policies addressing youth have a common perception of the political action and the procedures of subjugating youth to the state, the elite that governs the participation of youth and their roles in politics.

#### **1.4.4. The Concepts and Forms of Political Participation**

The effective participation in the political field requires the individual to feel free to act far from any obligation or pressure. However, the absence or restriction of this right may contradict the democratic values. Therefore, it becomes difficult to define the state as being developed as Khanka (2014) assets:

To be free, you must be self-determined, which is to say that you must be able to control your own destiny in your own interests. In case if you are not in control of your own destiny, as you are failing to control a passion that you yourself would rather be rid of and which is preventing you from realizing what you recognize to be your true interests (p.3).

The freedom to act politically is one of the major elements embedded within the notion of democracy. When examining the various factors that shape the presence of youth in the political

scene, and how youth can feel free to have a full engagement in political action, and more particularly in DMP, all has to be taken from local and global contexts. To define the concept of political participation, we need first to distinguish between two major types of political participation. One which is considered as a full participation in political decision-process, and the other is subtle and can be expressed outside political decision zones. In addition to that, with the emergence of new democracies, the political, social and cultural basics of different nations have changed; therefore, political participation has taken different forms and models where youth can express their own political beliefs.

As far as the cultural components of youth identity are concerned, political participation and reaction to the political field can take different shapes. These forms become more debatable especially when it comes to power relations; therefore youth presence in this field is mainly politicized.

Political participation can take different forms; there have emerged new concepts to political participation invented by youth. However, different social, cultural and political changes taking place in the world have necessitated the existence of only one definition to political participation, which excluded other types of political participation that are not familiar to the political action. Yet, Deth goes on in the same line of thought to identify another type of participation which is manifested in the way government issues are being addressed; this is to identify new modes and ways interested in local affairs in society that have emerged with the emergence of democratic values. Still, the inclusion of these modes of participation may not abide by the standards of a formal political participation (Theocharis and Van Deth, 2019).

In Great Britain, the concept of political participation has been reshaped to meet economic ends, and describe the cultural changes that were taking place during 1960s. This period “saw an

apparent upsurge of direct political action by ordinary men and perhaps ultimately most significant women” (Parry, Moyser and Day,1992, p. 2). The engagement of different parts of society has increased political awareness among British people; they had seen in their being involved in different public issues a privilege to their own citizenship.

Global culture has also contributed in reshaping the sense of political participation, and paved the path for youth to exercise new forms of expressing political attitudes. These new modes can, to a certain extent, be perceived as a form of democracy since the access to the internet has become at the disposal of everyone regardless of h/her political background. Globalization has been crystallized over the past two decades to involve youth into a non-stop stream of global values in which youth feel the misleading freedom to act politically.

The emergence of cyber-culture explains how youth cannot avoid being influenced by this force. Cyber-culture is an invading tool which has become part of youth’s daily life. Through Internet, youth can express different kinds of attitudes, not only in what concerns their social contexts, but also the political system to which they belong. The virtual participation of youth can take different shapes such as: sharing political attitudes, demonstrating, boycotting and posting blogs. This alluring world has the power to turn youth culture into a counterculture that refuses and criticizes the stagnant cultural and political codes within society, and therefore, call for change by all its manifestations. Youth’ impact on the virtual world remains relative and so is their impact on political decisions. This fact can be explained by the perception and acceptance of virtual participation as a non-formal mode of engaging in political actions. Lévy (2001) justifies this lack of understanding to the mechanisms of virtual space advocating that “the difficulty of analyzing the social and cultural implications of information technology or multimedia is multiplied by the complete lack of stability in the field” (p.6). It is the type of

formation, orientation and external influence under which these youth are, which determines their impact on the political scene.

More to the point, youth are not well empowered to embark into a stream of demonstrations that transcend the virtual world, and defend their own attitudes publically. The cultural barriers into which youth are put do not really allow them to really have a full participation, where they can decide and act. This does not cope with the real practice of democracy. As a case in point, “where few take part in decisions there is little democracy; the more participation there is in decisions, the more democracy there is” (Verba, & Nie, 1971, p.1) The value of any democratic system is measured by the margin it gives to its youth to enjoy a full participation in political action. In the virtual world, youth’s participation seems to be restricted by certain rules; the presence of youth in this world creates a boundless space that deludes them by giving them a fake moment of freedom whose principles barely can cross the internet.

Nevertheless, even if youth impact can cross these blue borders, the political formation youth have been through does indeed restrict their ability to continue the demonstrations they have already triggered. As a matter of fact, the 20<sup>th</sup> February movement in Morocco is a livelihood experience that reflects this fact. Political participation requires a long process that the state has to embark into to construct youth, and makes them able to act as effective agents in political action. This can only be achieved with the cooperation of different factors that permit youth to participate in changing the current status of their own country. Furthermore, the fact of belonging to a political party and act accordingly, to be registered in electoral lists and give voice to a particular party are the major elements that determine a full participation in political action.

Despite the relative freedom the internet can provide for youth, this virtual world reveals the systematic mediation of information through images, texts and forms that impact youth

minds indirectly, The same idea is clarified by Lévy (2001) who sees that: “new technologies embody projects, imaginary schemes, highly varied social and cultural implications. Their presence and use in a given place, at a given time crystallizes the changing relations of force among human beings” (p.5) Therefore, Internet has paved the way for the emergence of new groups designed by youth to feel the freedom to communicate and exchange political attitudes.

This virtual participation can allow some moment of freedom where youth feel empowered and able to react, but at the same time it causes youth a psychological trouble. Youth find themselves belonging nowhere. By other words, Internet has paved the way for youth to embark into infinite modes of commenting, expressing and evaluating their social and political surroundings. Online participation, in this respect, remains invisible and does not exceed certain borders. The Web restricts their movement, and makes them unable to break its strings in order to assert themselves within DMP, which is considered the official way of actually practicing political affairs. Youth can form ideas, defend attitudes, but the strong presence of cultural, educational and political components within their own identity makes these young people unable to proceed neither from inside, nor outside. Although these virtual forms are increasingly practiced by youth, still their impact remains subtle as far as the process of decision making is concerned. Thus, this type of political participation can be identified as a non formal mode of participation. That is to say that these activities outside political system have not a great impact on the way things are planned and practices; they do not change real situations, because they are not put at the heart of any political decision. Therefore, impacting decisions can only happen when youth are practicing a formal kind of political participation represented through certain institutions.

Participation and action are interdependent concepts that cannot be separated; however, the type of this action can decide for a strong engagement in political field or a subtle participation whose impact does not transcend certain limits. A formal mode of political participation necessitates mainly a set of practices that are represented through: legitimate actions including party membership, campaigning and voting. Furthermore, the economic and social transformations into which the world has embarked have suggested a set of values and acts reflecting democracy and human rights. In this regard, the increase in political issues has been noticeable, and thus, the scope of political participation has grown especially between 1960 and 1970; it has transcended the traditional criteria that determine political participation (Bamed and Kaase, 1979).

New modes of participation were added to the institutionalized political forms. Therefore, democracy has empowered ordinary people's voice especially in what matters their attitudes towards the government, and the way the state exercises power over citizens. As a case in point, youth and women's movements were noticeable among industrialized countries in the sixties; their rejection to already constructed values within society was conceived by new democracy as a sort of political participation. In the same line of thought, "the new political themes emphasized classic democratic ideals and their realization, such as: equality, the right of minorities, and the unfair advantages possessed by the upper middle classes" (Bamed and Kaase 1979, p.14). Nevertheless, these concepts had not had a great importance or influence on the process of democratic transition that was taking place that time. This was justified by the empirical research which considered these actions as being new and not conventional. In analyzing the political structures of post-industrialized countries; especially those that were experiencing change in the late 1960s, different facts proved that the political field had given

great attention to the level of education believing that this is the basic step with which youth can start to form powerful political decisions.

Accordingly, the scope of political participation has grown especially at that time. It has transcended the traditional criteria that determine political involvement; new modes of participation were added to party membership, voting and campaigning. Hence, the adoption of democratic values had empowered ordinary people's voices, their attitudes towards the government and how the state used to control their lives. As a case in point, youth movements were rejecting all forms of political and social alienations; they were considered as modes of protests that can be included within political participation.

Political participation has never been fixed by time or place or even persons; it is more than that. The fact of participating translates the individual's desire to feel responsible, think wisely and act properly. This can only happen through the formation of a young generation able to succeed in all domains. The difference between legitimate and illegitimate political acts can best be portrayed through the relationship that links between political institutions and citizen's behaviors. For instance, political participation means: responsibility, control, flexibility and more particularly the ability to act freely. By other terms, the real practice of politics in democratic states has to include all the mentioned norms. In the same line of thought, (Bened and Kaase, 1979) argue that "if democracy is ruled by the people, as we and any others maintain, then the notion of political participation is at the center of the concept of the democratic state" (p.28).

In this case, the way youth participate in the political action, does indeed reflect the country's long term planning towards asserting the values of democracy and human rights. In the same line of thought, the various historical, cultural and political changes Moroccan country has been through stimulate researchers to shed light on the role of youth in the

political action; to deeply understand the extent to which this social segment has got the power to impact the political field, and thus, be able to influence the DMP.

#### **1.4.5. The Process of Decision-Making**

The process through which decision is being made involves the intervention of different political agents from different political parties. The establishment of those positions of responsibility and authority are what determines the various roles that can be performed to fully be a part of the decision-making process. Negotiating problems, suggesting solutions and implementing laws is what characterizes this process.

Political decision can also be influenced by the various economic, social or political planning processes. Political decision is produced by higher modes of surveillance in which youth feel their presence to be governed by certain rules. The impact of these policies on youth presence as decision-makers indicates that the latter has to abide by certain regulations in which h/her contribution is to be controlled. These elements explain how political and societal elites are increasingly confronted with complex environments in which they continuously have to make collective decision (Bursens, De Landtsheer, Braeckmans and Segaert, 2017). This complexity explains the critical factors that contribute in shaping youth identity; the psychological, social and cultural components of youth period are what determine their perception, and also their impact as decision-makers. Indeed, this incorporates multiple dimensions to the presence of youth within DMP. Thus, if the presence of youth within this process requires cultural maturity; therefore, this presence is to be politicized by discursive means of cultural representation. These notions connote as well the relative freedom youth have as decision-makers. Going deeply in this issue, the image can get clearer especially by understanding the mechanisms that articulate youth perceptions and actions.

Accordingly, youth' roles are being formulated, politicized and more particularly designed to transmit certain values; youth are assigned roles that they should perform, in this regard, the power of decision and the implementation of rules is to be controlled by collective decision in which youth constitute a small part. The distribution of roles is in itself an important notion that tries to circulate other discourses. By the same token, this fact shows the pressure under which youth are pretending to perform these roles and acting accordingly. As a matter of fact, "the formal political decision-makers commit themselves to only vaguely formulated institutional rules or policy goals owing to diverging preferences and consensus or unanimity rules" (Bursens et al., 2017, p.19). Thus, the diversity that characterizes decision-making process, does indeed, reflect to what extent youth are not free and are to be governed by the general order.

### **1.5. The Socio-Political Transformations throughout Moroccan History**

In the post-colonial era, the monarchy has unified its basic foundations by focusing on the historical and religious legitimacy, and also by considering the modern administration as well as the security system. Moroccan society has kept its traditional structure after independence. Still, it could not escape the world wide flow of global and modern values that the world started to experience. In the process of urbanism and nation building, the country has chosen to cope with the changing aspects that all the Arab and non-Arab nations started to experience. The changing aspects in Moroccan society have also provoked nationalist movements who were calling for legal authority. The monarchy tried to balance between its legal authorities and the traditional ones to satisfy their demands. Furthermore, his being a Charif, a descendant of the prophet and also the commander of the faithful, the Monarch has empowered its position, and the king's monopoly of the relations that link between the various groups In the Moroccan society, which has helped to a great extent, in maintaining the order and laying the important basics of a

powerful and secured nation (Desrues and Moyana, 2001). Similar with that is the Moroccan constitution that frames the role of the parliament which is to initiate legislation and therefore, the king has to sign them before they become laws. He can also dissolve the parliament by decree, and also call for new elections when it is necessary. The king has also the ability to propose his own legislation for popular consent through referendum.

### **1.5.1. The Development of the Moroccan Political System**

As far as the Moroccan political system is concerned, the king has the power to interfere in case of emergency, ratify and sign international treaties; he acts as a sovereign in national issues, and distributes authority to the members of the parliament in the Legislative, Executive and judicial branches. In this sense, the king, as a supreme power, can appoint the prime minister and also the cabinet. He presides over the meeting of the Supreme Judicial Council and the cabinet. The system of Makhzen in Morocco has always been revived; its derogatory connotation is near to the Moroccan political system. In this respect, in contemporary Morocco, the meaning of Makhzen refers to the government and everything that is related to it, notably the bureaucracy and the army. Furthermore, the concept of Makhzen is constantly represented in the physic of Moroccans or the collective consciousness; it presents an absolute or a supreme power that ought not to be contested. The concept of Makhzen has expanded its legitimacy as a source of authority portrayed through formal (bureaucratic) and also informal sources like traditional authority and patriotism, towards other formal and informal relations and segments within society.

This has contributed in the construction of a personalized system where each group tries to get closer to the palace for the sake of rewards and favors. Accordingly, the small elite that dominate the Makhzen system is a despotic power, managing all the issues related to the infrastructural and administrative power, and therefore, the state's ability to penetrate different

sectors like civil society and political system which is included within the national identity. In Morocco, the monarch is charged of dividing society in order to raise the number of groups; which are going to be one against the other. Hence, the Makhzen remains the only arbiter and the center of all decisions (Layachi, 1999).

Throughout Moroccan history, a set of dynasties have contributed in the forging of Moroccan cultural identity. Hence, the concept of modern state goes back to the sixteenth when Morocco had adopted a tribal system in which the sultan was the supreme power; his religious belonging and spiritual character have strengthened his central authority. This mere relationship between the sultan and his people is based on a mutual love and sacrifice. (Terem, 2014) has taken us with him to a new connotation to the concept of Modern state. For him, the relationship between Morocco and Europe especially during European colonialism in Morocco had to change the cultural attitudes about Europe; the purpose was to develop Moroccan economic benefits. Hence, interest in describing Moroccan community was to create a new assumption to the political and cultural relations that link between Europe and Morocco. Accordingly, Makhzen is the name which was given to the sultan's bureaucratic system. The government played a major role in establishing certain stability among Moroccans; therefore, "its rudimentary administrative and military apparatus was devoted to the extraction of taxes in specie and in kind" (Waterbury, 1970, p.17).

In term of moral values, Abed Al-Jabri brings a symbolic category in Moroccan history which is Ulema, they are actually a group of scholars whose word is inspired mainly from religion. Ulema's main duty is to spread moral values among pupils and youth in particular. In addition to that, this category represents a group of scholars who used to teach at Al Quaraouiyine University in the spiritual capital of Morocco 'Fez', as in other religious sites.

Their role was not only to orient and guide people's deeds and attitudes; they were also acting as defenders of Shari'a considering themselves representatives of the community as well. Their impact was mostly based on the fact that people used to purchase the existence of these scholars, believing that they represent peace and certitude for them. The accumulation of all these factors had enabled them to play a major role in society. Furthermore, the famous Moroccan scholar Abd Al-Jabri discusses in his book that the sultan or the future king could not legally become one until he got a signed and written baya'a from this category. The Ulema are considered as representatives of religious sing without which his majesty would be only a despotic ruler or an intruder. As a matter of fact, the sultans have always been trying to attain the legitimacy to be in position of a good ruler. Al-Jabri, adds that, in order to solve problems among the nation, the sultans have always used the Fatwa 'discussion' of Ulema to justify their directives (Idrissi, 2010).

Political reforms in Morocco have come as a way of reconsolidation between the individual and his own nation. Intellectuals, scholars and also common people in Morocco have witnessed different periods of prosper and also a mere moments of oppression and detention. Since 1990, Morocco has known different political and economic reforms; democratization and modernization were among the major goals that the country decided to achieve, and to assert as first steps towards prosperity and progress. As a matter of fact, these two concepts seem to be important especially when defining political liberalization in relation to Moroccan context.

Overall, if political liberalization means freedom of expression and reaction, a great emphasis; then, has to be put on the main mechanisms that constitute the concept of democratization. The country's open up to the huge amount of global aspects has allowed its economy to be influenced by the private sector investment, which encourages local and global

exchange of not only products but also cultures. Interestingly, the analysis of the two concepts: liberalization and as well as democratization proves that when they both meet, they lay important basics especially for underdeveloped countries, but at the same time they reveal the weakness of the widespread culture that dominates these nations. In this regard, “to give the opposition groups a way to blow off steam. The steam valve must meet the opponent’s minimal expectations for political openness and participation, but prevent them from understanding the regime’s ultimate control” (Carothers and Ottaway, 2005, p. 20)

When liberalization interferes in Moroccan political affairs, it provides a limited freedom for political young leaders; they are allowed to access, compete and prove their ability to legislative plans and execute them. However, the king’s word is the most heard; he interferes to solve sensitive issues that make serious decisions concerning the political reforms of civil society laws and organization. Another approach to that indicates that quasi-government and non-governmental organizations have witnessed a democratic revival thanks to liberalized autocracy. The non-governmental organizations have the ability to fulfill the state’s functions. In this regard, when state cannot provide or satisfy health, schooling and social services; the regime starts searching to lay out and more precisely performing laws that frame the work of labor associations and civic professionals which finance their main activities. In the same line of thought, the Moroccan state has paved the way for the proliferation of a great number of civil society institutions and organizations, taking into account their objectives, orientations under the laws reform which manage and define their activities. However, despite the freedom which the state provides for these organizations, they do not enjoy a total freedom and autonomy; the state tries to keep this control as a way to apply different methods that can divide rule strategy.

During lead years<sup>1</sup>, the role of civil society was restricted and controlled by the state, this policy was meant to shrink the space of these organizations that were serving certain causes; they tried to blur the borders between friends, ‘enemies’, which empowers the role of the state in maintaining different decisions. Moreover, its belonging to the Charefien origin has also helped the state to further legitimize its policies and control. Moreover, partial economic reforms can be achieved through providing space for professional and social groups in collaboration with liberal autocracies. Partial reform of parliaments and electoral systems as it is the case with some Arab countries.

The structure of political system in Morocco seems to be ambiguous, which weakens youth’s perception of the political parties and their actions. This growing lack of interest and trust among youth has led to a growing in the rate of abstention especially in 2009 local elections in Morocco. To solve this problem, the ministry of interior has tried to suggest different reforms to encourage youth participation in elections and in the political life in general.

The process of democratization and human rights into which Morocco has embarked, has provided a new way to deal with all the social and political issues that characterize the country. In this respect, Sater (2007) explains the changes that Morocco has experienced asserting that “the 1999s saw Morocco’s most profound and accelerated formal political changes since independence, which cumulated in the death and the accession to the throne of his eldest son, Mohamed VI, on 23 July 1999” (p. 85).

The margin of speech has grown; the cultural means of expression have been empowered and strengthened. After the speech of King Mohammed the VI to carry on the trajectory of democratization and human rights, these reforms came as a continuity of the series of

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<sup>1</sup> The period from 1960 to 1990 ; it had witnessed the arrest of different activists in the history of Morocco.

reconciliations the king Hassan II had already lunched. With his accession to the throne, his majesty realized that being near to youth; to their dreams, aspirations and needs is the first step towards asserting the values of democracy and justice. This was demonstrated through his successive visits to different regions in Morocco so as to encourage the economic, social and political process the country was undergoing.

The king's objective is to pave the way for a non-stop process of reforms through a series of projects and programs that raise human rights status and guarantee the basic rights of any citizens regardless of their the region to which they belong. In term of development process, the King lunched a series of projects in all the parts of Morocco. The aim behind these projects is to fight poverty, to preserve citizen's dignity and the right to live in peace. In this respect, his majesty has also considered all the conditions that surround the status of Moroccans living abroad. His majesty expressed his love to his own people by visiting the centers of hosting by himself, and welcoming people. To ensure the continuity of these programs, the creation of the foundation of Mohammed VI in 1999 has come as a response to the national need of revising the conditions of human rights in Morocco. The foundation covers all the issues related to the status of women and children in difficulty. Moroccans saw in these reforms introduced by the King a promising future that guarantees their dignity and valorizes their rights.

Morocco has responded positively to the conditions proposed by European Western countries, and embarked into a process of reviving the rights that were oppressed at different moments in the history of Morocco. Indeed, the economic and political reforms have been cherished by different national and international organizations, which saw in Morocco's reconciliation with the past, a new path towards the improvement in the status of human rights and political constancy. In the same line of thought, Cohen and Jaidi (2006) describe see that

“These developments have meant that Moroccan civil society has been able to enjoy appreciably higher levels of freedom in recent years. Political parties, independent media bodies and NGOs are widespread and active in Morocco” (p.43).

What we call the new era can be considered as a break with the old regime, but at the same time, a continuity of some political practices that the country could not get rid of. This is how the nature of Moroccan system can be described. There are different challenges that limit or rather disqualify the credibility of various institutions within Morocco; the unequal distributions of sources in addition to rates of unemployed youth push the latter to lose trust in these bodies and make them responsible of their own problems. The political and social reforms launched by king Mohammed VI have been appraised by his own people whose love to their King has grown. Thanks to his being near to them in mostly all occasions, the human rights subject has been one of the major king’s priorities; his policy cannot image the development of his own nation without affording all the conditions that guarantee the citizens ‘dignity and welfare.

When looking at the process of democratization and human rights Morocco is undertaking, we realize that it is characterized by sometimes downs and in many different historical times with ups. It has never been fixed; this instability is due to different factors that are embedded within the political structure of Morocco. The distribution of sources cannot easily be adopted by a constitutional monarchy that refuses its power to be shared; this is what explains the constraints that face democracy to have a full access within Morocco society.

The political openness Morocco adopts manifested in the series of amendments his majesty has been introducing, which paved the way for questioning the extent to which his majesty has succeed in balancing out between the traditional monarchy and democratic transition; especially

that his majesty's promise was to continue the process of democratization his late father had started.

All these changes have had a great impact on the position of political parties. For instance, political parties in Morocco are lacking the sense of independence; the differences found among them put them within a circle in which they find themselves clashing with each other. These parties also may face difficulties when trying to serve the aims of democracy. This relative freedom has not ushered with a totally free actions, the clash between Moroccan parties submerge especially during elections; more precisely between the leftists and Islamist parties.

The relationship between the Islamists and secularists has always been characterized by a set of differences concerning their own orientations and beliefs. This relation has impacted the construction of identities among Arab nations and more particularly in Morocco. In the same line of thought, "one of the main obstacles to democracy in the Arab world is the absence of consensus regarding national identity, particularly as it relates to the controversial question of Islam's place in public life" (Carothers and Ottaway, 2005, p.24). In terms of national issues, the center of contention in Morocco is mainly related to the references of decisions and laws. On the one hand, Secularists are mostly interested in the interpretation of religious matters through the adoption of the religious teaching method, especially when dealing with national issues. Islamists; therefore, stress the idea that religion is the best way to adopt in all the matters that concern the state. To avoid troubles and comments on behalf of Algeria, Morocco tries to balance out between these two different streams as a way to create stability within Moroccan society, with its different fractions.

The political sphere in Morocco uses genius means to keep stability and avoid troubles. In this respect, politicians and the policy adopted serves to maintain a kind of ideological agenda

that preserves national identity, and keeps communication in relation to other countries. Still, despite the set of attempts the country tries to keep, the meeting of all these elements like: economic and political reforms that are manifested through political autocracy, democracy, liberalization, and control of power sharing, may create ambivalence among citizens as well as social institutions, and may lead to a state of confusion linked to political field. In this sense, the existence of all these different streams within one nation may impact youth perceptions and attitudes towards not only political life, but also their past, present and future.

In approaching the genius political ways that involve youth in political affairs, quasi-government and non-governmental organizations have witnessed a democratic revival thanks to liberalized autocracy. The non-governmental organizations have the ability to fulfill the nation's functions. In this regard, when nations cannot provide or satisfy health, schooling and social services; the regime starts searching to lay out and more precisely perform laws that frame the work of labor associations and civic professionals which finance their main activities. In the same line of thought, the Moroccan state has paved the way for the proliferation of a great number of civil society institutions and organizations, taking into account their objectives, orientations under the laws reform which manage and define their activities. However, despite the freedom which the nation provides for these organizations, they do not enjoy a total freedom and autonomy; it tries to keep this control as a way to apply different methods that can divide rule strategy (Aarts & Nonneman, 2005).

Furthermore, liberalized autocracies almost allow elections and the creation of parliament. The parliament in Morocco plays a major role especially in law making. With respect to the king who is the supreme power that controls the laws. The structure of political system in Morocco

seems to be ambiguous, which weakens youth's perception of the political parties and their actions.

A set of amendments have been implied to the communal charter in order to empower the function of the local municipal and enlarged the scope of their responsibilities, and encouraged media campaign that insists on the importance of citizen's participation in choosing their representatives; through the register on the electoral lists with the help of a new system based on a criterion of residency in the electoral district.

Morocco tries to balance out between these two different streams as a way to create stability within Moroccan society, with its different fractions. The political sphere in Morocco uses genius means to keep stability and avoid troubles. In this respect, politicians and the policy adopted serves to maintain a kind of ideological agenda that preserves national identity, and keeps communication in relation to other countries. Still, despite the set of attempts the country tries to keep, the meeting of all these elements like: economic and political reforms that are manifested through political autocracy, democracy, liberalization, and control of power sharing, may create ambivalence among youth as well as social institutions, it may also lead to a state of confusion linked to political field. In this sense, the existence of all these different streams within one nation may impact youth perceptions and attitudes towards not only political life, but also their past, present and future.

### **1.5.2. The Presence of Youth in the Post-Colonial Morocco**

Youth engagement in political life throughout Moroccan history was noticeable; this segment was trusted and given leading roles: "Mohammed Ben Youssef, usually referred to as King Mohammed V, was eighteen years old when he was selected by the French in 1927 for his

apparent docility” (Ashford, 1961, p.25) This deep feeling that youth can do something is inspired from their inner energetic power and zeal.

Youth engagement in political life throughout Moroccan history was noticeable; this segment was trusted and given leading roles. This deep feeling that youth can do something is inspired from their inner energetic power and zeal. Youth are characterized by ambition and willingness to change. Therefore, the sense of nationalism has encouraged some young leaders to take part in different actions that were taking place in Morocco “Ahmed Balafrej and Allal Al-Fassi; young nationalists leaders, were eighteen years old too, when they separately became the spokesmen for two small groups of nationalists meeting in Rabat and Fez in 1926”(Ashford, 1961, p25).

The growth of national values among youth has been enriched or empowered by the colonial existence in Morocco, youth attempted to form groups that are going to be at the head of the resisting policies. Interestingly, after independence, and with the establishment of Moroccan parliament, a set of changes have been proposed to lay important basics such as: the creation of a House of Representatives. Indeed, with the constructional reforms that took place in 1996, the Moroccan parliament became bicameral with two chambers; the House of Councilors and the House of Representatives. The construction of these two houses can be analyzed or viewed as a strategy implied to keep a pro-government which contains political parties in the parliament.

In the stream of globalization and modernization, Morocco has taken a new path towards asserting the values of democracy and human rights. Hence, in order to transmit these values to its youth, Moroccan institutions need to open its borders to the norms and values of democracy by signing on a set of International conventions concerning human rights. In the same line of thought, the changes that were implemented and also the chosen policies in Morocco have

always been standing as important labels that need deep analysis and understanding. Morocco is still between two ambivalent situations.

On the one hand, the country has tried to democratize its institutions, policies and constitution, and on the other hand, the country seems to be conservative about this change; Morocco still needs time to cope with these changes that have implemented the values of democracy to its inner system. Moroccan economic and political system has been experiencing different changes especially in term of political liberalization, which determines youth political attitudes and orientations. This ambiguous status has also been exposed with the Democratic Spring that took place in most Arab society of which Morocco was a part.

The Democratic Spring has come as a result of people's longing for asserting justice and valorization of human rights. The Tunisian revolution (known as Jasmine Revolution) represented Tunisians' feeling of oppression and marginalization. People manifested in the streets; their main demands were to have clear and transparent elections that guarantee new rights. In this regard, when the state fails to meet the necessary steps to join the stream of liberalization and democracy, the authoritarian leaders start looking for new ways to insert the main values and principles of liberalization in society. The state tries, at this level, is to calm down people's outrage. As a case in point, backward legitimacy, after a long process of resistance and criticism to the regime, the reformers start doubting its credibility and legitimacy, which pushes the leader to resign.

Prosperity and dignity are the ultimate goals that citizens in any country would like to enjoy in general, but the constant need for change is what characterizes youth in particular. In this regard, Democratic Spring has come as a result of many different attempts crossing the three seasons to stop at the spring one. Therefore, to put youth demands in the hands of the

government and the king for a decent life that guarantees them the rights and freedoms that no population can dispense with. Democratic spring in Morocco is considered as a reflection of all the historical, social and political transformations in which youth have played different roles. In this regard, 2011 was a turning point in the history of democracy in Morocco. Based on the previous revolutions, Moroccan youth decided to engage into a movement for which they have chosen the name of 20<sup>th</sup> February, the need for change has increased especially among youth; a group of young people started their demonstrations first within virtual space in which they were gathered to exchange ideas and then went into streets holding different demands; youth first and foremost call was for change at the different levels especially the political one.

The fake collaboration between the Islamic movement Adl Wa Ihssan and the Extremist Left has given birth to the 20<sup>th</sup> February movement in Morocco. However, the alliance of the two sides was only to serve the upcoming political interests, but this movement was soon aborted revealing with it a set of deficiencies that handicaps the presence of youth within decision-making places.

In addition to that, the movement was an opportunity for youth to get close to each other; their common goal was the desire for change. However, this aim was not well structured to be able to transcend certain social and political barriers, and prove itself. These youth have insisted on the necessity of establishing a parliamentary monarchy as well as paving the way towards a new constitution that provides new rights and liberties. As a reaction to this movement, a set of cultural stereotypes have been shaped in a genius way to accuse its members of being lacking the sense of politeness, responsibility and maturity.

The success of any revolution is related mainly to the extent of social, cultural and political framing youth have been given; regardless of the nation to which they belong, it is a long process

in which all the previous elements should collaborate with each other; therefore, they can form strong, mature and responsible leaders whose actions are inspired from their deep and wise thoughts towards their own surroundings. In spite of the clear demands these youth were calling for, in depth, their aspirations were only repetitive and unconsciously manipulated by external powers as has been mentioned; lacking clear objectives is what weakened the 20<sup>th</sup> February movement, the absence of a strong orientation, profound political awareness, as well as youth being exploited by certain partisan and Islamic parties, has indeed, weakened the true image of youth, which exposed the true political status of youth as decision-makers. Hence, this has to question also the deep structures of the Moroccan political system in relation to youth.

### **1.5.3. The Impact of Gender on Policy Decision**

The notion of gender has always been a debatable issue especially when it comes to power positions. Gender's presence impact on policy decision is mostly governed by a set of cultural and political formations; it is not a question of time or space, but mostly in how these notions have been constructed to meet special aims. A gender role in politics is a remarkable topic not only in the Moroccan context, but also in most Western societies. The presence of gender in different fields is considered as an outcome of a long struggle in an attempt to change the pre-constructed images associated with female effectiveness.

These relations of power are what stimulate researchers to investigate the major components that constitute gender presence as policy makers. Therefore, it enables them to evaluate the female presence within such places as an indicator or determiner of the country's development. In term with that, most of the stereotypes associated with gender as being unable to transcend certain borders remain relative. As a matter of fact, in order to challenge this notion, a long struggle has been made to strengthen gender roles, and empower their status as decision-makers.

However, the presence of women in such positions may also create a trouble for men; therefore, the patriarchal system opts for the notion of difference to reduce the role of women, and also determine the cultural perception of gender action in the political field.

By adopting the notion of difference, and being troubled by the presence of gender, men feel superior over women; they justify this fact as the latter's presence may seem to be lacking experience and rational way of thinking especially in dealing with decisive political issues. Indeed, there are other factors that may create hierarchies in term of gender presence within DMP; therefore, when approaching the issue of women as decision-makers, we should consider this fact from both a 'descriptive' as well as 'substantive' perspectives. In this case, the presence of women in policy-making zones are a reflection of the cultural images and assumptions associated with this notion as a descriptive notion, and a questionable topic for investigation for the later. In this regard, further attempt to empower this presence requires 'incorporating gender perspective in all stages of the policy-making process with the goal of recognizing where policies might have a deferential impact on women and men, and adjusting the policy in question such that it promotes gender equality (Hook & Childs, 2010).

Accordingly, in term of DMP, women have always formed a minority; especially when it comes to the impact they may have on forming policies and implementing them. However, most of Western societies' thirst for asserting the values of democracy and human rights make them reserve some seats for women in policy decisions; still, the socio-cultural boundaries into which women feel restricted by has also got an impact on their own contribution.

The above discursive formations of gender, in turn, help in formulating a clear image about Western women' impact as decision-makers.; in term of asserting gender equality in the political field, Childs sheds light on this attempt especially by bringing into the surface the paradigm of

'gender sensitive public theory. For her, women's presence as effective members should not be underestimated with regard to their own capacities. However, the patriarchal nature that contends women's presence in these places imposes certain rules for women to be accepted to act as men; their presence in such positions forces women not to leave the narrow space men have allowed for (Hook & Childs, 2010).

Being almost the same as men can at least reduce the probably existed challenge women may provoke as decision-makers. However, to allow females participation to step up to the appropriate human rights standards, Childs and Hook (2010) argue that "policy makers at both the national and international levels have now largely moved to the third stage known as gender mainstreaming"(p.12). The purpose then, is to valorize women's presence in DMP, and glorify their contribution to impact the various stages through which political decisions are being designed. In this sense, other countries would like to adopt the same model in order to preserve their image as democratic states, and Morocco is of no exception.

In term of Moroccan history, and in relation to the various attempts to achieve independence during protectorate era, Moroccan women had been performing important roles in bringing independence, and participated in shaping a Moroccan national identity in which their presence cannot be ignored. Moreover, during this era, woman's role was widely remarkable in preserving national identity; woman's presence was considered and still the brick that youth are inspired by. Moroccan youth at that period were empowered by the role women played in both within and outside house borders.

Women social, cultural and political effectiveness manifested at many different moments; regardless of the conservative discourse which reduced their presence and restricted it into fake boundaries, in order to marginalize their contribution and make it unnoticeable. However, the

education these women gave to their pupils succeeded in transmitting a set of values that formed Moroccan youth' character during the colonial era.

The limited space social norms where women' kinetic was oppressed had indeed enabled them to act differently; especially by bringing up young leaders satiated with the sense of responsibility, sacrifice and self denial. Outside patriarchal borders, women helped in challenging the protectorate presence, and succeeded in changing the patriarchal discourse which considered women's presence as a kind of challenging to men' norms. The stagnant image of women as being passive members, whose role should not transcend house thresholds had been replaced by a new status of women as decision-makers inside homes, and therefore, be able to produce a strong young generation of leaders. As a matter of fact, Sadiki (2003) sees that "through continuous, conscious or unconscious gender negotiation, they gain power through the education of their children, they transmit the cultural as well as domestic functions which give them power inside the home" (p.72) .This had inverted power relations, and glorified the status of women during the colonial period in Morocco.

In term of armed struggle, women ensured a certain kind of braveness and zeal by which they did not only challenge the protectorate presence only, but also shackled men' absolute power; therefore, women' revolution against the colonial bodies had manifested through their joining the struggle movement. For instance, women carry weapons, grenades, and messages; organize literacy groups, and participate in streets protests. The heroic presence of woman was strongly remarked in the sense of helping men by giving them weapon and providing them with information related to the colonizer's movements. They had also participated in meetings and demonstrations against the colonizer. Hence, these actions have strengthened their position within society for the sake of having a full engagement in the political action later on. Moroccan

women' engagement in the national struggle to achieve independence was a testimony of women' power; they proved themselves as strong householders' decision-makers, and as effective nationalists activists during the colonial era.

The important role Moroccan young females have performed in bringing independence to their own country had been manifested different ways. Their contribution along with men indicates that political activism can take different shapes; the zeal and power women had shown during the protectorate time in Morocco had guided demonstrations condemning all protectorate presence.

Women' participation in positions that were exclusive to men had challenged different values within the Moroccan society; their presence could not be underestimated. Their power had been able to break the invisible barriers that long reduced women' role to a mere domestic life; being not only experts in deciding about family issues, but also active members in the history of struggle during protectorate era, Moroccan women, at that time, have been able to cross patriarchal borders and be part of political decision-making by having a place in the political parties. However, women' presence in such places were determined by moments of desire and rejection.

Gender participation in the process of decision-making is being desired by the state to project its own image as democratic and respectful to gender equality; women' full impact on decision-making constitutes a challenge to the patriarchal absolute power, this challenge is embedded within the traditions that limit women' impact on this field. Therefore, they are to be rejected when it comes to impacting DMP. At a deeper level, "Moroccan women s' ambiguous status at the levels of authority, social attitudes, public discourse, and law, is a clash between traditions and modernity" (Sadiki, 2003, p.77).

All these factors prevented women of having a free political identity; they are torn between different streams that mostly put their participation into brackets. The gender relationship in decision-making can be manifested through various aspects; more particularly the most appropriate mode of political participation in all the steps through which decisions are being suggested, designed and implemented. As a matter of fact, “women who were active in the independence movement have political views that are more or less the same as those of the men in their social milieu” (Baker, 1998, p.11) The societal formations that characterize Moroccan society explain the space provided for women as decision-makers. Political action for women is a question of being more than acting; it is how they are perceived by their own cultural surrounding.

#### **1.6. Political Parties in Morocco and the Formation of Young Leaders**

Diversity and multiplicity that characterize Morocco has also an impact on its political structure. The post-colonial period in Morocco has witnessed the mobility of various political parties that tended to prove their readiness to serve the welfare and unity of the state. Moroccan political system is known with its plurality; from the Islamists to the far lefts, political parties objectives vary according to these streams.

Political parties in Morocco are considered as the basic element that prepares youth to be future political leaders by structuring their presence; still, the role these parties ought to play is a debatable matter that should be viewed and analyzed in relation to the various factors that cover the major aim of this study by focusing on young decision-makers. The monarchy-system has always been ready to assert the values of multiparty-system especially to prove the Kingdom's readiness for democratic changes. Therefore, the article three in the constitution of 1996 has had a particular impact on the execution of this right.

Being the only party that emerged in Morocco especially after independence, the Independence Party (Independence Party) provoked the system to pave the way for a plurality in term of political parties; this is to weaken the position of party, and make it surrounded by other political parties having objectives. The deep desire behind this act is based on the fact that “a number of these were set or nursed by the palace not only to protect it against the potential power of Independence Party, but also to serve as vehicles for the palace’s allies and interests”(Willis, 2002, p3).

The major role of these parties is to ensure a full and correct socialization of youth to become agents in the same field in the future. However, political parties are still unable to invent new methods to attract youth and make them motivated to participate in and join the political life. Youth by nature tend to follow all that is new and more particularly packaged. In this regard, the superficial image that political parties give seems to be limited by time and space. The objectives of these parties may differ from one party to another. Politicians try to renew their methods and programs especially during elections to gain people’s trust; they promise citizens with a set of changes that they introduce in their own elective campaigns.

Accordingly, youth are much more interested in words like employment, health insurance, and other reforms that would guarantee certain stability in their life. Politicians are aware of this fact; this is why we observe some competitiveness among political parties especially during elections. Each party tries to appear with a new cover that stimulates citizens to vote for them. However, youth prefer to give their voice to the old and active party that exists in the political scene. For them, politicians who spent much time in these parties can decide for their future and prosperity. Furthermore, the plurality that characterizes the political field in Morocco might

provoke a set of questions that encourage the existence of more than one party, and at the same time, questions the validity and credibility of their own work.

Morocco, since it has decided to embark into the stream of democracy and human rights, it was obliged as well to prove its willingness especially in what concerns the political affairs and youth contribution in the political action. In addition to this, this political plurality can shrink the work of some parties and their wish to win a great number of seats after elections. Still, parties with a historical background and active existence within society have always been able to win people's voices during the election campaigns. In describing Moroccan political parties, a set of differences come to the surface to differentiate between them, and also to valorize their history. By so doing, two major approaches can be adopted to describe the system of parties in Morocco.

The first category of parties has a deep history enriched with active actions whose star has shined especially after independence. The second type has been created currently, which needs time to be saved in people's mind. Therefore, on the one hand, the first category distinguishes between pro-regime parties which do support the possessors of power. In contrast there are the opposition parties which tend to oppose the existing government and search always change (Willis, 2002).

Similarly important is the way Tachau considers political culture as a means that contributes in constructing political attitudes among youth. What is being discussed here is the right of youth to participate and be engaged in DMP. Moreover, the right to be as well involved in the process of change that the country is trying to achieve; all these elements, if not properly respected, the nation cannot prove itself as a democratic nation. In the same line of thought, Tachau highlights the main deficiency that has caused a kind of fear among political parties to be able to act freely according to their own wishes. For him, Moroccan regime could not get rid of the AL Makhzen's

policy that dominates and decides for the public decisions. The role of the political parties, in this regard, is mainly adopted to represent the country as a democratic nation whose major interest is to engage political leaders in decision-making (Tachau, 1994).

This ambiguity in the role of political parties in Morocco does weaken their position vis-à-vis the relationship that links between youth and their own representatives. In fact, throughout the history of political parties, there was a set of changes in which these parties played a major role in bringing independence, and also in making themselves responsible of changing various conditions within Moroccan society; their heroic role is embedded within the objectives these parties have aimed at defend some rights. The year 2011 was also a turning point in the deeply constructed nature of political parties in Morocco; the change that has affected different fields has also empowered their position, and paved the way for them to enjoy more freedom to practice their role as free entities whose major aim is to act and react. With the constitutional reforms that were initiated by the king Mohamed VI, political parties have gained much space to act according to the democratic values that Morocco is committed to.

Throughout Moroccan history, political parties' major aim was to form young political leaders able to act as decision-makers; these youth were taught important values that make of them responsible leaders on whom the Moroccan community can depend and also trust. In this sense, the focus is on the important role young political parties in Morocco have been performing; especially in forming future leaders.

We will shed light on four political parties belonging to the majority and the opposition that constitute the Moroccan parliament. From the majority of the current government, the choice first is on the party that occupies most of the parliamentary seats: the party of Justice and Development; most precisely the activities organized by its young political party.

Figure: 1



### *Justice and Development Party*

Based on Islamic values, the party of Justice and Development in Morocco is inspired by a set of practices that adopts Islamic religion as a model for most of its principles and programs. Due to the moments of political tensions Morocco has been experiencing especially in 1967, political leaders belonging to the Socialist Movement Party decided to quit it, and create an alternative presented mainly through the Constitutional Democratic and Popular Movement. By so doing, these leaders were at the same time expressing their refusal to most of the Popular Movement Party's principles in parallel with the current political status in Morocco, which was against their own will. In June 1996, the Constitutionalist Social Movement organized a meeting, in which its leaders seized the opportunity to ally with the Movement for Tawheed and Reform. As a result of this coalition, Abdelkarim Al Khatib was elected as the secretary general, and Saad Din El Othmani his deputy. All these events encouraged these leaders to think of another label to the party inspired from their own principles and objectives. Therefore, in 1988, during the regular session of National Council, the party has chosen Justice and Development as a new name to the party instead of the "Popular Constitutional Democratic Party. And it has chosen the 'lamp' as its own symbol particularly during elections' time. This change is considered as a response to the successive calls for change in terms of themes and structures Chabiba Islamiya (Muslim youth) was calling for (Wegner 2011).

To form young political leaders is a long process in which all of the cultural, social and political factors melt into each other to shape youth character. The interest in developing a political identity among youth is the responsibility of political parties; and more precisely their youth parties. Justice and Development Youth is a parallel youth organization for the Justice and Development Party, which is the mere representation of the party's own inspirations, it is also considered as a link between the party and Moroccan youth.

### **1.6.1. The Association of Education and Camping Pioneers**

As a reflection of the basic principles of the Justice and Development Party that are mostly inspired by Islamic religion. The objectives of the youth party are embedded within a strong policy in which the political formation of youth constitutes the most important stage. The Youth of Justice and Development Party have translated the interest in forming youth through a set of complementary activities. In this sense, the Association of Education and Camping Pioneers represents an important historical stage in the PJD party came as a response to the party's focus on the young generation assuming the important role this category in determining the future of the nation; by focusing on youth, the PJD "increased quotas for youth and female representation in PJDs governing bodies" (Spiegel, 2015, p.53).

Figure: 2



*Socialist Union of Popular Forces Party*

Similarly important is the historical role the Socialist Union of Popular Forces party has been performing in engaging Moroccan youth through different stages; where youth participation has strongly been present. In this regard, Founded in 1972, the Socialist Union of Popular Forces marked itself in the history of Morocco by a set of attitudes towards the political scene in Morocco. Unlike PJD party, the USFP's own principles do not adopt Islamic model as the basic element of its own political orientation; the party is mostly characterized by a socialist democratic streams. Moreover, in term of the party's plans and the discourse it has lunched since its foundation, it has become clear for Moroccans the nature of trends the USFP's party is adopting. As a matter of fact, Islamic values for this party constituted only a bridge to reach the safest side of Moroccan society, and prove itself within the political scene, where religious referent is the most prevailing. However, the special attitude the party had at that time '1970' vis-à-vis the monarch, had been clearly demonstrated through its leaders' attitudes towards the different powers exercised by the king; therefore, this had led to a series of tensions and arrests among its leaders. To name but a few: Omar Benjelloun, Abderrahim Bouabid and Mehdi Ben Barka.

These famous characters in the history of Morocco had not only been trying to change different facts in Moroccan society, but they were mostly inspired by the young generation believing that youth, if well framed, are the determiner to the country's development and progress. To fulfill this mission, these leaders decided that the party needs to orient Moroccan youth especially at a critical time where Morocco was in need of young arms to defend, preserve and protect its own political unity.

The history of USFP can only be a reflection of the long process of struggle the party has been conducting to strengthen the main principles and ideologies of the party's leaders. In order

to deepen these attempts, the party has engaged its youth into an ongoing process of activities organized by the youth of USFP. Unlike the other youth political parties, the youth of USFP have marked the history of the party by a set of leading roles. The various moments of tensions these youth have experienced clearly demonstrate the heroic and solid characters that were guiding the path of their own political idols.

Their readiness for sacrifice and willingness to contribute in different fields in Morocco did indeed prove the strong formation youth had been through; these youth were a reflection of political leaders who clung to the idea that the prosperity of the nation is to be linked mainly to its youth. Youth of the party also had strong feeling towards international cases, as a matter of fact; the USFP young activist of 20 years old Mohammed Grina was martyred due to his joining the national strike that supported the Palestinian cause. His feeling had transcended the national border; this event shows also the political knowledge and zeal youth had at that time.

In the same vein of struggles, youth of the party were able to convince the government to reduce the age of vote to 18 years old. This achievement has marked the set of activities conducted by the youth of USFP; therefore, as a reflection of youth thoughts and attitudes towards the various facts within Moroccan society, youth of the party decided to produce a news paper for which they had chosen the name of 'النشرة', 'Al Nashra'. Concerning the major role youth have in the process of development, the youth of USFP decided to organize the seventh national council in 2008 under the theme of Youth Participation is the Determiner of a Democratic Future. Hence, this conference had introduced a set of modification in term of the organization's structures

The youth of USFP had a great zeal in what concerns various changes affecting the post-colonial Morocco. Therefore, their activities were organized in a logical way that met every stage

in Moroccan history. Youth of UFSP's main formation was inspired from field work, and also they were able to develop critical thinking towards the political events, not only at the Moroccan level, but it has also reached the international one. Moreover, the youth USFP have always been respecting and valorizing the democratic values that have made of gender equality a major element in defining the party's orientation as well as beliefs.

### **1.6.2. Federal Women Organization**

As a form of organizational institution, women within the USFP party have chosen to translate their attitudes towards the various cultural and political forms of oppression women suffer of in Moroccan society. They have chosen the name of 'Federal Women Organization' to their own organization. The name in itself connotes the main principles of the USFP party; these women believe in the importance of forming young female leaders to develop not only their own status, but also to contribute in the progress of their own nation.

The different changes these women are calling for to reconsider the status of women has been inspired by the National Congress in 1975. Women seized the opportunity to highlight the main obstacles girls face in term of education, financial support and the opportunity to have access to the decision-making zones. Still, the perception of women within the party has not been widely recognized in the beginning; especially in term of giving them the freedom to act freely.

Due to all these changes, in the seventh National Congress in 2013, women of this organization tried to make a self-reflective stance so as to re construct this organization based on the various forms and practices of the past. Therefore, allow this reflection to be appropriate to the present and contribute in achieving the underlined objectives. By so doing, women of the organization were looking for new methods to develop women's status. By approaching the

women's real life, the latter become able to act according to the different changes that are affecting their own society. In an attempt to build a democratic modern society where social justice and equality prevail, these female leaders insisted during the Seventh National Congress in engaging women within the political life; therefore, she can therefore she can impact the process of decision-making believing that. Thus, the set of changes have not stopped here; other alluring aspects have been adopted by Independence Party in Morocco especially in forming young Moroccan leaders.

Figure: 3



### **Independence Party**

The historical process of Morocco has contributed in valorizing the position of the Party of Independence, and made of its historical struggling career a remarkable one. The party was founded first by the famous leader Allal El Fassi in 1943. Known with his nationalist zeal, and strong character, he was able to mark the most important periods in Morocco before and after independence.

In approaching the history of the Independence Party, another character comes to the surface to act according to the new stream Morocco is undergoing. Being the secretary general of this party, Hamid Chabat has played a major role, since 2012, especially in forging a strong image about his own character within the party; his plans have tended to change the structure of the party to meet the stream of democratization. After defeating his contender Abdelouahed El

Fassi, 'Allal El Fassi's' son, Chabat has been able to ensure a strong place in this party. Thus, the Independence Party's label is the balance, referring to justice and law as the main reference of this party (Zoubir & White, 2015).

Accordingly, the Party associates the prosperity of the country to the values it transmits to its own youth. Leadership and responsibility are among the main goals that this party has always been trying to transmit to Moroccan youth through its own institutions. This mission had played a major role in forming young leaders able to act; it has also contributed in different fields to develop the status of the country; since it believes that the party's function is to lay the major foundations of a conscious and ethical society. This cannot be achieved unless a strong formation is given to youth upon which society can depend, and to whom the party is going to give its best to form young leaders. This formation has been taken by the party's nursery exemplified through 'Moroccan Scout Organization' founded by Independence party. In the same line of thought, "the government does not take an active part in the organization of youth, but provides facilities and subsidies for existing groups. This means, of course, that the Independence, who has been by far the most aggressive in the organization of youth" (Ashford, 1961, p. 390).

The association of Moroccan Scout Organization' was inspired by the national movement in Morocco, and the leaders of the Independence Party addressing mainly young leaders. In 1933, these leaders saw in forming young leaders a way to resist and confront the colonizer. Its main objectives were to educate and develop the spiritual, cognitive, social and physical capacities of youth, to be engaged not only in the local affairs, but also the global ones. This system is what characterizes this organization; through this system, youth started learning important values like: self-confidence, self- defense, self-defiance and also the sense of collaboration and sacrifice. Therefore, Moroccan youth became aware of their own mission within society; they are

responsible of their own decisions and actions. This development and progress contributed, to a great extent, in valorizing youth personality, and make them able to represent not only themselves, but also their own society (Ashford, 1960).

From this discussion, we can deduce that in term of examining the ongoing process the Party's intentions to form strong political characters, its own philosophy has been mainly focusing on youth character; on the necessary needs to develop and externalize the energy within youth. The association insists on a set of activities which focus on the values of leadership and independence. Hence, through a set of reward and encouragements by nationalist movement, youth started feeling motivated to prove their own contribution in different fields especially the political one. This mission would not be achieved unless the strong and consistent call for youth engagement had been led by the USFP's most inspiring characters.

### **1.6.3. The Growing of National Values among Youth 1957 “UNEM”**

When surfing into the Moroccan history, we find that youth have constituted an important part at different moments and cases, especially in bringing independence to the country. Youth took a great part in various changes within Moroccan society. The political changes which took place in Morocco throughout history have attracted youth to participate in resisting the colonizer. Youth were empowered by the sense of nationalism where they felt motivated to organize themselves and create UNEM.

In the post colonial era, a set of young liberal movements had decided to unify their goal and create the ‘National Union of Students of Morocco’ in 1956. The objective behind this was to unify all Moroccan youth from different regions; to become part of a long going process towards establishing the layouts of a prosper Morocco. In this period, a group of students’ associations had chosen to establish ‘Monadama Tolabya Al Mowa7ada’ The Unified

Organization of Students'. As a matter of fact, the historical transitions that Morocco was experiencing had a special impact on its youth and their national and political affiliations.

After various challenges that faced Moroccan youth to achieve independence, and with the call of different voices like EL Mehdi Ben Barka, the king Mohammed the V had given the order to all Moroccan youth from different regions to build a long street that unifies the North and South of Morocco. This decision was inspired from a set of social and political inclinations, which tend to unify the north of Morocco that was colonized by the Spanish colonies, and the south which was a French colony before Morocco got its independence.

12 000 Moroccan young citizens were engaged in building this long street; during the summer of 5 July 1957, the most prominent characters who contributed in building this street are El Mehdi Ben Barka especially in the region of El Houssima, and on the other side, Abdelwahed Erradi in the city of Fez. The building of this road had different objectives; it was meant first to change the traditional structures of the colonial system in the North and South of the country. Second, this road was symbolic in the sense that unifies the regions of the North and those of the South; therefore, the 12 000 young Moroccans had decided to scarify their time and effort to contribute in building this symbolic road (Avon & Messaoudi, 2011).

In an attempt to develop the sense of leadership and nationalism among youth, Tarik Al Wahda is not only a road which links between the North and the South of the country, it was a space where Moroccan youth had the courage to develop different values; they were ready to participate and cooperate in order to help in building this project. It is from this step that youth started learning the importance of voluntary work; this national initiative had paved the way for youth to leave their imprints in the history of Morocco.

After having finished the work, the king Mohamed the V had given a speech the first of October 1957 through which he congratulated youth for their deep and unlimited efforts, which have contributed to the building of this symbolic road. The historical chronology of Morocco demonstrates the role the Independence Party has played in various actions that contributed in achieving independence. What made it very remarkable are the political and social changes that helped it to be the center of different actions before and after protectorate period in Morocco. Before we approach the various efforts provided by this traditional party in forging youth political character, it is preferable first to determine the party's interest in engaging women as well in the process of development.

Gender equality has been the major interest of the Independence Party; being not far from the Moroccan context, the party has focused its objectives on engaging women in the process of change by making of them the criterion of development and progress for the whole country. This has motivated the pioneers of this party to found Independent Woman Organization in 1988 in parallel to the party.

The Independent Woman Organization is an embodiment of the Independence Party's basic principles through the activities of women affiliated with party structures; their contribution is represented through the center, and the executive committee. Women in this organization are in charge of choosing relevant topics for different political discussions and conferences. They are given roles to manage these discussions, and also organize seminars related mainly to women's issues within Moroccan context.

The interest in developing women's issues has clearly been adopted by this organization; since its creation in 1988, its members have been showing a great concern with all the topics related to women such as: women's harassment, rights abuse especially those related to minors.

Accordingly, by joining this organization, young Moroccan females have been able to perform different roles; especially in raising issues related to women within Moroccan society; defending, and protecting their rights.

As a matter of fact, all these attempts have succeeded in increasing women's potentials especially after the long struggle, what guaranteed for them an opportunity to be at the heart of political action; therefore, act as free political decision-makers. This gender approach has also shed light on the political status of women within decision-making zones, and to question the extent to which this role has either been strengthened or diminished as the time goes on.

In term of youth' orientation, the Authenticity and Modernity party has adopted a different modal concerning youth issues; it is a fusion of local and global values. The meeting of these notions in one nation can valorize its image, but at the same time create ambiguity within youth psychology that belongs nowhere.

Figure: 4



### **Authenticity and Modernity Party**

Moroccan political scene started witnessing the emergence of new political parties. The ideologies and objectives of these parties are sometimes inspired from the cultural and social specificities of Moroccan society, and in many other times is a reflection of the modern global

streams Morocco started experiencing from a long time. As a result of this double-standard nature of these parties, the emergence of the Authenticity and Modernity Party came as a reflection of this mixture than soon assured its position in the political scene as a new party in August 2008. This party is considered as continuity to the democratic streams in Morocco.

With respect to the Moroccan traditional system, Islamic religion and the constitutional monarchy that governs Morocco, the party embraces the stream of democratization and global values. This fusion is what characterizes the deep structures of the party. Due to the decline concerning the work of some traditional parties in terms of engaging Moroccan youth in different fields, and more particularly the political sphere, the Authenticity and Modernity Party has made an attempt to change the political scene in Morocco especially through addressing the Moroccan Justice and Development Party specifically, and Islamist parties in general (Zartman, 2020).

Furthermore, the party has included a set of members of the Movement for All Democrats; among which we can find, for instance: the Environment and Development, the National Democratic Party, the Citizenship and Development Initiative Party, the Freedom League, the combination of liberal and left-wing, modern and economic elites. In this regard, the Authenticity and Modernity party has seen light especially after including these parts. Therefore, the orientation of this party became a matter of question especially when it comes to the way, the party leaders will be able to manage between different streams with particular ideologies. It is true the party has always tried to make itself as a distinctive political body coming up with new streams. Still, “PAM marked a repeat of past experiences of creating ideological vacuous political parties that worked for the king” (Maddy-Weitzman & Zisenwine, 2013, p.13)

Since its creation, Moroccan youth have been inspired by the values this party has adopted. For them, by joining this party, certain rights and liberties will certainly be asserted especially

those related to their own cultural context. The role of Authenticity and modernity party is mainly demonstrated through the Youth of the party. They constitute a special stage in the history of democratization in Morocco; hence, as a fruit of this democratic transition, the Youth of PAM have been inspired by the wide range of democratic values Morocco has decided to embark into. The Organization of Youth of Authenticity and Modernity has emerged as a parallel body whose main objectives are inspired by the general policy of the mother party PAM.

#### **1.6.4. The Organization of Youth of PAM**

Because youth's stage has particular aspects that characterize their presence within any social context, the Organization of Youth of Authenticity and Modernity has made it clear in its objectives that youth' specificities have to be valorized to act and impact the political life. Thus, the organization tends to assert the main values of democracy and human rights. This is reflected through their consistent call for reforms concerning most of Moroccan cultural practices, especially those related to youth engagement in DMP. By so doing, youth can show a certain kind of awareness towards the mechanisms of political scene in Morocco, not only as audience, but rather as agents of change.

It may appear that the work of this organization is similar to that of the three mentioned political youth parties. However, the Organization of Youth of PAM takes a specially forms in advocating different rights. Their interest has transcended the youth issues in Morocco; they try to participate in several forms of development by all its aspects: citizenship, environment, migration, and also the preservation of the cultural aspects of Moroccan identity including Amazigh culture. Their motivations are diverse, yet they soup into the same goal, which is to form youth to become powerful leaders. To reach this purpose, the youth of PAM have chosen to translate their aspirations and activities into establishing national and international universities.

For them, it is an opportunity to exchange their own experiences with international youth, and at the same time, be good presenters of their own Moroccan cultural identity.

In the same vein of thought, the formation of young leaders starts first with a well planned socialization; this can be achieved through inserting the most appropriate values of sacrifice and self denial among the nation's pupils; therefore, encourage youth to get closer to the political scene by all its aspects. This operation begins mainly by raising a generation imbued with the necessary ethics that make youth aware of the current changes. The role of these parties is mainly embodied in attracting young people, their formation in line with the political circumstances. All this would establish the principles of democracy and equal opportunities. The PAM organization does not really represent the last cluster, but it was born from the womb of a party that believes in democratic principles and tries to promote it in most of its political activities.

The youth of this party have undergone a different perspective than the aforementioned parties; the way these youth were able to link between the traditional system that framed the presence of political parties in Morocco, and the present that defends human rights is what encouraged the youth of this party to choose certain forms in order to integrate, frame and strengthen their contribution within political affairs in general, and influence decision-making in particular.

Nevertheless, with the decrease in political parties' roles, youth start searching for alternative forms in which they can prove their contribution to social life, and exercise the mere sense of voluntary work as a means of asserting the self.

## **Chapter Two:**

# **Research Methodology and Criteria for Selection**

Research methodology is the first step that guides the thesis towards concrete and effective results. The investigation into the various factors that determine youth impact on the decision making process in Morocco necessitates the use of various methods; that are going to lead us towards different interpretations. This chapter outlines the techniques and methods implied throughout the term of this project to help us clarify the issue under study. The methodological approach for this study is mostly inspired from the independent mixed-methods case study along with the employment of the concurrent triangulation as a research strategy. For this purpose, the chapter clearly highlights the research questions, hypotheses and the objectives of the study. The content of the chapter also specifies the research problem, the research design adopted by describing the population sample, the collection instruments for the research data, the procedure and analysis, the statistical techniques used in the course of data analysis as well as the methodological aspects of the research's validity and reliability.

## **2.1. Resuming the Purpose, Hypotheses and Research Questions**

The research between our hands tends to study the various factors that impact youth presence within DMP in Morocco. Throughout the term of this research, we have addressed the social, cultural and political factors that surround youth and determine their participation in the political field. Furthermore, the objective behind this is to lay the road towards various recommendations especially those which have the power to prepare youth to become well-equipped, and determined to fully impact in the political action in Morocco.

### **Hypotheses:**

- ❖ Research Hypothesis 1: There is a Significant Predictive Link between the Constructed Images about Youth in relation to their Effectiveness within DMP.

- ❖ Research Hypothesis2: There is a Predictive Significant Link between Political Parties Orientation and Youth Presence within DMP.

### **Research questions:**

- ✓ Research Question 1 : To What Extent Does the Cultural Discourse Impact Youth' Participation in Politics?
- ✓ Research Question 2: How Effective Are the Political Parties in Forming Youth Politically?
- ✓ Research Question 3: How Can the Stream of Democracy and Human Rights Empower The Presence of Youth within DMP?
- ✓ Research Question 5: To What Extent the Cultural Perception of Gender Impacts the Latter's Effectiveness within DMP?

#### **2.1.1. Research Design**

A well chosen design is the key toward a coherent way to corroborate or refute the designed hypotheses as well as research questions. In the same line of thought, Janesick (2011) defines the importance of designing a research plan stating that “the roles of the researcher, like the dancer and choreographer, are ones where all senses are used to understand the context of the phenomenon under study” (p.176). This metaphoric description justifies the need of having more than one method to deepen the research and make it open to different interpretations concerning the thesis. When the researcher decides to start h/her journey of investigations, he/she should be adopting a critical eye to what h/she is observing in a prudent way of receiving information and above all an objective mind of analyzing and interpreting outcomes.

In this study, we have chosen a set of complementary methods working hand in hand to strengthen the results. The use of different yet complementary methods helps us get clear and

itemized results about the issue. Therefore, based on these factors, Triangulation can be an effective way to extract various attitudes, and at the same time, bring them to the surface to either refute or reinforce the designed hypotheses. It is mostly used to assert a set of paradigmatic hypotheses aiming at reinforcing the qualitative approach.

In this respect, triangulation has the power to guide the research towards detailed results especially by using different methods. This function can be portrayed as a unified space where different assumptions meet around a single zone. Therefore, this method “usually integrates the results of the two methods during the interpretation phase. This interpretation can either note the convergence of the findings as a way to strengthen the knowledge claims of the study or must explain any lack of convergence that may result” (Tashakkori, Abbas & Teddlie, Charlie, 2003, p.229). Going through the various subjective and objective constraints that shape the presence of youth in decisions places, one should be careful when choosing the methods to approach this issue. In this sense, triangulation strategy is an effective tool in evaluating the impact of various discourses on the center of this study, which is youth. In fact, the relativity by which human science is known indicates as well that the results triangulation will be providing us with are not fixed, and can take different shapes to evaluate the effectiveness of youth as decision-makers from other angles.

Nevertheless, triangulation may engender different moments of tensions during the collection of data; still, the inquirer, if well equipped, can overcome these constraints and bring the study to the safest side. Among the challenges that the inquirer may face when using triangulation are what concerns data collection method; the problem of selecting a non-representative sample for a particular population as well as the procedure problems that may occur in relation to participants' conditions.

Accordingly, with the presence of qualitative approach, the researcher feels able to shed light on various factors that surround the topic under investigation, decides for the sample that will serve the aim of the study, and determines the researcher' objectives. This method is chosen mainly to understand and scrutinize the targeted issue from different perspectives.

In this study, two major approaches are going to be used so as to investigate the issue of youth as decision-makers. Quantitative as well as qualitative approaches are used simultaneously throughout a survey research for the former targeting university students, belonging to three different faculties in the city of Fez, and semi-structured interviews with political young actors for the latter. Previous descriptions of the approaches that frame any research clearly demonstrate that every single method has got its pure characterizing aspects. In this respect, the combination of these methods can pave the way for a more credible and valid mode of research. As it will be the case when addressing Quantitative, qualitative and mixed research methods.

#### **2.1.1.1 Characteristics of Quantitative Research Method**

Quantitative research method helps the inquirer to vary the ways of interpretation to the findings. By other words, quantitative research is the practical phase of theory especially by having different respondents and reactions towards a particular issue. In the same line of thought, the use of this method enables the researcher to test the theories that s/he has already employed. The results of quantitative research pave the way for more interpretations and explanations to the issue under investigation. In this case, quantitative research provides a kind of comparison between population attitudes and attributes by, for instance, using a survey through the address of different social categories. By conducting a larger sample, the inquirer can have multiple points of view resulting from numerical summaries. In the same line of thought, Thomas (2006) asserts that “quantitative research methods focus attention on measurements and amount (more

and less, larger and smaller, often and seldom, similar and different) of the characteristics displayed by the people and events that the researcher studies"(p.1) quantitative method brings to the surface a set of contradictory yet complementary elements within the case study; the reason behind is to demonstrate that every single item can be measured and tested as far as its nature is characterized by conditions that are always up to change.

No researcher can deny the various deductive and predictive aspects that Quantitative research method can provide him/her with; still, the inquirer cannot avoid being faced to a set of constraints that are resulting from the same method h/she has already decided to use. As a case in point, Schutz approaches the context of quantitative method suggesting that the majority of researchers using this method fail to distinguish the social context portrayed through the chosen sample from 'the natural world' (Schutz, 1970). In this respect, scientists mostly criticize social researchers of putting social phenomena as well as objects of the natural world in the same box neglecting the differences found between them. For them, the power of reflection that social institutions are characterized by is lacking among scientific phenomena, this is what necessitates a deep and prudent analysis to the social feed backs.

#### **2.1.1.2. The Rationale for Using Quantitative Method**

Quantitative method holds different challenging moments that have made this thesis sway through different tunes. While approaching the issue of youth as decision-makers, it was necessary first to cover all the cultural, social and political factors that frame youth's presence within DMP. A deep reading to the theories that dealt with pre-mentioned issue have encouraged the research to put it in practice different tools by designing a survey addressing university students from three different faculties as will be demonstrated in the coming pages.

The use of quantitative method has helped to a great extent in deriving various interpretations from the survey respondents; and therefore, comparing between variables in order to test the validity of hypotheses as well as the research questions. The choice of the survey has inspired from the power it has got in bringing to the surface all the study the thesis has been through; it contributed in formulating the derived thought from reviewing other's literature to make them in form of questions. The orders of questions along with the content they hold tend first and foremost to target the university students' interest in the political field, their being engaged in activities that reflect their political inclinations.

Actually, if interested in politics, these university students would be able to interact with the rest of questions especially those related to direct and indirect forms of political participation. If not, the young intellectuals' responses can pave the path for further interpretation to the discourses that directly impact youth' identity and frame their effectiveness within DMP. The survey has indeed been designed in a logical order to make students open to different questions starting from political interest; attending seminars, participating in conferences, and more particularly having a political attitude. The second set of questions covers the political participation as a democratic stage in university students' citizenship; to have a sense of belonging to the human group and interest in public affairs, these students ought first to demarcate their participation by joining political parties as a finest expression of citizenship; this represents only a first path towards a full engagement in DMP.

The interest in politics in general has important digital connotations that support scientific research, the use of survey has been supported by proofs. By other words, the students' reactions to the survey's content can either corroborate or refute the risen hypotheses made for this research. The survey indeed can be described as a verbal translation to the various discourses the

study has been through; the cultural, social and political factors that constitute youth effectiveness within DMP. All have been indirectly employed to pave the way for a critical, but objective reading to these elements.

To approach the presence of youth in DMP, the quantitative method addresses the heart of the problem, and seeks the human element which is youth based on their potentials and characteristics. In term with that, the last section of the survey has come up after having tested the students' interest in the political field along with the form of participation they are able to perform, all of which reflect youth' attitudes towards political action in general, and their probable becoming in the future political leaders in particular. Therefore, as the survey goes on, attitudes concerning political culture and the presence of this culture within educational objectives are being illustrated in order to test the students' knowledge about the issue. Thus, further suggestions to political action were provided for students to comment upon. The rationale behind this is to unblock the road in front of these students to consider the role of civil society as a substitute to political action.

Nevertheless, the use of this method remains relative and its results can change by the change of people and their attitudes. The use of quantitative method alone cannot provide the thesis with a high level of accuracy and precision. For instance, in surveys, respondents may not be able to react to all the questions imposed. Their awareness and knowledge towards the subject matter may differ from one informant to another. This is why the nature of research necessitated the use of qualitative method in order to strengthen the course of inquiry and move to a more realistic setting where research may be open to new interpretations.

No one can deny the fact that youth are effective and important component of development in Morocco. Still, to test the validity of discourses that impact their being decision

makers, it was necessary to humanize this journey of investigations; in term of qualitative method, semi-structured interviews have been chosen to address young decision makers. First, an approach to the characteristics of qualitative methods is required to justify the choice of this method in this study.

### **2.1.1.3. Characteristics of Qualitative Research Method**

Unlike the quantitative method which is concerned with the measurement of results through numerical eyes, qualitative research method addresses mostly the human and physical presence of the issue under investigation. It is an opportunity for the inquirer to interact with the informants. In the same line of thought, Creswell (2003) defines this method as being “emergent rather than tightly prefigured”. (18) In this case, not all social phenomena can be put under the quantitative microscope; a set of social aspects need only to be observed and analyzed, more precisely, those which represent different cultural aspects.

The findings of this method are always up- to change depending on the level of the respondents. This paves the way for different interpretations of the data; the researcher, in this regard, moves from what is theoretical to a mere physical existence to face all the changes of the subject under examination. As a case in point, the instruments used in this method such as semi-structured interviews, participant observation, close groups and others can allow for a direct observation to the informants feelings and reactions. This helps the inquirer to get a clearer and alive experience of the problem. Qualitative research tries to study any phenomenon within realistic space in an attempt to enrich, and broaden the scope of investigation. It is about experiencing, observing and analyzing dynamics facts through humanistic eyes.

Whatever might be the extent of precision in results the researcher tries to reach, qualitative research can provide only a limited accuracy especially while formulating the questions and developing concepts. The relationship between variables in this method is characterized by assumption more than exactness. Another criticizing factor that is associated with this method is the deductive nature it has got. The inquirer has to stick to a set of generalizing concepts from which he/she has derived the main problematic of the research, these concepts are always up to change and never fixed.

Most of research methods remain relative and so are the results they help us to achieve. Although Qualitative research method has the power to provide the inquirer with a great range of interpretations throughout h/her journey of investigations, this method remains unable to provide generalizations that are adequate to all contexts. While observing a group of people or interviewing them, the reactions that the inquirer receives are always up to change and cannot be representative to the whole population. Bryman (1988) defines the qualitative method as “the ability of the investigator to see through other people's eyes and to interpret events from their own point of view” (p.71).

As a matter of fact, people who are interviewed in qualitative research are not meant to be representative of a population; they cannot be representative to the different social institutions that constitute a society. In this regard, it is almost impossible for qualitative research to provide numbers to the investigated issue; instead, the findings derived from this method can only be representative to theory more than to people. However, the theoretical framework that qualitative research adopts can provide the inquirer with new endless streams and interpretations.

#### **2.1.1.4. The Rational for Using Qualitative Research Method**

In approaching the issue of youth as decision-makers, it was necessary to move from numbers quantifying the study, to a more physical and face to face interviews with young political leaders; they belong to both the majority and opposition that constitute the parliament in Morocco. Qualitative method has afforded a suitable moment in the course of research to interact with these young politicians; this meeting has also opened the door for new interpretations to the problematic. The received reactions of the informants have contributed in making a comparison between their responses. This indeed has opened the floor for new understanding to their being in the heart of decision-making.

In order to determine the most important factors that influence youth presence in the DMP, the use of semi-structured interview was conducted with a logical open framework that paved the way for a clear and bilateral communication. In fact, the choice of conducting such interviews has been inspired by the fact that neither direct observations, focus groups nor documents analysis would be helpful in illustrating satisfying results from these young decision-makers. By other terms, if the pre-mentioned instruments have been employed, they would not have given accuracy to the nature of the study, since these young leaders would be performing rather than reporting the reality.

With respect to these qualitative instruments, semi-structured interviews have been employed not only to receive feedbacks from interviewees, but also to remark their gestures, and the way they respond to the questions. By other terms, the interest was on how they defend their being at the centers of which they are supposed to suggest laws and implement them. The testing of this freedom has been indirectly formulated into different questions.

The use of Interviewers has been insightful especially in allowing for these young politicians some moment of confession and expression to their own attitudes concerning their contribution in making decision and defending them during parliamentary sessions. The interviews follow a logical guide, whose substantive pathways can change as far as the context is concerned. The questions have been designed in a way that would give both the interviewee and the interviewer the flexibility to go into details when needed; this is what characterizes the semi-structured interviews and makes them relevant to the nature of the research. The conduction of such interviews required well organized planning which includes: determining the persons to be interviewed, young politicians represent the majority and the opposition in the current Moroccan government, determining the number of interviews with respect to gender approach. After the interview, a comprehensive analysis is performed.

Actually, the use of semi-structured interviews is helpful thanks to the possibility it afforded in preparing questions in advance. All this guarantees a more credible atmosphere full of confidence and determination; these two feelings are also important in creating a sense of flexibility in deriving satisfying results that would determine the effectiveness of these young leaders within DMP. Semi-structured interviews have also allowed the young informants the freedom to express their views concerning their being at the centers of decision-making in their own words and thoughts.

It is without doubt that qualitative method was of a great help to this research especially in formulating semi-structured interviews, collecting data from politicians, and analyzing them. However, as any other method, the use of qualitative research cannot provide exact variables which do not change. Being based mainly on politicians' interaction and perceptions towards the issue of youth as political leaders; we could not take the risk of generalizing the results we have

achieved. Moreover, it was not easy to classify group data into specific categories. The major aim behind using this method was to describe young parliament members' direct response to all the questions of the interviews.

A deep critical and practical interaction with both quantitative and qualitative research methods invoke the use of both of them in order to approach the study under investigation, and more particularly to collect useful data from the various instruments both methods include. Accordingly, the interchangeable or consecutive way of collecting data through the employment of either methods, or one of them requires a sense of objectivity as well as pragmatic mode in achieving the results. The main purpose; then, is to ascertain the effectiveness of the hypotheses or refute them. In term of accuracy and credibility in approaching this research, we have referred to triangulation as an effective strategy that requires the use of more than one research method. Hence, in order to capture the best of both qualitative as well as quantitative methods, it was of a great importance to make use of mixed method approach as a distinctive tool that enlightens the space of interpretations.

#### **2.1.1.5 Characteristics of Mixed Method of Research**

Unlike the multiple research method, which requires the use of both quantitative as well as qualitative methods, but to answer different research questions, mixed research can mix between quantitative as well as qualitative methods in order to answer the same research questions. In this regard, mixed method research can be defined as a strategy of inquiry through which the researcher makes use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches to reach the same results. In this sense, mixed approach is mostly demonstrated at the level of results; it shows to what extent the two methods have been used simultaneously or sequentially to complement and

illuminate each other. It is not only about mixing the two methods; it is more an ethical commitment to the aspects that characterize each method.

In fact, the differences found between quantitative and qualitative methods enable the inquirer to achieve the objectives of the research using different instruments. More than that, mixed approach helps the inquirer to combine between two different methods, by so doing; it helps in confirming the validity of the results. For instance, the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods contributes to the progress of the thesis; one method is employed to demonstrate the weakness and strengths of the other and vice versa. In interest in studying the components of youth identity in relation to the discourses that impact their presence have motivated me during BA and Master Degree; this fusion also indicates that social research cannot be separated from epistemological reference of the inquirer as Bryman (2016) demonstrates:

Every research tool or procedure is inextricably embedded in commitments to particular versions of the world and to knowing that world. To use a questionnaire, to use an attitude scale, to take the role of participant observer, to select a random sample, to measure rates of population growth, and so on, is to be involved in conceptions of the world which allow these instruments to be used for the purposes conceived (p.636).

The researcher cannot disassociate him/herself from the socio-cultural components that constitute not only his/her identity, but also the whole cultural and social code that frame h/her prior-knowledge, personal experience and interaction with the course of research; this, with respect to the objectivity with which research should start its journey.

As any method of research, mixed approach has got a set of critical features that make the inquirer reluctant and worried about the results each method is going to provide. Sometimes, quantitative method does not seem to be sufficient to enlarge the scope of research; the researcher does not seem to be convinced with the quantified results. Therefore, the inquirer opts for a more detailed and expressive mode of research where the human and physical body are the most dominant. In the same line of thought, the need for qualitative method is vital to the course of mixed method research. In this sense, “the overall rationale for mixing methods in social inquiry is for a “better understanding” of the inherent complexities of human phenomena” (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003, p .120).

#### **2.1.1.6 The Rationale for Merging Quantitative and Qualitative Methods**

The use of mixed methods through the course of this research has been of a great importance in building a triangle that captures the best of all these methods method. In approaching the issue of youth’s presence in DMP, it was necessary first to know Moroccan youth perception of all the elements that constitute and frame the impact of youth on this process. In this respect, quantitative method has opened the door for this research to quantify the attitudes of youth towards this topic.

The use of the survey has conveyed a set of contradictory reactions to the subject under study; the results achieved have helped the study to measure and compare between variables. Moreover, the various answers the survey has provided, paved the way to consider the topic under study with all the following elements: age, gender, cultural, social and political backgrounds of the participants. This approach has had an important addition to the process of

interpretation. Nevertheless, to cover such an issue, it was not sufficient to take the measured results for granted.

Although the results the survey has conveyed allowed re-questioning the relationship of gender, age, cultural, social and political backgrounds of the participants, the nature of this study required a more focus on the elected youth's impact on DMP. Therefore, the research sequence has been oriented towards a concrete and physical presence of the human element under investigation. Therefore, the interest has shifted towards semi-structured interviews that have been conducted with young political decision-makers. By other words, the interest in employing the qualitative method has imposed itself strongly. The physical, emotional and verbal reactions of these young decision makers have helped in formulating a realistic image of the effectiveness these youth may have on the process of decision-making.

The need for qualitative method did not emerge from a vacuum; the conducted semi-structured interviews have paved the way for a humanistic study to the problematic. This method allows testing the validity of all the perceptions the study has been formulating throughout the term of this research. The use of qualitative method in this study has had a great impact on the development of the research. The combination of quantitative and qualitative methods has brought a set of contradictory yet complementary elements to the surface. By addressing university students that are assumed to be future leaders, and, at the same time, interviewing the current young politicians, the study has come up with various debatable results.

The convergent nature mixed method has suggested allowed to bring to the surface all the theoretical, cultural and political factors that determine Moroccan youth effectiveness and impact on the process of political decision-making. They have facilitated collecting, comparing and

analyzing two different, but concurrent methods to enrich the study in our hands. In fact, the use of mixed methods in this research was like putting all the hypotheses and questions within a circuit to enable the strongest ones to survive as we will approach deeply in the analytical phase. The use of more than one method of research does indeed pave the way for accurate results; still, the more accurate the sample is, the more credible the results may come later.

## **2.2. Data Collection Procedures and Techniques**

### **2.2.1. Survey Research**

Being a very insightful instrument in collecting data, the use of a survey enriches the research with feasible techniques to capture different attitudes from a particular chosen category. The various elements that define the sample such as: educational background, cultural and educational background, all of which has got a special impact on the interpretational phase of the study. In addition to that, the nature of the issue under investigation has an impact in deciding the suitable social category that has the power to re-articulate the content of the study, and inform the researcher that there is more than one reaction to the survey's questions. Accordingly, the difference between responses or the convergence in term of findings indicates that the topic under investigation should be looked at from different angles in order to broaden the scope of inquiry, and be open to various interpretations the study may offer. By the same token, Bryman and Bell (2012) argue that "The survey researcher needs to decide what kind of population is suited to the investigation of the topic and also needs to formulate a research instrument and how it should be administered" (p. 184).

Although the use of the survey is considered a helpful tool that seeks to understand participants' points of view and attitudes towards a particular issue; yet, the survey's findings cannot be generalized to the whole population even if we are using a non-probability sampling.

In this regard, people's views are always governed by a set of cultural orientations that are characterized by diversity; this is what explains the difficulty of drawing on one single model that can represent all social segments. In this sense, one should consider the survey as being an instrument that surrounds the research topic with respect to the relativity which characterizes the nature of scientific research in general.

Given that the non-probability sampling addresses a specific category, it is necessary before administering any type of survey, to test respondents' knowledge and reactions to the topic. Piloting is an essential step that clarifies research path, and suggests the necessary modifications the inquirer should adopt after receiving the first feedback. As a case in point, "the last step in the survey process consists of piloting (or pretesting) the survey with a group of respondents. This is the acid test as to whether or not the instrument that has been so painstakingly designed is clear, understandable, and comprehensive with respect to what it purports to measure" (Church & Waclawski, 2001, p. 84).

In covering the issue of youth as decision-makers, it is preferable to go through the various components that constitute this fact. The use of the survey, hence, has paved the way for this research to examine the various factors that shape the presence of youth within DMP. This study requires the use of a paper-based hand survey addressing university students, and also it has played an important role in refreshing university students' views towards the political action, by enabling them to dig into the various constituents of political system in Morocco. The survey has targeted the students of Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah University in Fez.

Throughout the term of this research, the focus was mainly on the cultural, social and political factors that first shape Moroccan youth's identity, and thus prepares them to act as political leaders. Therefore, either the presence or absence of one of these elements has the

power to impact youth within DMP in a particular way. The choice of university students has been based on a set of conditions that determine their own contribution to the topic under investigation.

In fact, these intellectual youth are a product of all the cultural, educational and political policies; especially those which have the power to guide young people to create roles that are consistent with the training they have received. University students were chosen from three different faculties from the city of Fez. The aim of this diversification mainly symbolizes the attraction of different points of view, influenced somehow by the specificity they have chosen at the university, and the extent of their awareness of political culture. All of these factors have an impact on the effectiveness of young people in their environment, especially their influence in DMP if ever they have the chance to be in this process.

Accordingly, the various moments the thesis has undergone provided us with a logical formulation of the questions that would meet the respondents' knowledge, and derive accurate reactions from them. The use of the survey inspired from the quantitative method has had a great impact in laying the ground for a practical research, and testing students' reactions to the topic under investigation. Furthermore, the survey has contributed in drawing a clear picture whose roots extend to surround all the components that impact the presence of young people within the centers of political decision.

As a first test to students' perception of the political scene in Morocco, and more particularly youth' impact on DMP, it was necessary to draw on a pilot study which did not exceed forty pages. Students' first impression has necessitated the re-formulation of some questions in order to meet students' levels. In this regard, the majority of remarkable changes are concerning the role of political parties in Morocco; it was important to change some questions, and omit others

so as to allow the majority of students to interact with the content of the survey. Thus, to construct a feasible mode of research that enlarges the scale of feedbacks.

### **2.2.2. The Semi-Structured Interviews**

Semi-structured interview in qualitative method represent is a live experience for the study. Yet, the researcher should be well-equipped and assured to guide the process of interview, and thus, derive satisfying results from the interviewees. For a successful meeting with the interviewees, the inquirer should be self-assured and confident, which would definitely influence the face to face interaction. In addition to that, it is necessary to create a smooth environment where the interview is taking place; either in term of place or time.

Accordingly, the more comfortable the interviewee is the more accurate and flexible the findings may result from the interview session. This can only happen with a clear and accurate formulation of questions and the best choice of time and space that would suit the interviewees. In the same line of thought, “researchers use semi-structured interviews in order to gain a detailed picture of a respondent’s beliefs about, or perceptions or accounts of, a particular topic”. (Smith, Harre & Van Langenhove, 1995, p.9). Similarly important is the way Bryman defines the use of this method. For him, thanks to qualitative method, different aspects in semi-structured interviews can be modified anytime; unlike the structured interview, the semi-structured provides a chance for the interviewer to re-order and re-word the questions whenever the nature of the study requires so (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Indeed, the use of semi- structured interviews can best be described as a method that facilitates the inquiry, and more precisely enriches the process of research with a wide range of reactions in terms of diversity and accuracy. All conducted within a natural setting where the interviewees’ face expressions and physical gestures are to be counted.

Nobody can deny the comfortable environment semi-structured interviews can provide the study with; it creates a space for the interviewees to express their ideas freely. Moreover, by employing this method, the inquirer becomes able to manage the questions and more particularly conduct the research in a very open way. By so doing, Bryman and Bell (2011) argue that “the interviewee has a great deal of leeway in how to reply” (p.467). In fact, the distinctive features of this method indicate that the latter ought to be seen in relation to the natural setting, humanistic experience and knowledge sharing. For example, what makes the interview fruitful is the facilitating mode of modifying the question whenever needed depending on the informants’ level and experience towards the investigated issue. Another advantage about using semi-structured interviews is the flexible mode they provide to the study. However, the same method can also have a dissatisfying side. In this regard, being able to balance between the advantages and disadvantages of this strategy, the researcher can easily absorb the positive sides, and prompt to give a new orientation to the study. Still, it is necessary to go through some of the critical aspects semi-structured interviews may have. The interviewer in qualitative method always seeks to find the right persons, at the exact time and place. However, this may not always be the case; the interviewees may not be available to; they may be late for the appointment. In this regard, the researcher has to develop a kind of convincing words that motivate the interviewees to feel at ease and consider the interview session as an added value to them

### **2.2.3. Sampling and Criteria for Selection**

If the use of a survey in quantitative method is considered as an insightful instrument in collecting data; the sample or segment chosen to react to these questions constitute a bridge that brings the inquirer to the safest side of the research if well planned. In term of research methodology, a sample stands for a group of people, objects or items that are taken from a larger

population for measurement, the sample should be well representative of the population to ensure that we can generalize the findings of the research sample to a larger population. In the same line of thought, Thompson (2012) adds that “sampling consists of selecting some part of a population to observe so that one may estimate something about the whole population”. (p.1).

In this case, the choice of a sample in any research is the key towards deep and reliable outcomes the inquirer tries to achieve; it is a process used in statistical analysis in which a pre-determined number of responses are taken from a larger population. The methodology used to determine a sample from a larger population depends of the nature of the study; it may include various kinds of sampling according to the research’s nature. The major aim behind sampling is to enable the study to have neutral results representing the whole population far from being biased.

Throughout the course of research, the inquirer’s attempt to achieve absolute results that can be generalized to the whole population remains relative. However, if the sample has been carefully selected, it can provide accurate results that can be logically accepted and widely generalized. In line with that, “non-probability sampling’ is essentially an umbrella term to capture all forms of sampling that are not conducted according to the canons of probability sampling” (Bryman and Bell, 2012, p. 201).

#### **2.2.4. The Convenience Sample**

The non-probability sample paves the way for different yet helpful sample strategies. The convenience sample is one of these strategies that determine the researcher’s suitable category. In this respect, according to (Bryman & Bell, 2012. p. 190), “a convenience sample is one that is simply available to the researcher by virtue of its accessibility”. The chosen sample should be a

reflection of all the perceptions the researcher has been developing throughout the term of the study. Therefore, when we select a certain category, we are at the same time placing the study in honest paws whose reactions may either reinforce or refute the risen hypotheses.

Although convenience sample may seem accurate when choosing a particular category to conduct the study, the findings of this strategy cannot be generalized to the whole population. Therefore, this does not deny the important role convenience sample portrays especially in extracting the most accurate category whose characterizing aspects have a direct influence on the process of the study.

In approaching the cultural, social and political components that determine youth's presence in DMP, it was of a great importance to carefully choose the appropriate category either in term of quantity or quality. In this regard, the probability sample would not be helpful to understand youth perception of the political field or within political decision positions; the use of this strategy may have led us to undetermined sequences of attitudes. With respect to the probable sample, the nature of the study from the beginning required analyzing the various factors that would prepare youth to become political leaders; therefore, they can be able to participate in political decision-making. This is why this study has shed light the non-probability sampling represented through university students, since they represent the embodiment of all the policies that constitute the cultural and political identity of Moroccan youth.

The non probability sampling has encouraged the research to focus on three different faculties in the city of Fez: the faculty of letters Sais, faculty of Laws and the faculty of Science through designing a survey. Thus, in term of qualitative research, the use of semi-structured interviews have had a great impact in redirecting the research and transform it from all that is

theoretical towards a much more realistic ground where discussions take place. The first meeting with some political experts was the first block that enriched the study with their own political experience. However, this first meeting was only a prelude to meet young political actors who have a particular impact within decision-makings circles. Accordingly, this experience has required the use of snow ball strategy, which is mainly inspired by the convenience sample.

In both the survey and semi-structured interviews, the selection of the sample has been based on predetermined purposes, which came as an outgrowth of in-depth study covering the problematic of Moroccan youth as decision-makers. Although the choice of the non-probability sample may seem limited to a particular social segment; still, the aim is to create a realistic image that reflects youth impact as decision-makers. Therefore, generalize the findings of the coming used instruments.

### **2.2.5. Validity and Reliability**

Going deeper into scientific research in all its aspects requires employing different means to collect information in an accurate manner. In this respect, credibility should always prevail because the main objective of any research is to employ correctly the suitable tools; that would set a plan of action, determine the place and time, and most importantly clearly set the rational choice of the targeted group to enrich the research. Therefore, these planned actions help the researcher to reach the objectives underlined from the beginning of the investigations.

Being concerned with the measurement of results, reliability constitutes an important part in deciding about the type of instruments that would best suit the nature of the study, especially if it is conducted within a quantitative framework. Reliability can only be achieved if the employed tools are able to produce repeatable results far from any ambiguity or deviation from the research

topic. In this regard, the testing of reliability in quantitative research is assured in three major ways: measuring internal consistency, applying test-retest, and using equivalent forms of the instrument. (Newman and Benz ,1998).

The rationale behind using these instruments to collect data can grant the study a certain kind of consistency portrayed through research results. This means that the experiment can be repeated by other researchers. Thus, lead to different interpretations. In this regard, the study becomes more reliable and trustful to be referred to as an adequate work valid for any time and context. With respect to the differences found at the level of researchers and situations; however, the strong correlation between the findings and the test itself shows to what extent reliability has been successfully reached, which is in turn, divided into two major parts:

**Internal reliability:** this kind tries to assess the consistency of the elements within the same test. For example, comparing the outcomes of semi-structured interviews with those of a survey may show a certain complementary sequence that is far from any lack of discrepancy.

**External reliability:** it demonstrates the extent to which the measurement varies from one single study to another, but the findings are almost similar trying to enrich the topic with new orientations (Franzen 2002).

In term of test and re-test, it can sometimes be used in quantitative method as a testing strategy to evaluate the effectiveness of the employed instruments. In this sense, the inquirer has to be selective in choosing the most suitable data collection instruments that would meet the research's needs. Indeed, the logical distance the researcher should abide by has a great impact in testing the reliability of both the used data tools as well as the findings. Therefore, the inquirer becomes able to detect any kind of lack of consistency that may emerge.

The quality of any study is based mainly on the solid measurements that test the issue under investigation. Qualitative researchers tend to be selective especially when it comes to the choice of the suitable data collection instrument that best reflect reliable and valid results. This may seem adapting a logical sequence; still, the nature of qualitative method does indeed question the reliability of findings; it paves the way for different points of view. They are researched, deduced, proved, compared and therefore put under analysis to test the validity of hypotheses as well as research questions.

The vast space qualitative method provides cannot be limited to numbers. In this case, the testing of findings is to be relative and open to various discussions. Instead of determining the validity of data, other terms can define the reliability of data. The fact that validity in qualitative research method can be replaced by other significant expressions can impact the process of research, especially by valorizing human reactions, evaluating their own views and commenting on the feedbacks they enlighten the journey of study with. Accordingly, the findings can be achieved in different ways, but the conclusions are meant to cover the same topic, which guarantees a certain kind of reliability as well as validity.

The way the researcher decides about the methods h/she is going to use, should be just as important as the way h/she is going to defend the reliability and validity of the findings. As has been discussed in the previous lines, reliability and validity can be tested in different ways to prove the trustworthiness of quantitative as well as qualitative methods in conducting research. In this regard, a deep and prudent combination of the two methods is required to draw the most accurate findings that would best represent the work.

Accordingly, this should be done with respect to the special characteristics of each method. To describe how this can occur, Hesse-Biber (2010) states that:

Mixed methods can assist qualitative researchers in defining specific topical issues and concerns they wish to explore qualitatively. Here, the quantitative component serves to initiate or spark new hypotheses or research questions that qualitative researchers can pursue in depth. In addition, qualitative research can draw on quantitative findings to explore in more detail issues and discrepancies the researcher may find of interest to explore (p.66).

The mixture of both quantitative and qualitative methods enables the researcher to evaluate the reliability and validity of findings simultaneously. This combination can be manifested in different aspects. As a matter of fact, when the researcher opts for mixed method, h/she are, at the same time, lucky to be open to various modes with which h/she can measure and test the results of the study. The use of mixed methods is an insightful stage that ensures a reliable, credible and valid mode of testing the conclusions. The research which has been employed with quantitative method helps the inquirer to formulate an adequate sample that would serve qualitative research later on. By testing the reliability and validity of the quantitative findings, the researcher becomes able to formulate questions, design appropriate methodological instruments, and more importantly, h/she becomes able to unify the use of different yet complementary methods that would either ensure or refute the validity of the subject under investigation.

The employment of various methods of research may seem of a great contribution to the process of study and more particularly to data collection stage. To start with quantitative approach, and then qualitative one, can impact the sample chosen and therefore, construct a clearer picture about its effectiveness concerning the issue. However, these data tools can be considered only as a ground where different ideas resulted from the research may either contradict, or support each other.

### **2.2.6. Sampling Representativeness and Generalizability**

The distinctive features that characterize youth period have, to a great extent, motivated the study to shed light on the heart of Moroccan society which is youth. To engage all Moroccan youth in this study is almost impossible, or more particularly, would not be aligned with the main objectives of the research. In respect to that, the use of quantitative method has guided the line of research to target university students from the spiritual capital of Morocco “Fez” as a representative sample.

By using quantitative method, certain kinds of reliability and validity have taken their place in term of this study. The use of a paper based survey has revealed different aspects that determine university students’ perception of the political system in Morocco. As a case in point, the age indicator, cultural, educational and political backgrounds of these students have contributed to the understanding of the various factors that impact Moroccan youth’s presence within DMP.

The purpose behind using a paper based hand survey is to leave a controlled freedom for the participants to interact with the content of the questions and also to try to remark their impressions when answering the questions. In this respect, and before trying to test reliability and validity in relation to this study, it was of a great importance to consider the accuracy of the survey’s questions that would reflect the whole journey the research has been through; they should be consistent in terms of form and meaning, logically organized, and inclusive to the main objectives of the research. By so doing, the survey questions become an influential tool that guarantees reliable feedbacks.

Furthermore, the choice of time and space has also valorized the term of research by providing the students with suitable environment to reflect their own ideas. Indeed, the employment of quantitative data collection method has strengthened the course of research, especially by having multiple view points, and different respondents, but all of them have moved towards one single goal, which is to corroborate or refute the already risen hypotheses. In addition to that, the choice of time, place and questions plays an important role in deducing similar results that can be repeated differently in the future.

In term of external reliability, the issue of youth as decision-makers was an attempt to rediscover the main elements that characterize their being within decision-making places, but what can be original about this research are the findings that paved the way for further reading to the topic. This can, in term of methodological ethics, ensure a valid mode of research.

The interest in studying the various factors that impact youth' presence in DMP, necessitates moving from all that is experimental standards, portrayed through numbers, toward a more physical picture where Moroccan youth go on stage to perform different roles; these roles' impact varies according to the cultural, social , and political affiliations that determine their presence in the political action.

In this respect, in term of qualitative method, the use of semi-structured interviews has enriched the study with a wide range of responses and reactions. The opportunity to meet young leaders within the parliament, has indeed, allowed for a mere physical presence that can be observed, interpreted and analyzed through critical eyes. According to the nature of qualitative approach, young leaders 'responses have differed; yet, the deep analysis of all these reactions, have indeed, unified the process of research. Qualitative method of research is characterized by humanistic interaction more than numerical feedback.

Reliability and validity in this stage should be tested in a very prudent manner in which the ideas of the participants are to be respected, while trying to reach different results that can be repeated differently. To meet this goal, the formulation of questions in the interview have been designed in an open-ended way so as to leave a particular freedom for the political leaders to understand, react, and express their ideas in a comfortable way. For this purpose, it was important to decide for the suitable setting where the interviews have taken place, which is the Moroccan parliament. As for the time, the interviews were conducted after the parliamentary session that takes place every on Monday. Moreover, different questions have been designed to be able to generate the satisfying answers the research is indeed for.

Accordingly, the diversity in responses qualitative method has provided us with, revealed different aspects that impact youth presence as decision-makers. The testing of reliability in this regard has enlarged the scope of discussions to give the floor to every political leader to express his/her attitudes; therefore, all responses are meant to cover the effectiveness of youth as decision makers.

What is important about mixed methods of research is its preservation to the major features that characterize both quantitative and qualitative methods. With the main role of achieving reliable results, mixed methods captures the best of quantitative as well as qualitative instruments. The purpose, thus, is to end up with strong findings that can be logically accepted, repeated and be valid in term of content.

In approaching the issue of youth as decision-makers, it was necessary to formulate a clear idea about youth outside the political scene; this is why the use of a paper based survey has served in laying the grounds towards understanding the main components of youth identity in

relation to the whole system; the aim behind this choice is to collect quantitative data about youth' perception of political scene in Morocco.

Various intentions have guided the study to target the university students, among which was first, to draw on conclusions from exact numbers of responses. In addition to this, the aim is to try to measure the effects of the socio-cultural discourse that frames youth within their social contexts. The use of the survey was also an opportunity for the students to feel free to express their own ideas and reflect them in a written manner restricted by open-ended questions. Therefore, the survey's findings served mainly to compare between variables, and ensure valid outcomes that can be employed for further research.

Nevertheless, the portrayal of results through numbers may only seem unjust especially when dealing with an issue whose center of interest is Moroccan youth. In term of the study, the need to move from theory to practice has urged the use of the semi-structured interviews with respect to its features. In order to analyze these factors clearly, it was necessary to humanize this experience by having young leaders on real grounds to react to the topic under investigation.

All of these attempts are first of all serving to guide the study towards a more reliable and valid way of research. More than that, the investigation into the various constituents that shape youth identity in relation to the whole socio-political system hand in hand with the logic time the semi-structured interviews have taken, and more precisely the targeted sample, made it possible for the findings to be reliable and valid at many different levels. As a case in point, the instruments used to conduct the interviews, have indeed, strengthened the topic under investigation; by giving it a vast space to be measured. The move from quantitative towards qualitative method has clearly framed the sample and gave it much importance to try to evaluate youth participation in the process of decision-making. In relation to other studies, the results of

this research can constitute a valid mode by having a logical problematic under light, investigating it, testing the hypotheses as well as research questions. And finally present it as a valid product appropriate for further studies.

All in all, this chapter describes in detail the most insightful elements that have been employed to investigate the impact of Moroccan youth on DMP. Therefore, both quantitative and qualitative methods have performed simultaneously major roles in bringing different subjects under the microscope; to be observed, described, and interpreted appropriately on the coming stages. Moreover, the chapter has shed light on the important role mixed method performs in bringing the best of both quantitative and qualitative methods in order to answer to the same answers that were risen from the beginning of the research. Indeed, youth as the study's center of interest, constitute a fascinating experience that needs to be surrounded by reliable and valid methods of research. This is what guided the study towards a non-random sample portrayed through university students by using a paper based survey, along with semi-structured interviews which have valorized the presence of human elements and his reactions.

**Chapter three:**

**Data: Description, Analysis, and Interpretation of  
Findings**

To approach and test the impact of Moroccan youth on the process of DMP, the need for different yet strong methods were necessary in term of this study. The rationale behind this variety in term of methods was to accurately seek to either corroborate or refute the hypotheses and to answer the research questions. Quantitative and qualitative methods have worked hand in hand to strengthen each other. Thus, a set of reactions and experiences were brought into the surface.

Concerning the statistical analysis, the nature of this research has opted for the Statistical Package for Social Sciences SPSS. This choice was inspired from the fact that this software has got a strong and accurate way in achieving clear statistics. In addition to that, this kind of package is a very powerful means that helps analyzing the results and interpret them appropriately. In term of the survey analysis, the use of SPSS was an opportunity to construct a clear image about Moroccan youth especially through: categorizing data, understanding the relationship between variables, observing the increase or decreasing of data levels and more particularly trying to understand the cause-effect relationship that may result from the same data. The flexible nature of SPSS is what indeed makes the study open to different interpretations.

The use of semi-structured interviews is meant to broaden the scope of inquiry especially by having a direct contact with young political leaders. Their experiences as well as perceptions of the political sphere to which they belong, is clearly reflected on their reactions to the interview questions. This also provides a sense of flexibility to the content of questions that may always be up to change. The use of qualitative method has enabled the political leaders to express their ideas freely and reacted in a manner that suited the nature of study.

Accordingly, in term of interviews analysis, the content can be approached from different angles, depending on the intention the inquirer would like to achieve. Seemingly, the researcher

has to decide the approach with which h/she wants to analyze the interviews feedbacks; what matters the most is the content of their sayings. In this regard, an ad hoc method for generating meaning is the most insightful tool adopted by qualitative researchers in terms of content and form. This method is mostly designed to target particular context within the interviewees' answers. Ad hoc can be considered as an informal tool that tests the validity of findings in an improvisational way. Concerning interviews analysis, "the most frequent form of interview analysis is probably an ad hoc use of different approaches and techniques for meaning generation"(Williamson,2002, p.297). This technique encourages researchers to create new meanings especially by adding their own expectations concerning the topic under investigation.

In approaching the issue of youth as political leaders, the use of ad hoc technique allowed some free moment of reading political leaders' ideas as well as experiences concerning their being within the process of decision-making. In term of qualitative research method, the use of semi-structured interviews directed the study towards a more realistic setting; young political leaders have been on stage to either impact or being impacted by the process of decision-making; the design of the semi-structured interviews was meant to understand the mechanisms that control the presence of Moroccan youth within DMP. The intention is to test the viability of hypotheses that were already designed; the meeting with these politicians searched in depth the impact of cultural, social and political constituents of youth identity. Indeed, it was an overall for the purpose of observing to what extent these young politicians have been formed enough to impact the process of decision-making.

All in all, with respect to the nature of findings resulting from the use of quantitative and qualitative methods of research, the generated data will be described with respect to the conclusions that differ from one data instrument to the other. A more testing of previous study to

the various components that determine youth presence as decision-makers will be manifested through the results that are achieved through the combination of the two methods of research.

### **3.1. Findings of the Questionnaire**

The interest in studying the impact of youth in DMP has motivated the study to investigate the various factors that either empower or weaken the position of youth as political leaders. Therefore, the survey's findings are described in a well planned way, which best presents the statistics of each section of the paper based survey. As a case in point, participants' demographic profile was necessary to form a picture about the university students' personal characteristics. The display will also present descriptive statistics of questions related to students' political knowledge and participation.

Being followed by a deep consideration to the various factors that constitute the political identity among university students along with the impact they can have especially by joining political parties, a set of aspects that present the hypotheses as well as research questions have been weaved accurately to be presented in a form of statistical forms. Hence, subsequently, questions related to youth interest and alternative elements to the political engagement are also included within the content of the survey. The results, thus, will be projected through clear tabulations. Before this, it is preferable if not obligatory to get acquainted with the chosen sample for the quantitative approach.

#### **3.1.1. Characteristics of the University Students**

One of the major elements among others that help forming a clear picture about the chosen sample is the background information of the ones participated in the research survey. In an attempt to control the space where participants can interact with the content of questions, the

choice of a paper based survey has not emerged from a vacuum; it is of a great importance to be on spot so as to guarantee participants reactions to the various questions of the survey, it is at the same time a direct testing to the appropriateness of questions regarding students' different levels. A well representation of the study can only be achieved through choosing the adequate participants whose contribution constitutes an added value to the process of research. The paper based survey was distributed in three main languages: Arabic, French and English, the rationale behind this is to allow the university students to express their ideas with the language they master the most.

The survey papers were distributed to 400 university students from the city of Fez; the distribution of paper based survey started in November and December 2019 to 400 university students belonging to three different faculties of Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University. The faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, faculty of Science and Technology, and the Faculty of Laws were provided the survey in three languages (Arabic, French and English) to respond with the language they master, and feel at ease to interact with the content.

As an attempt to achieve consistency, every quantitative and qualitative analysis respects the order in which the survey parts are organized using appropriate tables and figures. Reliability for each part is highlighted along with the statistical significance of the survey. Therefore, after receiving the students' feedbacks, the valid grand paper of the total was 384 papers. The rate of discounted surveys did not exceed a very limited number; some respondents' answers were not adequate and some were not clear to be counted as valid answers. Hence, the following first figure illustrates gender distribution in relation to the survey research.

Table 1: *Gender Distribution*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Male	144	51.1	51.1
Valid Female	138	48.9	48.9
Total	282	100.0	100.0

As illustrated in table 1, gender distribution marks itself through the rate of 48, 09%. However, there are more males (51%) than females (48%) who responded to the survey. In term of gender approach, the participation of woman asserts itself through a percentage that cannot be underestimated with an almost close ratio. Women willingness to respond to the survey's questions is clear and noticed in an increasing manner.

Table 2: *Age Indicator*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Under 25	200	70.9	70.9
Valid between 25 and 35	82	29.1	29.1
Total	282	100.0	100.0

As mentioned earlier in the first chapter, the identification of youth age has been determined by the High Commission for Planning between 20 and 24 years old. However since this study focus on the political presence of youth as decision-makers, it was necessary to adopt the identification of the 25<sup>th</sup> November 2011 elections determination to the age of youth between 18 and 40 years old. In this regard, the above table is meant to reflect age variables of participants;

they were classified into two main categories that represent the mean ages. The first group (below 25) represents 70%, the second group (from 26-35) forms 29%. The purpose of this distribution is to test the impact of the socio-political discourses that shape youth political identity, more particularly among intellectual Moroccan students.

Table: 3 *Students Interest in the Political Field*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Always	80	28.4	28.4
Usually	69	24.5	24.5
Sometimes	90	31.9	31.9
Valid Rarely	23	8.2	8.2
Never	20	7.1	7.1
Total	282	100.0	100.0

In an attempt to justify the importance of watching political as a criteria that reflect students interest in political field, the need for a direct question was first necessary, the above table shows that the majority of the sample which represents 63% are not interested in watching programs dealing with political issues, while 36% whose answer was yes, show their interest in programs discussing political life;

Table 4: *The Interest in Watching Programs Dealing with Political Matters*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Yes	104	36.9	36.9

No	178	63.1	63.1
Total	282	100.0	100.0

As the table demonstrates, 36% of students preferred not to react to this question; while 34% view that the language used by these politicians is not clear to be easily understood. Other students 21% find that the same topics are being repeated every time, while for others 3, 9% such programs are lacking strong political mechanisms, with which they can follow and test politicians' promises and sayings. The lack of credibility and debate in what characterize politicians' speeches in political programs is what justifies students' unwillingness to follow such programs. 3,5% consider the debate concerning some political matters to be lacking the sense of reliability and depth.

Table 5: *Students Interest in Attending Political Seminars*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Yes	70	24.8	24.8
Valid No	212	75.2	75.2
Total	282	100.0	100.0

In the table, the majority of students who represent 75% responded by 'No' concerning the same question, whereas 24% confirmed their attendance to these seminars.

Table 6: *Measuring Youth Presence within DMP*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Excellent	29	10.3	10.3
Good	57	20.2	20.2
Average	98	34.8	34.8
Poor	58	20.6	20.6
Very poor	40	14.2	14.2
Total	282	100.0	100.0

Table 6 presents different points of view in which 34% of students consider the presence of youth in the process of decision making to be average, while a significant percentage of 20,6% claims that this presence is poor. The rate is gradually declining to state that only 20, 2% who consider this presence to be good. Very poor, is how 14,2% of students describe this fact. Only 10, 3% of students who marked this presence as being excellent within the decision making process.

Table 7: *Youth Effectiveness within DMP*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Cultural background	144	51.1	51.1
Political formation	35	12.4	12.4
Party affiliation	50	17.7	17.7
Political experience	53	18.8	18.8
Total	282	100.0	100.0

51%, followed by 18% of the sample who consider political experience to be a stage in identifying youth as political leaders. There are others who believe that belonging to a particular party can determine the impact of youth on decision-making process, while 12% refer to political formation as a tool that governs the presence of youth within DMP.

Table 8: *Voting in 2016 Legislative Elections*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Yes	119	42.2	42.2
Valid No	163	57.8	57.8
Total	282	100.0	100.0

To have a close idea about how these students' mind think and act politically, it was necessary first to know whether they have given vote in the last 2016 legislative elections or not. In this case, the findings of this question indicate that 57% did not participate in elections by giving their voice. In the opposite, 42% decided to go to the polling stations and vote for their chosen party.

When asked about the main reasons behind their refusal to vote, students were provided a set of different responses designed to investigate the impact of different discourses on youth perceptions of politics. Their answers vary between subjective and objective reasons. Students are also advised to select more than one answer that justifies their own choice. For this purpose, the following table clearly demonstrates the major constraints that make some students reluctant towards giving their voice:

Table 9: *Reasons for not Giving Vote in legislative Elections of 'October 2016'*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Lack of interest in political affairs	47	16.7	16.7
Lack of confidence in political actors	91	32.3	32.3
The absence of credibility in political life	16	5.7	5.7
disrespect toward youth' issues	9	3.2	3.2
Total	282	100.0	100.0

Students' perception of the political scene is reflected through their responses. 32% of the samples express their lack of confidence in the political action as a reason behind their refusal to vote. In addition to that, political affairs for 16% of the sample became less important, whereas a remarkable rate of 5% decided not to vote due to the lack of credibility regarding political life. 3% of students reacted to the disrespect they get from political policies by not participating in the elections.

Table 10: *University Students' Political Affiliation*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid Yes	54	19.1	19.1

No	228	80.9	80.9
Total	282	100.0	100.0

Political affiliation is considered as one of the main elements that show youth engagement in the political field. The answers to this question determine students' interest in political life. As illustrated in the table above, 80% of the students have no political affiliation, while only 19% are aligned to a particular political party.

Table 11: *Reasons behind Having no Political Affiliation*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
The absence of political formation for youth	35	12.4	12.4
The alienation of youth from decision making zones	36	12.8	12.8
Valid mistrust in political parties' roles	79	28.0	28.0
Lack of commitment on behalf of these parties	78	27.7	27.7
Total	282	100.0	100.0

The affiliation to a certain political party can be a result of different subjective and objective convictions. The above question focuses on the detailed statistical interpretation of students' reasons for which they have no political affiliation. The different percentages in table 11 reveal that 28% of the samples are not aligned with any political party; their answer is inspired from the mistrust they have towards political parties. Followed by 27% who, for them, the lack of credibility and commitment is what discourage youth from joining a particular political party. Another group of students 12, 8% justify their being far from politics by the policies which alienate youth from the process of decision-making. Respectively, 12,4% are those who think that the absence of political formation for youth is what makes the latter absent in some political parties.

To clearly understand how political parties are supposed to motivate youth, a set of roles embedded within a focused question are listed to illustrate students' knowledge about the main functions of political parties. The findings in the table below range from those who think that political parties are supposed to guarantee a full participation of youth within DMP with a percentage of 33%. This attitude is not shared by 31% who cling to the fact that political parties should mobilize youth to participate in the political life, while this role for 18% of a sample consists mainly in parties' contribution in developing the values of leadership among youth. In the same line of thought, 16% of students resume these parties' roles in attracting youth to be engaged in the political field.

Table 12: *Political Parties' Roles in Forming Moroccan Youth*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Attracting youth to engage in political field	47	16.7	16.7
Developing the values of leadership among youth	52	18.4	18.4
Valid Encouraging youth towards full participation in political life	93	33.0	33.0
Mobilizing youth to become future leaders	90	31.9	31.9
Total	282	100.0	100.0

The imbalance in one or more roles of political parties may result in a set of deficiencies concerning the effectiveness of youth within DMP. Hence, to put this problematic into a more realistic picture, students were asked to justify their choice or choices. As a matter in fact, 46% of the sample argue that this imbalance in political parties' roles may push youth to lose trust in political bodies. However, 23% think that this imbalance may affect the position of youth as political leaders. Therefore, their role may decrease. Another group of students 18% perceives this imbalance in parties roles as inevitably shake the role of youth within DMP; hence, make it secondary. 11% is the rate of students who see that a decline in political parties' roles can cause youth to become reluctant towards full political participation as the table below shows:

Table 13: *The Imbalance in Political Parties Roles May Lead to:*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
The political field may become an unfaithful zone for youth	132	46.8	46.8
The leading roles of youth may decrease	65	23.0	23.0
Valid Youth might consider their roles to be secondary in political life	52	18.4	18.4
Youth will become reluctant to act politically	33	11.7	11.7
Total	282	100.0	100.0

The percentages in the table below state that 38% of these students prefer to discuss political events with their family and relatives as a form of political participation, whereas 29% prefer to join demonstrations through which they can reflect their own political positions. The virtual world is considered as a free space where youth can express their political attitudes the way they like. For others, being neutral is another form of participating in politics.

Table 14: *Forms of political participation in case of crisis*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid Joining demonstrations to reflect your own political position	82	29.1	29.1

Discussing political events with friends and relatives	108	38.3	38.3
Sharing political point of view through social networks	55	19.5	19.5
Being neutral	37	13.1	13.1
Total	282	100.0	100.0

In table 14, the sample expresses the various ways through they prefer to participate in the political field. In order to test students' knowledge about the formal ways of political participation, the respondents were given four main types of political engagement from which they choose the most expressive way or ways or asserting their presence in political life. The results in the table demonstrate that the presence of youth within political zones is the strongest determiner of youth participation in political life by receiving the highest score with 33%, followed by 31% who consider political participation by a full presence within the process of decision-making. 25% consider voluntary practice of political action far from external powers to be a sort of political participation. Hence, having an impact on decision-making is an important stage for 10% to assert a certain kind of political participation for youth.

Table 15: *The participation of Youth in Political Scenes can be manifested Through:*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid The belonging to political decision zones	94	33.3	33.3

Full presence within decision making places	88	31.2	31.2
Voluntary practice of political action far from any pressure	71	25.2	25.2
Youth impact on the process of decision making	29	10.3	10.3
Total	282	100.0	100.0

To be engaged in political field, youth should be aware of the basics and functions of the political system in Morocco. This knowledge is what strengthens and supports youth impact on the process of decision-making. For this purpose, students' views were quite necessary to formulate a clear idea about this issue. The statistics in table 16 below indicate that 41% of the sample simply agrees upon the importance of having knowledge concerning the mechanisms that govern political life in Morocco. This is respectively followed by 38% who strongly agree about this necessity. Another category which does not exceed 13%, seems to have a limited knowledge about youth' awareness of the main principles of the political system in Morocco. Therefore, 6% of the overall percentage showed their disagreement in what concerns the raised question as described in the table below.

Table 16: Youth awareness of *the Basics and Functions of the political system*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid Strongly agree	108	38.3	38.3
Valid Agree	116	41.1	41.1

I do not know	39	13.8	13.8
Disagree	19	6.7	6.7
Total	282	100.0	100.0

In fact, a well designed and framed education system is what determines the success of future generations. In this regard, education sculptures youth character and the nature of education they receive can develop strong attitudes and beliefs towards their own socio-cultural surroundings. All these elements should be the main objectives of textbooks. The table below reflects students' attitudes that vary between 31% who strongly agree upon the importance of education in forming youth politically. In the opposite side, 26% of the sample disagrees, while 25% who agree about it. As for 9%, their response was simply that they do not know. A slight segment showed their strong disagreement with a percentage of 6%.

Table 17: *Educational curriculums should include political culture*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Strongly agree	89	31.6	31.6
Agree	71	25.2	25.2
I do not know	28	9.9	9.9
Valid Disagree	75	26.6	26.6
Strongly disagree	19	6.7	6.7
Total	282	100.0	100.0

In a similar vein to attitudes towards the importance of forming political leaders, well planned education objectives have to be reflected on youth perception of their own rights and duties; youth awareness should also be manifested in their awareness of the roles they may perform concerning political life. To deeply clarify this idea, statistical responses of students' opinions are required in a way that serves and deepens the analysis.

Table 18 displays the sample's responses that come respectively as follows: 49% who strongly believe that youth have to be aware of their own rights and duties to have an impact on political scene, followed by almost a similar percentage of 39% who show their disagreement. Thus, as a response to the same question, 8% of the sample expresses their ignorance towards this idea by declaring that they do not know. A very slight segment 7%; yet, strongly expresses their disagreement.

Table 18: *Youth awareness of democratic values is what impacts their effectiveness within DMP*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Strongly agree	139	49.3	49.3
Agree	111	39.4	39.4
I do not know	25	8.9	8.9
Valid Disagree	5	1.8	1.8
Strongly disagree	2	.7	.7
Total	282	100.0	100.0

In terms of democracy and human rights, youth freedom to express and react freely has to be assured. In this respect, the sample' view towards the changing aspects of Moroccan society is solicited indirectly to get a clear image about how youth perceive the change in their own society. To serve this aim, a series of reactions were derived from this question as table demonstrates. The findings; therefore, reveal that 28% of the respondents agree upon this question, whereas 27% strongly agree about the same idea. However, 20% of the participants express their disagreement about this idea. Another group, which represents 14%, simply does not know, while 9% showed their strong disagreement about the idea.

Table 19: *Morocco has witnessed a great change concerning freedom of expression*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Strongly agree	76	27.0	27.0
Agree	80	28.4	28.4
I do not know	42	14.9	14.9
Valid Disagree	57	20.2	20.2
Strongly disagree	27	9.6	9.6
Total	282	100.0	100.0

Concerning this question, the purpose is to test how the sample views the presence of youth within the process of decision-making; to evaluate the extent to which this presence can empower youth impact. Therefore, the findings achieved are almost sequential answers in term of order, but different in depth.

In accordance with the latest changes Moroccan society is witnessing, the above question can be considered as a form of a micro statistical measurement to the status of human rights in Morocco. Therefore, the reactions to this issue vary as the following table shows:

Table 20: *The presence of youth within DMP is a form of democratic practice*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Strongly agree	54	19.1	19.1
Agree	76	27.0	27.0
I do not know	82	29.1	29.1
Valid Disagree	65	23.0	23.0
Strongly disagree	5	1.8	1.8
Total	282	100.0	100.0

To start with, 29% of the respondents express their lack of knowledge towards the question they were asked. Respectively is the 27% who seem to agree about this idea, while 23% strongly disagree about this issue. Nevertheless, 19% strongly agree concerning the question that was raised. A very slight noticeable group expressed their strong disagreement.

In this respect, Socialization, cultural representation and national belonging are what constitute political identity among youth. Therefore, media plays a major role in constructing a strong relationship between youth and their own socio-cultural environment; it either valorizes or diminishes the impact of youth as decision-makers. In fact, media can determine the status of youth within their own context; it shapes people' mind about the young segment that would be a

representation to a wider population. The table below reflects students' views concerning the role media performs in empowering the role of youth within decision-making process:

Table 21: Media has the power to shape youth presence within decision-making process

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Strongly agree	29	10.3	10.3
Agree	51	18.1	18.1
I do not know	115	40.8	40.8
Valid Disagree	65	23.0	23.0
Strongly disagree	22	7.8	7.8
Total	282	100.0	100.0

To measure the significance of this impact, the following question is raised to highlight a reflected pure statistical description of the results; the aim is to evaluate the role of media in empowering youth image within decision-making process. Table 21 presents the respondents' reactions towards this idea; in which 40% express a lack of knowledge about this fact, indeed another group 23% strongly disagrees about this impact. For those who agree, their percentage does not exceed 23% followed by 18% who agree about the idea. In addition, 10% of students seem to agree, while only 7% who showed their strong disagreement as the table displays.

Table 22: The direct impact of youth on DMP is what reflects the value of democracy

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid Strongly agree	83	29.4	29.4

Agree	94	33.3	33.3
I do not know	73	25.9	25.9
Disagree	22	7.8	7.8
Strongly disagree	10	3.5	3.5
Total	282	100.0	100.0

On real grounds, students' opinions were necessary to measure the way media impacts the position of youth within DMP. Table 22 shows varying proportions of how the sample considers this impact. In this regard, the findings in the table demonstrate that, on the one hand, 33% of the sample agrees upon this perspective whereas 29% strongly agree. On the other hand, 25% expresses the lack of knowledge concerning this idea, and 7% is the percentage that shows a strong disagreement on behalf of the targeted sample. When it comes to the least percentage, we find that 3% is the group who strongly disagrees when addressed the question.

Youth character is mostly characterized by a sense of rebelliousness and the desire for change. Based on this fact, civil society, for some youth, is considered as a nursery of values that teaches the sense of responsibility, self denial and more particularly sacrifice for the sake of public interest. All these factors are alluring to youth where they feel and experience their own touch. To deepen the scope of research, and hence come up with different results, it was necessary to evaluate how youth consider the role of civil society: is it a closed space addressing particular segment, or is it an alternative to political action in which youth feel free to act?

Table 23: Civil society can be an alternative to political action

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Strongly agree	64	22.7	22.7
Agree	52	18.4	18.4
I do not know	71	25.2	25.2
Valid Disagree	52	18.4	18.6
Strongly disagree	43	15.2	15.2
Total	282	100.0	100.0

The sample' views were required to voice out what youth think of civil society roles. In this respect, the table above projects the finding of the raised question concerning civil society as an alternative to political action. Hence, 25% of the sample expresses their lack of knowledge concerning the content of the question, while 22% strongly agree about the idea. Moreover, agree unlike 18, 6 who disagree about it, almost 18, 4% seem to disagree concerning the same issue. The least percentage which represents only 15% do strongly disagree about the raised question.

### 3.1.2. Corroboration or Refutation of the Hypotheses

This section brings into the surface the first hypotheses to be analyzed using statistical measurements. By using a descriptive research methodology, the statistical analysis does not only serve to support or to refute the hypothesis, but also determine the significance of the statistics. For his purpose, the data are analyzed utilizing a Chi square test for the corroboration or rejection of the already designed hypothesis.

Table 24: Gender \* To what extent are you interested in political field Crosstabulation

		To what extent are you interested in political field					Total
		Always	Usually	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
Gender	Count	39	41	37	16	11	144
	% within Gender	27.1%	28.5%	25.7%	11.1%	7.6%	100.0%
	% within To what						
	Male extent are you						
	interested in	48.8%	59.4%	41.1%	69.6%	55.0%	51.1%
	political field						
	% of Total	13.8%	14.5%	13.1%	5.7%	3.9%	51.1%
	Count	41	28	53	7	9	138
	% within Gender	29.7%	20.3%	38.4%	5.1%	6.5%	100.0%
	% within To what						
Female extent are you							
interested in	51.2%	40.6%	58.9%	30.4%	45.0%	48.9%	
political field							
% of Total	14.5%	9.9%	18.8%	2.5%	3.2%	48.9%	
Count	80	69	90	23	20	282	
% within Gender	28.4%	24.5%	31.9%	8.2%	7.1%	100.0%	
% within To what	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Total							

extent are you interested in political field							
% of Total	28.4%	24.5%	31.9%	8.2%	7.1%	100.0%	

Table 25: *Chi-Square Test*

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	<b>8.942<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>4</b>	<b>.063</b>
Likelihood Ratio	<b>9.064</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>.060</b>
Linear-by-Linear Association	<b>.143</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>.705</b>
N of Valid Cases	<b>282</b>		

The results in the in the **contingency table** indicate that there is not much difference between males and females' responses to "To what extent are you interested in political field". For males, 13.8% **out of (n=282)** opt for the 'always' option, 14.5% **out of (n=282)** are usually interested, 13.1% out of (n=282) are sometimes interested, 5.7% out of (n=282) are representing the 'never' choice, and 3.9 **out of (n=282)** are never interested. For females, 14.5% **out of (n=282)** opt for the 'always' option, 9.9% **out of (n=282)** are usually interested, 18.8% out of (n=282) are sometimes interested, 2.5% out of (n=282) are representing the 'rarely' choice, and 3.2 **out of (n=282)** are never interested. This indicates that there is no significant difference between males and females' answers to the extent to which they are interested in political field. **The Chi-square test table** states that the Pearson chi-Squared statistic is

( $X^2=8.942^a$ ,  $df=4$ ,  $N=282$ ), The p-value ( $p=.0.63$ ) is higher than the significance value  $p<0.05$ , which means that the relationship between males and females answers to this item is quite similar, meaning that there is no significant relationship between the two variables.

Table 26: *Gender \* I am interested in watching programs dealing with political issues*

Crosstabulation

		I am interested in watching programs dealing with political issues		Total	
		Yes	No		
Gender	Count	47	97	144	
	% within Gender	32.6%	67.4%	100.0%	
	Male	% within I am interested in watching programs dealing with political issues	45.2%	54.5%	51.1%
		% of Total	16.7%	34.4%	51.1%
		Count	57	81	138
	Female	% within Gender	41.3%	58.7%	100.0%
		% within I am interested in watching programs dealing with political issues	54.8%	45.5%	48.9%
		% of Total	20.2%	28.7%	48.9%

Total	Count	104	178	282
	% within Gender	36.9%	63.1%	100.0%
	% within I am interested in watching programs dealing with political issues	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	36.9%	63.1%	100.0%

Table 27: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	<b>2.273<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>1</b>	<b>.132</b>
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	<b>1.916</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>.166</b>
Likelihood Ratio	<b>2.276</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>.131</b>
Fisher's Exact Test			
Linear-by-Linear Association	<b>2.265</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>.132</b>
N of Valid Cases	<b>282</b>		

The results in the in the **contingency table** indicate that there is not much difference between males and females' responses to "I am interested in watching programs dealing with political issues". For males, 16.7% out of (n=282) are interested in watching programs dealing with political issues, while 34.4% out of (n=282) are not. For females, 20.2% out of (n=282) are interested in watching programs dealing with political issues, while 28.7% out of (n=282) are not. This indicates that there is no significant difference between males and females' answers to

the extent to which they are interested in watching programs dealing with political issues. The Chi-square test table states that the Pearson chi-Squared statistic is ( $X^2=2.273^a$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $N=282$ ), The p-value ( $p=.132$ ) is higher than the significance value  $p<0.05$ , which means that the relationship between males and females answers to this item is quite similar, meaning that there is no significant relationship between the two variables.

❖ **Hypothesis One:**

The Chi square test investigates the association between the cultural perceptions of the notion of youth in relation to their presence within DMP. Therefore, by observing the following frequencies, the findings of the test show that there is strong significant link between the above items from the point view of university students. Hence, the Chi square test supports the hypothesis and rejects the null hypothesis. The following crosstabulation (table 28 ) projects in details the results of the students’ responses as reported by the Chi square test.

Table 28: *Gender \* In your opinion, do you think that the cultural notion of youth can impact their effectiveness within DMP?*

**Crosstabulation**

		In your opinion, how can you measure the existence of youth in political decision places?					Total
		Excellent	Good	Average	Poor	Very poor	
Gender	Count	16	22	51	33	22	144
	% within Gender	11.1%	15.3%	35.4%	22.9%	15.3%	100.0%
	% within In	55.2%	38.6%	52.0%	56.9%	55.0%	51.1%

	your opinion, how can you measure the existence of youth in political decision places?						
	% of Total	5.7%	7.8%	18.1%	11.7%	7.8%	51.1%
	Count	13	35	47	25	18	138
	% within Gender	9.4%	25.4%	34.1%	18.1%	13.0%	100.0%
Female	% within In your opinion, how can you measure the existence of youth in political decision places?						
	% of Total	44.8%	61.4%	48.0%	43.1%	45.0%	48.9%
	Count	29	57	98	58	40	282
Total	% within	10.3%	20.2%	34.8%	20.6%	14.2%	100.0%

Gender							
% within In your opinion, how can you measure the existence of youth in political decision places?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
% of Total	10.3%	20.2%	34.8%	20.6%	14.2%	100.0%	

Table 29: *Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	<b>4.816<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>4</b>	<b>.307</b>
Likelihood Ratio	<b>4.845</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>.304</b>
Linear-by-Linear Association	<b>1.298</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>.255</b>
N of Valid Cases	<b>282</b>		

The results in the in the contingency table indicate that there is not much difference between males and females' responses to **“In your opinion, how can you measure the existence of youth in political decision places”**. For males, **5.7% out of (n=282)** opt for the ‘excellent’ option, **7.8% out of (n=282)** think that it is good, **18.1% out of (n=282)** opt for the average choice, **11.7% out of (n=282)** see that it is poor, and **7.8 out of (n=282)** agree on the very poor

option. For females, 4.8% **out of (n=282)** opt for the ‘excellent’ option, 12.4% **out of (n=282)** think that it is good, 16.7%% out of (n=282) opt for the average choice, 8.9% out of (n=282) see that it is poor, and 8.4 **out of (n=282)** agree on the very poor option. This indicates that there is no significant difference between males and females’ answers to the extent to the measurement existence of youth in political decision places. The Chi-square test table states that the Pearson chi-Squared statistic is ( $X^2=4.816^a$ ,  $df=4$ ,  $N=282$ ), The p-value ( $p=.307$ ) is higher than the significance value  $p<0.05$ , which means that the relationship between males and females answers to this item is quite similar, meaning that there is no significant relationship between the two variables.

Table 30: Gender \* Political culture requires youth awareness of the basics and functions of the political system Crosstabulation

		Political culture requires youth awareness of the basics and functions of the political system				Total
		Strongly agree	Agree	I do not know	Disagree	
Gender Male	Count	67	48	21	8	144
	% within Gender	46.5%	33.3%	14.6%	5.6%	100.0%
	% within Political culture requires youth awareness of the basics and functions	62.0%	41.4%	53.8%	42.1%	51.1%

	of the political system					
	% of Total	23.8%	17.0%	7.4%	2.8%	51.1%
	Count	41	68	18	11	138
	% within Gender	29.7%	49.3%	13.0%	8.0%	100.0%
	% within Political					
Female	culture requires youth					
	awareness of the	38.0%	58.6%	46.2%	57.9%	48.9%
	basics and functions					
	of the political system					
	% of Total	14.5%	24.1%	6.4%	3.9%	48.9%
	Count	108	116	39	19	282
	% within Gender	38.3%	41.1%	13.8%	6.7%	100.0%
	% within Political					
Total	culture requires youth					
	awareness of the	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	basics and functions					
	of the political system					
	% of Total	38.3%	41.1%	13.8%	6.7%	100.0%

Table 31 : *Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)

Pearson Chi-Square	<b>10.289<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>3</b>	<b>.016</b>
Likelihood Ratio	<b>10.366</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>.016</b>
Linear-by-Linear Association	<b>3.646</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>.056</b>
N of Valid Cases	<b>282</b>		

The results in the in the contingency table indicate that there is difference between males and females’ responses to this item “**political culture requires youth awareness of the basics and functions of the political**”. For males, 23.8% **out of (n=282)** opt for the ‘strongly agree’ option, 17% **out of (n=282)** agree with, 7.4% **out of (n=282)** opt for the ‘I do not know’ choice, and 2.6% **out of (n=282)** disagree. For females, 14.5% **out of (n=282)** opt for the ‘strongly agree’ option, 24.1% **out of (n=282)** agree with, 6.4% **out of (n=282)** opt for the ‘I do not know’ choice, and 3.9% **out of (n=282)** disagree. This indicates that there is a significant difference between males and females’ answers to the measurement existence of youth in political decision places. **The Chi-square test table** states that the Pearson chi-Squared statistic is ( $X^2=10.289^a$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $N=282$ ), The p-value ( $p=.01$ ) is less than the significance value  $p<0.05$ , which means that the relationship between males and females answers to this item is not similar, meaning that there is a significant relationship between the two variables.

Table 32: *Gender \* Civil society can be an alternative for the political act Crosstabulation*

	The civil society can be an alternative for the political act					Total
	Strongly agree	Agree	I do not know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	



for the political act							
% of Total	22.7%	18.4%	25.2%	18.4%	15.2%	100.0%	

Table 33: *Chi-Square Tests*

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	<b>16.209<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>4</b>	<b>.003</b>
Likelihood Ratio	<b>16.477</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>.002</b>
Linear-by-Linear Association	<b>7.501</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>.006</b>
N of Valid Cases	<b>282</b>		

The results in the in **the contingency table** indicate that there is difference between males and females’ responses to this item **“The civil society can be an alternative for the political act”**. For males, 8.5% **out of (n=282)** opt for the ‘strongly agree’ option, 8.5% **out of (n=282)** agree with, 15.6% **out of (n=282)** opt for the ‘I do not know’ choice, and 7.8% **out of (n=282)** disagree, and 10.6% **out of (n=282)** strongly disagree. For females, 14.2% **out of (n=282)** opt for the ‘strongly agree’ option, 9.9% **out of (n=282)** agree with, 9.6% **out of (n=282)** opt for the ‘I do not know’ choice, and 10.6% **out of (n=282)** disagree, and 4.6% **out of (n=282)** strongly disagree. This indicates that there is a significant difference between males and females’ answers to the measurement existence of youth in political decision places. **The Chi-square test table** states that the Pearson chi-Squared statistic is ( **$X^2=16.209^a$ ,  $df=4$ ,  $N=282$** ), The p-value ( **$p=.003$** ) is less than the significance value  $p<0.05$ , which means that the relationship between males and

females answers to this item is not similar, meaning that there is a significant relationship between the two variables.

### **3.1.3. Analysis of the Questionnaire's Findings**

When the series of investigations lunched, the study was supposed to welcome a set of different findings emerged from the instruments chosen for this mission. The sample addressed to react to the paper hand survey is the best manifestation of the various policies that frame Moroccan youth presence in different realms. The choice of intellectual youth is meant to first evaluate the socio-cultural formation of youth identity; which is reflected through their interest in political scene, their being engaged in political action and more particularly it seeks to test political parties' roles in attracting and orienting youth, which are the content of the first section of the survey.

The second section of the survey is devoted for the testing of university students' views towards political field and its functions, the impact of political culture on youth political interest along with the vast space civil society can provide for youth as alternative to political action. The purpose then is to locate the presence of youth within DMP within strong walls supported by adequate instruments which can either support the hypotheses or refute them.

As this journey of investigations started, the interest was and still on the evaluation of the cultural, social and political discourses that impact the presence of youth within DMP, for this reason, students' reactions to the presence of youth in DMP reflects to a great extent the cultural notion of youth, which is inherent in their mind. Youth effectiveness cannot exceed certain borders neither within social sphere, not within the political one. Thus their attitudes ca best answer the first research question.

- A well planned educational objectives have the power to guide the energy within youth, and empower them to impact the process of decision making

**Research Question1: To what extent does the cultural discourse impact youth participation in politics?**

The findings in table 7 demonstrate various reasons that may lead to youth lack of interest in political field. Political sphere for youth is not only a space where decisions take part, it is rather a manifestation of all that is cultural and social; youth participation in politics should start first from an inner certitude and determination for their being decision-makers. Therefore, society has the power to manipulate youth' mind to not only consider their being social members, but also as political actors whose presence is mainly shaped by power relations.

In relation to previous discussion along with finding in table 7, **hypothesis 1: Cultural Notion of Youth Can Determine the Latter's Presence within DMP.** In this regard, these facts may seem among the major social and cultural features of the youth stage; youth are always indeed to assert themselves by means or another. Therefore, political participation can only be a form of measuring the cultural and political fragmentation of youth identity. Then, the students' interaction with this question helps understanding the impact of cultural discourses; especially the one which condemns youth presence, and marginalizes their role within different spheres.

It is an attempt to evaluate the cultural youth practice of politics, and to test the dynamics that govern this presence. Also, the motion that characterizes cultural practices in the youth stage

and its manifestations along with the emotional spirit that confers on it. All of these factors make the investigation into those practices an outlook for our cultural transformations, be them in the path of our societies or a result of cultural cross-fertilization with other global context.

Actually, the marginalization of young people is not limited to creating negative perception of their own contribution in DMP, but extends it to destroy their cultural creativity, which is one of the major reasons that make youth lose their own enthusiasm towards being at the heart of decision-making. These culturally shaped attitudes towards young segment have the power to shake people trust in this segment.

Youth power can be manifested through institutionalized forms of political participation such as being elected, and be at the DMP. However, people in most of the times trust old experienced people to decide in their own issues believing that the long way they have been through is able to help them decide wisely. In this regard, youth are considered as a source of disorder and immaturity regardless of their political belonging. Therefore, if these are among some of the social and cultural manifestation of the relationship between youth and their own societies, then this study has seized the opportunity to investigate the cultural stereotypes associated with youth in a way helps us to clarify the impact of these cultural notion on the effectiveness of youth within DMP, and to evaluate the dynamics that govern their activation of this political action in the path of building their social and political identities.

Accordingly, the presence of youth within DMP is influenced by a set of complementary factors; these elements should go hand in hand to form political leaders. In this respect, the formation these leaders are the fruit of a long term cooperation of the cultural, social and political factors. Thus, the following question goes hand in hand with research question 2 to

cover the most inspiring mechanisms political parties use in forming young leaders projected on the table 12

### **Research Question 2: How Effective are the Political Parties in Forming Youth Politically?**

This question seeks to understand the different roles political parties perform to form youth politically. It is an attempt to determine to what extent the effectiveness of Moroccan youth within DMP is determined by the strong and consistent framing. Therefore, from the findings, we can as well discover the various reasons that discourage youth from joining political parties, and be part of the process of political action.

Accordingly, the political fragmentation of youth character is the major goals of youth parties; therefore, **hypothesis 2 the Decline in Youth Leadership Roles within DMP is a Result of an Decrease In Political Parties Orientation** has been best confirmed through the analysis of the questions' content within table 12. In this respect, political scene knows the volatility of the fact of attracting youth to political action in general, and to their inner political parties in particular. Hence, political parties play important roles in raising youth level of political awareness, and this is mainly reflected in the nature of the relationship between youth and parties; attraction, formation, and participation in elections. All indicate the complexity in realizing such tasks. In fact, the presence of youth within DMP is outcome of a deep desire from the power holders to form this segment to be able to impact the process where decisions are taking part.

The parties are originally political institutions whose objectives are more than just attracting youth, but also in forming these youth according to the national values of love and sacrifice for the only one nation. Hence, we started noticing a huge aversion on behalf of Moroccan youth. This can be justified by the limited formation political parties started to show.

Moreover, the absence of a clear vision to really involve youth within the political process can be seen in the absence of youth who have an access to DMP.

As stated in the first chapter, a reading to the role of political parties in Morocco has brought into the surface noticeable figures from administrative parties in Morocco such as Istiqlal best presented through its heroic characters Mehdi Ben Barka and Omar Benjeloun whose major interest was in forming strong young leaders; especially through the youth parties and the occasional cops that were meant to teach different values among pupils. In this regard, the decrease in such roles has indeed shackled youth trust to the various forms of political action; youth started to be indifferent towards political life in general. Political sphere for youth has become absurd notion where actions taken part are only a form of repetitiveness to the previous political deeds as shown in their university student's responses. In fact, the choice of intellectual youth was intentionally made to test the probable presence of these young energies in the future within DMP, in how they would be able to act and feel free to act, and more particularly impact this process.

Political participation is what marks youth's presence within political scene in general; Therefore, with the global changing world, there has become more than one way in asserting one's participation in the political life. To measure and understand the methods youth chose to participate with, a list of suggestions was given to students to depict. For this purpose, detailed statistical results are projected in the above table reflecting exact percentages as well frequencies for the choices provided. In this case, either the presence or absence of youth from DMP can impact the status of Morocco as a democratic country as question 3 is trying to investigate.

Accordingly, the 2011 constitution came with important reforms concerning youth status. By strengthening the role of the parliament in the monitoring councils, introducing the principle of

the independence in term of judiciary system and also expanding the scope of participation as freedoms and rights of youth. Therefore, the role of the framing of youth to access state positions has become a debatable one; the only and main element that determine youth engagement in the political field.

### **Research Question3: How can the stream of democracy and human rights empower THE Presence of Youth within DMP?**

For any country to appear democratic, youth should to be at the heart of its decisions, if not being engaged in this process. For instance, one of the most important aspects of the modern state where citizens should feel valorized is the notion of freedom, dignity and the ability to be engaged in to political stream far from any mistreatment or humiliation.

Accordingly, whether a man or a woman, it is worth mentioning here that there is not a single model of democracy for all countries; the models of democracy may differ from one country to another, but the most remarkable one is that whose main objectives focus on the preparation of youth to become able to impact at different levels, and more particularly to influence the process where decisions are designed and implemented. In order to appear as a democratic nation, Morocco has to follow the path of the developed countries for achieving certain right within Morocco society.

In general, the absence of democracy within the internal structure of political parties, as well as the limited freedom expression for those involved in it can determine the real democratic practice on real grounds. As a case in point, the dominance of family relations within parties does indeed weaken young politicians from within political body. By other words, the bureaucratic leadership expressed through a series of practices can also lead to an abstention

towards political action. Therefore, the majority of young people become convinced that it was not worthwhile to engage in the political process.

Despite the “quota” that the legislator invented as a system for representing youth and women in Parliament, youth’ presence within DMP reveals a defect in the concept of democracy. The realization of this task can only be projected and valorized through media eyes as question 4 tries to examine.

#### **Research Question 4: What Role do Media Perform to Strengthen the Status of Youth within DMP?**

Throughout the history of Morocco, youth’ zeal for change, and readiness to assert certain heroic roles has always been noticeable. This social segment is the deepest yet remarkable reflection of the society’s long way to assert the values of human rights and democracy. In this respect, the way youth consider their presence within society, and how the later conceives youth is the double role media plays; this debatable approach is what determines the relationship between youth and their own socio-political context.

Cultural practices can be shaped differently through media, in this sense, because young people go through an ideal stage of life, which makes them more enthusiastic and more vulnerable to influencing others, media have the power to shape people’s mind towards youth in general. The various forms of media; be them audio visual or written can either valorize youth presence or marginalize them. By so doing, a set of practices reflecting the lack of maturity and irresponsibility on behalf of youth can be projected in films, songs or even programs that make of youth participation in deceive matters a debatable issue. Furthermore, the way media shape the image of youth in people’ mind to affect youth presence in the DMP; in how these young

leaders perceive their social surrounding, and how the latter encourage or discourage their contribution in such positions.

This frustration can also shake youth self-confidence and, at the level of decision-making impact negatively their effectiveness. From here comes the role of media in socializing youth socially and politically; this can be achieved mainly through developing youth' potentials in order to serve the political field and launch the big goals that it seeks.

The interest in studying youth' character engenders a similar need to discover and evaluate the main constituents that shape political identity among youth. To measure this impact, a quantitative approached has been employed to formulate a paper based survey administrated to university students in the city of Fez. Thus, a set of questions have gone hand in hand to create a bridge between the review of literatures that tackled this issue, and the findings that came out as a result of a planned methodology designed to first, reflect university students' viewpoints concerning youth presence in DMP, and therefore project it through numbers. The survey' questions were organized in a logical order which tends to scrutinize the main social, cultural and political upbringings that prepare young electorates to be able to influence the process of decision-making.

Students were addressed a set of different questions to fulfill the main objectives of the study. Accordingly, the thesis between our hands examines the relationship between the various components of youth political identity; therefore, be able to measure their effectiveness within DMP. For this reason, the survey started its path by testing the main factors that impact university students' interest in watching political programs as a necessary step in understanding how youth' mind functions politically, this is to have a clear idea about students' political background. A similar need was to clearly evaluate youth perceptions of political language; thus,

detailed statistical procedures were conducted to reflect students various reasons behind having any lack of interest towards political action in general.

Political seminars are considered as a ground where ideas, topics and recommendations are being performed by people interested in politics., students' attendance to such seminars can help them forming a clear picture of the political scene as well as being up-to date with the latest political changes. For this reason, students were asked about whether they attend political seminars or not; for which the answers revealed that the majority of these students seem not to be motivated concerning political matters; this also goes hand in hand with the weak framing youth are receiving from political parties; hence, students' reactions is the best indicator that the parties 'roles in forming young leaders started to decrease, which creates a huge void in the spirit of youth, who are supposed to be active agents in such places.

University students were chosen non-randomly, one of the main purposes behind this choice is to shed light on the intellectual youth whose presence within such an academic setting is a representation of all the cultural, social and political policies of the country. Besides, through their responses, we can check their aspirations towards becoming political leaders in the future. A set of critical factors go hand in hand in shaping youth effectiveness as decision-makers. Cultural and political policies are what contribute in shaping political identity among youth.

Having all this in mind, if the presence of youth within DMP has been approached theoretically and practically within the survey's frames, it is of an equivalent importance to humanize this experience and interview political decision-makers whose experience in this field can open the floor to further interpretations.

#### **3.1.4. Semi-Structure Interview**

Semi-structure interviews provide a real opportunity for the research to be conducted on real grounds. The inquirer moves from what is theoretical, numerical measurements towards a more alive experience where people targeted are the center of interest; their knowledge, experiences and practices of the phenomenon is what allows the research to analyze the process through which the topic under investigation is going on. For this purpose, it was necessary to plan for an adequate meeting with young parliaments whose experience constitutes a great part of this study. The semi-structure interviews are employed as a form of qualitative method of research, where the interviewer uses a well planned guide that includes open ended questions as a reflection of the whole research process.

The interviewees in this study were non-randomly chosen; the young political leaders are belonging to four different political parties; two from the majority, and two from the opposition (PJD, Independence Party, USFP and PAM). This diversity is intended to vary the points of view, and also to measure the impact of youth belonging to the majority on DMP, in comparison with those that represent the opposition.

Their own position within DMP, their experience and more importantly the impact of the various factors that constitute their political identity is the major content of the designed questions. The purpose then is to evaluate the impact of the cultural, social and political components of what it means to be a young political actor. The employment of this type of interview is used to collect reliable and credible data from what the researcher's 'eyes observe and interpret inspired from interviewees' attitudes and reaction to the questions. In this respect, age and gender indicators were also important to the objectives of the study.

Since we are investigating the extent of impact youth can have on DMP, it was necessary to address young politicians. The rationale behind this choice is first to respect the underlined

objectives of the study which focus on youth as the main interest of inquiry, and also to examine the various factors that determine youth presence within DMP. Since we are negotiating this relation, it is of an equivalent importance to study the gender impact on DMP, and also to measure how the different cultural, social and political factors shape the presence of gender as decision makers. Accordingly, there were four interviewees that were chosen to fulfill the aims of the interview. They have been chosen non-randomly and interviewed at the Parliament in Rabat.

The place and time fixed for the conduction of the interviews are seemingly important especially in laying the ground for these politicians, to react to the interview in a very comfortable way. In this regard, the interviews were conducted in the heart of political decision-making, which is the Moroccan parliament in Rabat. After having decided about the suitable time, the 4 interviewees agreed upon the meeting in the parliament on Monday 16 January 2019 during the opening session. This task has taken two days. The interviews were conducted face to face as the meeting was already prearranged. The four interviews were performed in Arabic; hence, the translation of the interviews from Arabic into English has been done by the researcher (cf. appendix B).

For more credible and reliable findings derived from the interviewees, the researcher should transform h/herself into a detective inspector whose main interest is to reach valid results that would satisfy the study's objectives. To meet this aim, the inquirer should have a critical reading to the context of interviews; in which h/she makes use of some basic senses to test the study's hypotheses with what on real grounds being practiced. Still, this competency should be prudent enough not to fail into any kind of bias; the researcher should expect any kind of conclusions that may emerge; be them supportive to the hypotheses or against them.

Once the research's ship decides to delve into both what is said and unsaid, the inquirer has to listen carefully to the interviewees' reactions. It is a kind of reading most of the ideas that the interviewees may want to hide; as a way of reading between lines, and trying to distinguish between the interviewees' sayings, and what they really mean. In this respect, the inquirer becomes able to dig into the details of the subject in an attempt to evaluate the risen hypotheses as well as research questions. In this sense, the use of semi-structured interviews did, indeed, create a comfortable space for the interviewees to express their own attitudes in a more free way.

Thus far, to approach the main factors which constitute the presence of youth within decision-making process, it was necessary to interview young political actors who have certain influence on decision-making process. The first two interviews were conducted at the parliament especially during the opening session of 16 December 2019; and the two others were interviewed the following day. The meeting with these members was planned as we contacted them earlier, and informed them about the aim of this interview. Every interview took about 30 minutes and was recorded for the sake of coding and transcription. With respect to the protocol that characterizes semi-structured interviews, all interviewees were conducted for analysis after having their own consent.

Young political actors were chosen from two parties that constitute the majority in the parliament: PJD and USFP which have impressed the history of politics in Morocco; therefore, and in relation to the previous study, the focus is on investigating these parties' roles and impact on these young leaders in terms of preparation, orientation and motivation; all reflected through their answers. Moreover, it is highly time these parties took their part, and be a subject of interest especially in what concerns their main objectives in forging the political identity of youth.

The interviews objectives are translated through seven questions that seek to understand, test and analysis the impact of these young political leaders on DMP; the content of the questions try to evaluate the extent to which these leaders are able to influence the work of the government along with the amendments concerning different fields depending on the committee they represent within the parliament. After all, the nature of questions is also meant to test the political status of young politicians in the light of the 2011 constitution.

### **3.1.5. Parliamentary Members Characteristics**

This following section presents background information about the four interviewees. In order to react to the interviews questions, the interviewees were invited to participate in face-to-face semi-structured interviews. In relation to the topic discussed, age and political belonging of the respondents has a significant presence in testing these demographics elicited by the semi-interviews are salient in the analysis of the qualitative data.

#### **Interviewees from the parties that constitute the majority in the parliament:**

- ✓ **Najib El Bakkali:** a parliamentary member of the Justice and Development party, and a member in the Justice and Legislation Committee.

Legislative jurisdiction: 2016/2021

- ✓ **Hanane Rihab:** a parliamentary member of the Socialist Union of Popular Movement Party.

Electoral District: The National Electoral District - Part Two for Youth of Both Sexes

Legislative jurisdiction: 2016/2021

#### **Interviewees from the parties that constitute the opposition in the parliament:**

- ✓ **Abdelmajid El Fassi El Fehri:** a parliamentary member of Istiqlal party, and a member of the Committee of Education and Culture.

Legislative jurisdiction: 2016/2021.

- ✓ **Sanae Zaheed:** a parliamentary member of the Authenticity and Modernity Party.

Member of the party's regional coordination in the region of Souss-Massa.

Legislative jurisdiction: 2016/2021.

### **3.1.6. Parliamentary Members' Interviews**

The presence of youth within DMP can take different forms; it is a kind of asserting the social, intellectual and political experience. These young agents are an outcome of different discourses that either empower or weaken their involvement in suggesting laws, implementing and exercising them. In a nation's course towards achieving progress, youth are considered as a lever for development, whether social, economic or political especially through their own participation in these fields within the one state system. This social segment is considered the driving force for the movement of society, which insists on their active participation in political life. Their engagement can be mainly portrayed through the encouragement of youth' fortification programs; be them legal or constitutional texts as an attempt to stimulate youth towards full action and therefore, valorizing their impact of decision-making.

This driving force is guided by power relations where youth are in most of the times desired by the general order to reflect the main aspects of democracy. However, in many other times, the same category is being rejected by the same discourses that once valorized them. To understand this complex relation, different approaches can be adopted to consider the process of decision-making; the formation youth have been through; which grants them a certain level of political experience, the party's objectives and methods these youth represent and more importantly the impact of the socio-cultural discourses that constitute the presence of youth within DMP; all these factors have the power to either valorize this presence, or make of it a secondary one.

Young agents are considered by society as those who are given the opportunity to draw the general goals of society and find ways to implement them. In addition, there are those who associate the role of youth as influential for the government decisions. These concepts are not to be denied; yet, the way youth participation is being practiced, and how society conceives this participation is what can take common readers to the outskirts of political action, more particularly the centers of political decision-making, and put in their own hands the primary keys to understand and measure the extent to which young politicians can have a certain impact on decision-making provided that this reader has to be well equipped with a critical perception to the cultural and political discourses that shape this impact.

***Question 1: What is the Role of the Elected Youth in the Development of Government Work?***

As a response to this question, all interviewees express their contributions concerning the development of the governmental work; every interviewee is inspired from h/her own experience within the parliament committees. Still, the four interviewees share similar views towards the question they were asked. To clarify this point, admittedly, Najib El-Bakkali, parliamentary deputy from Justice and Development Party associates the impact youth may have vis-à-vis the development of governmental body; referring to the new laws that have been introduced to both the 2011 constitution along with the internal regulations regarding the House of Representatives. For Najib, he considers the quota system<sup>2</sup> as a new breath in the government where Moroccan youth as well as women are granted 30% out of 495% as a ratio in the House of Representatives. He does indeed valorize the presence of youth especially the intellectual ones. For him, university graduates and youth holding a special degree have a noticeable impact on the work of the government; therefore, their contribution cannot be marginalized, so to speak. For instance,

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<sup>2</sup> Quota system: the reserved seats for youth from both sexes in the parliament, which in the Moroccan context does not exceed 30 seats.

the presence of these young intellectuals within decision-making process does indeed reverse the general view about politicians who have a limited academic background.

Being a member in the Justice and Legislation Committee, Najib argues that “the presence of youth within the parliament is an opportunity to advocate all the issues related to youth”. Furthermore, the young PJD’s interviewee associates the quality of the governmental work by the wise guidance and prudent training these elected youth have been through, what can guarantee an effective presence, and remarkable participation of youth as decision-makers. He also makes reference to the contribution of gender within this process; he sees that the quota system has valorized the youth and gender representation of democracy and human rights in Morocco. Njaib associates the quality of the governmental work by the wise guidance and prudent training these elected youth have been through, what can guarantee an effective presence, and remarkable participation of youth as decision-makers. He also makes reference to the contribution of gender within this process; he sees that the quota system has valorized the youth and gender representation of democracy and human rights in Morocco.

With all this in mind, a democratic approach to the issue under study insisted in bringing gender experience to the surface; to test the validity of the efforts that have been introduced to engage women within political action. Hanan Rihab a UFSP’s interviewee has had a different view concerning the role of youth in the governmental progress; Hanan clings to the fact that giving an opportunity for youth to be at the heart of decision-making is in itself an added value, and the presence of young people in the Parliament, as well as their defense of the central issues of concern to young people is in itself a distinct precedent in the history of the Moroccan government; by recognizing the role of young people in positions that were in the past exclusively for the elderly deputies. Hanan asserts that “these young politicians; be them male or

female, should discuss all the issues within society, but never overlook the youth' matters". Her statement can take us to earlier investigation of women' participation in political issues in the course of Moroccan history; if we read between the lines of her speech, we can discover that the young deputy sees in the right given to youth to be engaged in political action a favor provided by the government, and therefore, youth should seize this opportunity to negotiate the rights of the young segment within Moroccan society.

When addressing the majority in the parliament, the long experience along with political reputation required the engagement of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces which has given birth to the young female parliamentary member Hanan Rihab. Her being a decision maker can express the trust by her own party members as well as the community to which she belongs. Hence, her reaction towards youth participation in improving governmental work has deepened the discussion by stating that "the party has always produced young political leaders, and encouraged the effective presence of women within the political field". Thus, if the parties had a democracy within them, the energies of their women would have emerged, and they would have expressed their presence and active role. However, in the absence of this democracy and the absence of equality and non-discrimination, the national list is still below the level of aspirations that were set for it.

As a reaction to the already raised question about the role of young politicians in the improvement of the governmental work, and with respect to the interviewees' points of view, the honesty of this paper required the engagement of young political leaders from the party that constitutes the opposition in the current government in order to test the involvement of those who belong to the opposition. The Istiqlal party has given us the chance to meet Abdelmajid El Fassi El Fihri whose point of view is almost similar to the previous interviewees from PJD and

USFP. In response to this question, Abdelmajid sees that the National List for Youth has given a new breath to the Parliamentary work; he states that the presence of this list has encouraged youth to bravely express different issues within the parliament, especially those related to youth problems and aspirations. To put it in his own words; Abdelmajid argues that “the presence of youth within the parliament is an opportunity to raise and advocate different issues within society, and not only those related to youth issues”. Accordingly, being a member of the Education and Culture Committee, Abdelmajid shares his own experience in defending the status of university professors addressing governmental laws to re-consider their status.

The Independence Party’s interviewee states that youth’ participation in the development of government has been assured by the space it was given to youth and women within the National List. For Abdelmajid, women and youth are considered important components within all societies, and Moroccan society is of no exception. However, this important segment remains out of the elite’s renewal cycle; only 30% of the parliamentary seats are reserved for these two social components. Abdelmajid argues that “even though the National List has provided much space for youth to be at the heart of parliament, this does not really encourage young parliament’s members to have a strong influence.” Within the political sphere, political system is mostly dominated by power relations; hence, these relations do not help more particularly women to enjoy much opportunity in being within DMP. The young Independence Party’s deputy adds that when women and youth reach the dome of Parliament, they start calling for a re-shape of some regulations in order to reduce a number of abuses that harm this small presence.

In the same line of thought, when addressing the Authenticity and Modernity party, there should be a gender approach in evaluating the work of political leaders concerning the parliamentary development. Hence, Sanae Zaheed, the PAM deputy and Consultant Advisor in

the city of Agadir has enriched the course of research claiming that the role of youth in decision-making positions remains relative, and the decisions of most young people are inspired from the social norms within Moroccan society. The Youth impact on decisions is unconsciously guided by a cultural system that does not only shape their being decision makers, but also the decisions they implement within such positions. Sanae's ad-hominem argument is inspired from her own experience as a decision maker; she explains that "in general, youth' role as decision makers is mostly impacted by social norms, and their influence remains relative". By so declaring, it is necessary to mention the young political leaders who were able to reach the political scene and impact it to prove their high efficiency, and adapt it to political action in which they constitute only a small percentage.

Youth roles as decision-makers can vary from one context to another, but they are almost meant to serve a particular agenda in which decision are to be suggested, implemented and pursued by the whole political body. To approach this notion, interviewees were asked a question that merely tests the role of youth in the improvement of the governmental work. This question can be analyzed from two perspectives. First, the reaction of these young political leaders has been taken into account in how they consider their presence as contributors to the progress of governmental system. Second, their knowledge and experience within the government does indeed reflect the previous conducted study; which seeks to understand the impact of cultural discourse on youth as decision-makers.

***2. What are the most prominent amendments you introduced in the committee related to Youth Issues?***

The purpose behind this question is to test the political leaders' engagement in suggesting laws and implementing them within the financial bill; especially the amendments related to

youth issues. In this regard, the PJD interviewee, Najib El Bakkali refers to the experience of his party in which he declares that within the parliament, the members of each party work in teams; this is why amendments in general cannot be suggested individually. Every member within the parties that constitute the majority within the parliament suggests a set of propositions related to different issues. After covering most of the parties teams suggestions, the parties that constitute the majority try to include these changes within the financial law project concerning the budget. As a matter of fact, Najib explained this by bringing his own experience as a member of the Committee of Justice, Legislation and Human Rights where he is mostly inspired by issues related to human rights, and advocating most of laws defending youth matters. For public policies made mainly at the level of executive branch, youth issues are to be questioned; this priority allows young leaders to express first their knowledge concerning different topic touching the social, economic and political sectors.

Similarly important is Hanan Rihab's view concerning the same question who sees that decisions concerning the status of youth within the financial bill are taken by the whole parliament members and not only youth; she clarifies that the government has a number of requirements that encourage young people; by supporting the semi-entrepreneurial initiative, this can enhance the presence of young people within decision-making centers. For the young parliament member, she argues that "young politicians interest in different realms especially the economic one valorizes the presence of youth within DMP."

In line with that, the Independence Party's interviewee Abdelmajid El Fassi's confession in relation to this question paves the path for further interpretation to the role of youth as decision-makers. For him, most decisions taken within the frame of the budget preserved for youth are taken by older members of the parliament; youth's contribution in this regard is not to

be marginalized, but at the same time constitutes a blurred image within the decision-making zones. However, Abdelmajid adds that his being a member of the Committee of Education and Culture allows him only to negotiate matters related to the field of his interest, without giving details about this topic.

In relation to these public policies, if we re-consider most of these young members' suggestions concerning youth issues, we will discover that their calls for change are being inspired by the reality that shapes the status of youth in their own social context. As a case in point, in her statement, Sanae insists on the important role camps play in forming young leaders; therefore, the PAM's young member tries to re-question the effectiveness of such camps by valorizing their participation, and encouraging the government to create a special budget to support the work.

### ***Question 3: How Can You Evaluate Gender Presence within DMP?***

In order to evaluate the presence of gender within DMP, the conducted interview with Najib El Bakkali has enlightened the course of research especially in revealing facts related to the female participation as decision-makers. The young parliament member takes us to the political scene where he states that gender presence within DMP is to be almost absent, and limited in term of number. For him, the parliamentary seats the quota has provided for both young men and women has indeed weakened the female's involvement in places where decision are mostly man made. To put it in his own words, Najib adds that "the cultural, social and political constituents of Moroccan society impact gender effectiveness within DMP". He maintains that the image of Moroccan woman is always associated with home matters; the traditional role of woman is viewed in relation to marriage and the production of children. Therefore, it is difficult to valorize women's participation in the process of decision; to

attentively to women's ability to think, suggest and implement decisions concerning different issues. Accordingly, Still, Najib considers the presence of gender by 24% in the parliament is almost near to that of some developed countries, but he suggests that women ought to be granted more space in the parliamentary institution.

The USFP's interviewee Hanan Rihab declares that women's existence within DMP is a debatable issue that brings with it various questions. Hanan's evaluation to the role of women as decision makers is merely justified by women's qualification for such positions, and not the number they represent within this political institution. She refers to the cultural frame Moroccan women are put into. She also makes the parliamentary institution responsible of this weak absence of gender. For her, the internal democracy practiced by political parties does either enhance or blemish women's contribution in the process of taking decisions. Hanan states that "women are used only within the party's organizational structures, but have no influence within decision-making positions". She furthers her statement by claiming that till now it is difficult to evaluate gender presence within DMP since their number is really very little.

If the presence of gender within the parties that constitute the majority within the government has revealed different issues about this situation, the opposition's experience will provide much more alluring facts concerning the presence of women within DMP. To understand this dilemma, Abdelmajid El Fassi, the Independence Party's interviewee strongly defends the presence of women within the parliament. For him, the National List has provided an important opportunity for women to be in the heart of decision-making; however, this List is not faire in relation to women presence as members of the parliament. For Abdelmajid, women show their best within the parliamentary committees during their defense of various issues within society; these members have a high level of experience that qualifies them to participate in decision-

making; but their weak presence within this institution does not primarily reflect this experience. Abdelmajid adds that this list should exceed certain numbers to cover more women, and allow them to influence the process of decision-making. He insists that gender presence within these places should not be evaluated by the presence of the same female faces every elections; he justifies this fact stating that the elections are still dominated by personal relations, which does not show the real level of these women. Rather, elected females have to be assessed by the efforts and contribution they add to political action.

In the same line of thought, Sanae Zaheed, the PAM's interviewee considers the female presence as decision makers to be invisible if not absent; the blurred conditions where women find themselves within DMP makes of their contribution in this process a secondary one. Based on Sanae's experience, "most decision are being made by men, and women are supposed to defend them". In general, the way, Sanae expresses that political parties in Morocco do not valorize women's presence within DMP. Thus far, this situation goes further to reach the long process of decision where women are used only to promote certain agendas related to their parties; yet, their knowledge, experience and capacities are not to be part of this masculine system.

Giving priority to women's issues, women's needs, the objectives of sustainable development and the balanced presence of women and men within the parliamentary institution in achieving gender equality essentially requires an objective understanding and analysis of what these young parliamentarians believe to be true. This shift from political action towards civil activities can be justified by the huge gap youth find themselves within especially at the level where decision have to be made by both old and young parliamentary members.

#### ***4. What Efforts Have You Made while Exercising Oversight Mechanisms toward the Government?***

The aim of this question is to test young parliament member's interaction during parliament sessions, especially through raising either oral or written questions. These questions are designed by political parties to evaluate the work of the government towards different issues. Therefore, Najib El Bakkali's experience during these questions has taken us to the back stages of the political scene; the young parliament member states that being a member of Justice and Legislation Committee, he is able to suggest different questions especially those related to youth issues; such as the major mechanisms of developing the sector of sport. In addition to that, Najib adds that one of the major questions that are raised every session is the importance of re-considering the role of camps in forming young political leaders.

The interest in youth issues is a common point that links between young parliament members and common young citizens; parliament can only be considered as a political zone where youth issues are being represented in an official manner. Therefore, what is to be analyzed is the relationship between the main political bodies with the voices of youth; who are trying to prove their ability within DMP, and at the same time making a step to change different realities of which youth constitute the important part.

Hanan Rihab, in line with that, explains how youth voice, and particularly the female one within the parliament sessions can impact the series of questions addressed to the governmental institution as a whole. She asserts that her being a parliament member necessitates from her to surround all the aspects that influence Moroccan society; this is how any member within this political institutions can have a clear idea about what is going on in society, and also formulate suitable question to test the government proceeds.

As way to link between youth issues and translate them into questions, these young members make a connection with civil society organizations along with youth so as to approach youth' aspirations, and the constraints they face to assert themselves , and valorize their being within their own society. This communication is transformed into an official strategy that accepted within parliament institutions.

In fact, by asking these questions, young parliament members prove their effectiveness in the process of decision making, more particularly in managing the political issue, whether from within the parliament, or by noticing the work of advisors where political decisions are made in a parallel way. As a matter of fact, the investigation of this topic opens the door of the parliament to go out this body in order to evaluate the work of the PAM's interviewee Sanae Zaheed, the member of the National Council for the Authenticity and Modernity Party, collective adviser to the Collective Council of Agadir. Her experience has revealed different facts about the presence of gender in dealing with issues that touch political decision making. Sanae states that in different occasions, she provided different written questions for which she has got no response. Therefore, Sanae declares that she prefers to write a trustee's reporter to the Ministry of Interior in order to find satisfying answers for her outstanding questions. This engenders different interpretations to the role written questions perform in evaluating the work of parliament members in general and young ones in particular.

The presence and participation of the Independence party's interviewee Abdelmajid El Fassi Lfihri concerning this fact has also added a plus to the understanding of the role these questions can contribute with. The Independence Party's interviewee confirms that most of the written questions addressed to the member of the government are marginalized, and even, he adds "if we receive an answer, it is ambiguous and not clear". This is why Abdelmajid prefers

the oral questions in which he feels at ease to face the members of the political parties, and suggest a set of debates that may lead towards satisfying answers to his own questions. For him, facing the members and especially during the weekly Monday parliament session has a direct impact on the member of the parliament; since this session is open for Moroccan audience through TV where, they themselves, can evaluate the work of the government

***Question 5: What is Your Contribution in Suggesting Public Policies Addressing Youth Issues?***

The participation of youth in DMP can be achieved only through a strong connection between all the constituents that shape the social presence of youth, and the policies that encourage youth to fully participate in the political life. The purpose behind this question is not only to approach the various policies the state has decided to implement concerning youth; the reason is to observe and analyze how these young parliament have contributed in designing these policies, and more particularly the extent to which they are aware of the real constraints Moroccan youth may face to develop their own sense of belonging.

In order to approach the young parliaments' attitudes towards this question, Najib Bekkali, in his statements, takes the initiative to put us in a holistic picture concerning this issue. Najib believes that both the government as well as civil society should collaborate to make of youth issues their center of interest; he clarifies this point by referring to a set of integrating devices such as: social norms, cultural stereotypes, political parties and also civil society. All these factors play an important role in first, preparing youth to become political leaders, and then making of their participation a valuable one. Yet, Najib stresses on the idea that the suggested policies to develop the status of Moroccan youth ought to be inspired from real life; including all the specificities that characterize these youth.

In response to the same question, Hanan Rihab stresses on the importance of creating a certain kind of awareness among youth; making them aware of the various rights concerning their presence in the political scene. She asserts that the encouragement of youth to be at the heart of decision-making starts from making of political practices available at the hand of youth. She justifies her answer that being near to youth interests and problems, can be considered as a motivator to youth acting as political leaders. These policies have to be inspired from social, economic and political circumstances that surround youth, and therefore shape their own effectiveness within DMP.

The policies to form young leaders are based on the political cycle that makes of youth their own center of interest, which focuses on strategic development to youth character. These strategies' objectives are meant to promote the status of youth within Moroccan society; starting from education to a full integration within political system, which can be the major responsibility of political parties and its youth organizations in particular. This point of view is also shared by the Istiqlal 's interviewee Abdelmajid El Fassi El Fihri.

Based on Abdelmajid's words, the country is the major element in suggesting and implementing laws and policies to fully make of youth presence in DMP an efficient one. The young political leader sees that the political parties' organizations are lacking financial support from the state; they are unable to create activities which tend to engage and form youth as it used the case in the past. This decrease in the role of the political parties is being explained by Abdelmajid as the major reason behind youth reluctance towards political action in general.

Sanae Zahhed, seems to share the same view as Abdelmajid where she claims that the role of political parties to evolve the presence of youth. For Sanae, the historical process of developing the young segment has always been political parties role; since independence, these

Moroccan parties have been performing heroic roles in attracting pupils and adolescents to join camps, teaching them different values, and more particularly making these youth aware of the political action, and how to act wisely. Nevertheless these roles have declined; thus, which has an impact on youth participation as political leaders.

***Question 6: How Does 2011 Constitution Empower Youth Presence within DMP?***

As a reaction to the Democratic Spring that touched most of the Arab and non-Arab societies, Morocco has decided to forge new relations with its population especially youth; these relations are characterized by democratic and human rights values, the Moroccan though has been translated into a constitution that Moroccans were supposed to vote for in 2011. To what extent youth issues have been included within this constitution is the question that was designed to address young political actors in an attempt to test their reaction towards this constitution along with its application in real ground to cover most of youth aspirations.

For Najib Bekkali, the 2011's constitution is considered as a turning point in Moroccan history, which has come as a result to a dynamic youth movement; it is mainly a response to the 20<sup>th</sup> February movement in Morocco. The 2011 in Morocco, as Najib describes it, "was a youth movement year par excellence"; Moroccan youth contributed to the preparation of a set of notes as a response to the royal commission, that prepared at that time, the constitution, which young people voted for in the referendum. Najib maintains that the constitution came as a reaction to youth' demands of change on the one hand, and on the other hand, it is an activation of a set of political programs that concern multiple reforms on top of it, but we, as young decision makers. He further confirms that "these laws still do not live up to our aspirations".

In term of evaluating the 2011 constitution, Hanan Rihab argues that “to assess the work of the government in the light of the 2011 constitution, we should consider the general policies led by the government”. Hanan avows that every committee within the house of Representative should be responsible of giving much space for youth issues, and make of them their center of interest. In the same line of thought, she claims that reforms concerning youth issues ought to be the concern of higher policies, and a strong desire to engage youth within DMP. Rihab provides the example of youth and education where she sees that school drop is one of the main causes that lead to having a failed youth project. For this reason, the government has launched the different projects to help children from poor families to join their schools by supporting them financially.

Still, most of the matters of which youth are the center require that youth political participation be serious and effective; beyond being a symbolic presence. This can be reached through the collaboration of all bodies within the government, and the effective implementation of the 2011 constitution concerning youth status.

The Independence Party’s interviewee Abdelmajid El Fassi El Fehri associates the work of the 2011 constitution with the real implementation of the objectives targeting youth issues. As a matter of fact, Abdelmajid insists on the fact that generalizing youth participation within DMP is a result of engaging and exploiting youth energy; this fact can be justified by the necessity to help young people to integrate into the associative, social and political life. The Independence Party’s interviewee alleges to the idea that the government is responsible of creating realistic and effective tools for youth to fully engage in the political action.

The 2011 objectives are confronted with the negative attitudes the PAM’s interviewee Sanae Zaheed expresses in her reaction to the question. For her, “The government emptied the

content of the constitution and missed its date with democracy”. Sanae clearly condemns the current PJD government of neglecting different laws concerning the status of youth within their own socio-political context. She sees that despite the various amendments the PJD’s members are trying to implement, the presence of the youth segment within their policies is to be marginalized. She justifies her attitude by the weak formation Moroccan youth received on behalf of the government, which makes of their political contribution a debatable issue.

### 3.1.7. Analysis of the Semi-Structured Interviews

- *The Role of the Elected Youth in the Development of Government Work*

Based on the four interviewees’ reactions, we can deduce the interference of various discourses that shape youth presence within DMP, from the perception youth have towards power holders to the important role the National List has played in asserting certain roles for these youth within decisions where their presence was almost unnoticeable at different moments. In this regard, youth roles as decision-makers can vary from one context to another, but they are almost meant to serve a particular agenda in which decision are to be suggested, implemented and pursued by the whole political body.

To approach this notion, interviewees were asked a question that merely tests the role of youth in the improvement of the governmental work. This question can be analyzed from two perspectives. First, the reaction of these young political leaders has been taken into account in how they consider their presence as contributors to the progress of governmental system. Second, their knowledge and experience within the government does indeed reflect the previous conducted study; which seeks to understand the impact of cultural discourse on youth as decision-makers.

In any democratic system, when a government official is appointed who implements political plans of action, there should be an agreement between this politician and citizens. This can assure a certain kind of democratic practices of political actions, which guarantees these citizens the aspirations they were holding towards this special political program. In the case of Morocco, things are a bit different, the political party insists on special characteristics in choosing a person, whether they are party officials, or in the areas of governmental or mandatory management. The reference to this fact is to re-question the process of selecting deputies who do not seem to be free from political agendas that constitute their presence within the parliament.

Nevertheless, this rarity represented through the quota given to youth was able to take advantage of the different to be able to engage this category effectively in decision positions. Thus, the narrow space youth are allowed within this process does question the socio-political discourse that determines youth effectiveness as decision makers, and even if there is an effectiveness concerning the improvement of governmental work, how can we measure this impact which does not exceed certain limits.

The relationship that links youth with the main cultural stream is always characterized by a feeling of insecurity, which makes youth search for a greater recognition of their role within not only society, but as main actors in political decision-making centers. While this desire requires long paths, we find that the narrow space government has provided for the presence of women within the parliament indicates that gender contribution in making decision is quite enough to assert itself as free and able to influence different roles. However, society itself seems to be lacking certain democratic norms and cultural awareness aiming at changing the stereotypical images concerning the role of women in decision-making.

- ***The Amendments Related to Youth Issues***

In relation to youth roles in advocating different amendments that touch youth problems, which is the center of this question, they constitute an added value to their presence as decision makers. In term of what has been stated by the young parliament members, and with reference to the previous study conducted about the role of youth parties in forming young leaders is being reflected through the speeches hold by these young politicians within the parliament. Their call for a re-consideration to the importance these camps play in pupils and adolescent's life are demonstrated through the long training they give to youth so as to become political leaders responsible of their own choices.

The socio-political discourses that shape youth' presence within DMP can clearly be demonstrated through the young agents' words; some aspects of this process of marginalization and inclusion of youth within DMP is being explained indirectly by the lack in the socialization within Moroccan society. Youth are always feeling this sense of subordination and so are their reactions towards their political context. Thus, the deficiency within these Moroccan institutions of traditional socialization determines the extent of impact youth may have as decision makers. Therefore, this failure of this social process can lead a re-consideration of the political culture as has been mentioned earlier in the first chapter. By so doing, political experience can grow into shape to cover all categories of Moroccan society including its beating heart.

- ***Gender Presence within DMP***

In fact, the participation of Moroccan women in different fields throughout the course of this study has widely been manifested through their inner need of not only asserting the self, but also leaving a remarkable impression within domains that were restricted to men. By so doing, gender presence within DMP has been able to reverse relations of power and call for a re-

consideration to the cultural and political discourses associated with women' own capabilities and cognitional capacities.

However, these attempts remain relative in front of men presence. The answers that question 3 obtained have indeed been able to answer **Research Question 5: To what extent does Cultural Perception of gender impact the latter effectiveness within DMP?**

In fact, a honest and objective approach to this issue proves that the cultural, social and political components within Moroccan society do not only affect the effectiveness of women within decision-making positions, but also determine women' perception of themselves as active members within the political action. Actually, the cultural practices that frame the presence of women within house issues builds fake boundaries that women find difficulty to transcend; women start feeling that their voice cannot affect the process of decision-making and invade a place that is characterized by men' dominance.

Accordingly, the role of political parties in this case is mainly manifested through building a strong bridge that women can cross to be able to affect the process of decision making; far from being used as only an interface to polish the political scene. In fact, society distributes roles and assesses them according to the effectiveness performed by men and women. It is only a cultural practice more than a logical evaluation to the role of women in producing roles and defending them. Throughout the term of this research, the reference to the role of women as political leaders has been associated to men character; in this stage, we can allow the words to justify this expression by proving that, in order to be accepted in men space, and impact DMP, women have to practice politics from men's position, knowledge and experience. The presence of women within political zones can only be a continuity of the social roles society has already distributed for them.

This study has suggested from the beginning a set of hypotheses concerning youth' participation in decision making. Provoking the cultural, social and political components of Moroccan society, the research has indeed proven that these elements contribute strongly in shaping and laying the basic building blocks that would either enhance or marginalize the role of youth in decision-making centers. As the research goes further, a set of debatable matters come to the surface to indicate that this presence is doubled and can be perceived from two major perspectives; internal and external.

The cultural perception of youth as being a source of threat, disorder, and panic to the social system contributes in diminishing their valorization to their own self, shakes their own self esteem, and frustrates their role within the process of decision making. Indeed, if the general cultural perceptions of youth locate them within these fake frames, thus, what can the educational system adds to this frustration if not planned to meet and valorize this important segment within society? This question has already been answered throughout the course of this study.

Good governance and wise orientation are mainly based on a well equipped educational system that makes of youth its center of interest. The personality of political leaders is a long term process that starts first from enhancing the values of leadership, responsibility, and the sage way of dealing with their own surrounding in general. Education plays a vital role in encouraging youth to think critically, act wisely and react bravely. If these values collaborate with each other, youth become able to represent not only themselves, but also prove their ability to act strongly within the system where decisions are being made.

In term of this preparation, political parties' roles have constituted the main question of this study. The post-colonial period in Morocco had also motivated the traditional parties to

make of youth their center of interest; the leaders of this party have strongly believed that progress and development can never be achieved if the beating heart of society is neglected. It is this category which has proven itself as a strong tool of change in different stages of Moroccan history; the pioneers of these parties such as Independence Party, USFP and PJD have strongly believed in youth, which motivated them to institutionalized their interest through a set of camps addressed mainly to up raise, educate and prepare pupils to become future leaders.

Youth participation in the political scene is only a form of proving that this category is not lacking any congenial or knowledge towards political issues, their weak participation is only an outcome of different policies that, through history, attempted to create a crippled image about youth in community's imaginary, left a vacuum in the educational system, which neglects its role in preparing a generation with a critical sense for all the matters of life.

Nevertheless, with the decrease in these roles, Moroccan youth started feeling abandoned by the major institutions that are supposed to guide this young energy; thus, in front of this political astray, Moroccan youth started searching for a way to survive within a political ocean for which they do not have the basic tools to sail. As an alternative way to re-consider their presence within society, youth choose the civil society as a place where their competencies, abilities and experiences are to be up-graded.

Civil society is a space where youth feel confident; they can consider different issues within society by reacting to them and acting to change different facts. As a matter of fact, youth feel free to move and act on their own will far from any orders, or obligation contraindications. Their effectiveness, willingness and enthusiasm are counted unlike the political space where youth are required to act according to a particular agenda, of which, unfortunately, they are not a

part. Youth, being taught professionally the major tools and methods in order to have a remarkable impact on different issues within their own society can strongly impact DMP.

- ***Youth's Contribution in the Oversight Mechanisms toward the Government***

Based on the interviewees' responses and the work of the government in general, we can deduce that both oral and written questions are not considered objective tools to judge the young parliamentarians' efficacy in defending different issues and responding to citizens' hopes. These questions reveal the competence of young parliaments to test government's accountability, mainly to draw its attention to some immediate problems within society. However, most of these questions remain in vain.

The underlying manifestations of the presence of youth within parliament, and their ability to impact the process of decision-making has been approached in different ways through designing different questions for young parliament members. They have contributed in understanding this presence, but the most attracting elements that characterize this participation are being explained through the various policies addressed to either strengthen or marginalize this energetic social segment.

Indeed, youth are not born leaders, but they are rather formed to act accordingly; being a democratic country, necessitates youth to be involved in the political action. Furthermore, this presence is to be shaped by a set of policies that target the sociopolitical discourse responsible of creating a suitable ground for youth to become political agents. This is the responsibility of the country to provide opportunities for young actors to be more effective within political decision. This long term planning to form these leaders should start from an early age.

It is with no doubt that pluralism in Moroccan political parties reflect the notion of democracy and human rights in the country, hence due to this diversity, youth may feel lost within different policies that rarely some of them are really implemented, what creates a certain kind of imbalance in youth' perception of political action in general. Therefore, the implicit and explicit changes the Moroccan context has been witnessing so far; especially the democratic transition in most of Arab and non- Arab societies have revealed different facts concerning the real status of youth's political identity.

- **The Presence of Youth in 2011 Constitution**

The four interviewees, in spite of their political belonging, have agreed that the 2011 constitution provides for youth an important space where they can enjoy a set of various rights, along with the royal discourses where king Mohamed VI insists on the importance of engaging youth within the process of development in all the fields. Being at the heart of decision-making does indeed allow youth to impact this process, but at the same time, questions their effectiveness as political agents. The overview about these young agents does reflect the cultural and social status of youth within the Moroccan society. By reaching such a position, youth are supposed to act confidently, intellectually and politically; the long process of formation this category has been through contributes in either valorizing or marginalizing their status. In this case, the cultural discourse that forges youth identity is being reflected especial on their deep feeling they are desired by the political system as a whole.

The political, social, and cultural constituents of Moroccan society are considered as vital in determining the effectiveness of youth within DMP. These institutions that are completely suitable for the Moroccan context cannot deny themselves as major elements within this

operation; especially where decisions are being formulated to either impact or being impacted by certain policies.



The conclusion can be only a starting point for other researchers to approach other discourses bringing the various components that impact the presence of Moroccan youth in the DMP; it is an opportunity to weaken other discourses in lethargy to be understood, analyzed and interpreted in a valid way to explain all the various constraints facing these youth to impact the process of decision making.

- **Summary**

The study and scrutiny of the cultural and political components of youth identity along with the nature of impact these youth can have on political decision was the major purpose for which this inquiry has been lunched. Different practices associated with the notion of youth required a prudent analysis to the various images with which Moroccan society associates its youth; this presence which is characterized by social disorder, panic and problem. Thus, these notions are being adopted by youth themselves, which leads to a disabled psychological perception of their own presence in which they consider their involvement in the politics to be secondary if not meaningless. To investigate the impact and implications of the cultural and political discourses on youth effectiveness as decision makers, the study suggested five research questions and two major hypotheses. To clearly understand this problematic and objectively analyze it, quantitative as well as qualitative methods of research were used respectively through

a questionnaire (paper-based) and the semi-structured interview. These elements were employed to answer research questions and test the validity of the hypotheses.

In an attempt to collect quantitative data, the most suitable choice was the questionnaire; its questions are inspired from real grounds where the cultural, social and political identity of Moroccan youth is being shaped by internal and external forces. The survey was meant to target university students in Moroccan context; their reactions contributed in deepening the research, and thus, opened the floor for further analysis to youth impact on DMP. Before being distributed to these students, the questionnaire was pre-tested so as to reconsider the categorization of questions; and to verify the questions wording, content, response and format.

In order to evaluate the impact of the pre-mentioned discourses on university students' perception of political action in general, and DMP in particular, the questions were designed in a way that test students' interest, knowledge and experience vis-à-vis the political field in Morocco. The distribution of the questionnaire started in November and December 2019 to 400 university students belonging to three different faculties of Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah University of Fez. Students of Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, the faculty of Science and Technology, and the faculty of Laws were provided the questionnaire in three languages (Arabic, French and English) to respond with the language they master the most. Therefore, after filtering them, the valid grand paper of the total was 384. These intellectual youth are tomorrow' leaders; their perception of the political life in general is what determines their willingness to join political parties, and thus affect the process of decision making later on.

For qualitative data collection, semi-structured interview was employed to investigate the impact of youth on DMP on real grounds; these interviews are designed to test the effectiveness of young political leaders when given the right to decide for public issues. In other terms, the

interviewees were indirectly assessed for the roles they were given through a set of designed questions that both test their political experience along with their ability to impact decisions.

Tracing back to the first chapter of this research reveals the importance of analyzing the cultural practices within Moroccan social context; especially those that long constructed different images about youth as a debatable age; in how youth' abilities, potentials and effectiveness are culturally shaped to accuse this category of being ineffectual, impotent and inefficient towards decisive matters in Moroccan society. The construction of identity necessities the collaboration of more than one discourse, agenda and perception of the identified person; youth identity has experienced a set of ambiguous policies, that in different time appreciate and support youth engagement in political field, but in many other times this contribution is deemed of lacking a sense of maturity and responsibility.

Youth' character is also an outcome of a well-structured educational system whose main objectives are supposed to develop different values among pupils, sculpture their character and thus produce future leaders able to impact political action. The first chapter evaluated the role of education in the contribution of preparing young leaders especially that kind of education which is able to promote critical thinking among youth.

It is with no doubt youth cannot practice politics without having a clear knowledge concerning political terminology, the forms of political participation and their roles within DMP; this is why the first chapter identified in details the meaning of politics in general, types of political participation insisting on two major forms: the non-official forms embedded within participation in elections by voting, expressing political views, joining demonstrations and having interest in political life in general. The second type of political participation is considered as direct and affecting political action in particular especially by being a part of the political

party institution. The first type of political participation may seem general, but it has got a great impact in motivating youth to fully engage in political action, and be part of the DMP.

Throughout Moroccan history, the presence of youth has undergone different changes in which their participation has always been remarkable. However, with the changes taking place in Moroccan society, youth prefer to practice political within the virtual world; youth find in the internet a certain freedom that allows them to express their own political perceptions, defending particular political agendas, and join demonstrations. As a matter of fact, the 20<sup>th</sup> February movement was only an outcome of the various forces that absorb youth energy; with the absence of a clear vision and the decrease in political parties' roles to form young political leaders, youth participation starts to be weak. With all this in mind, it is not surprising to see young people being employed in a way or another within the decision-making centers to polish the political facade, but this is only an inevitable result of the absence of a clear policy that makes of youth the center of its interest.

Nevertheless, this does not deny the heroic roles Moroccan youth performed throughout history. In line with that, the same chapter introduced us to the various roles by which youth have left their touch during various moments in Moroccan history. By so doing, the chapter could not disregard a very debatable stage in Moroccan history, which is the post-colonial period. The role of political parties at that time excelled tremendously especially in term of forming young leaders; the political parties' young agents had seen in youth the key towards a concrete progress at different levels especially at the political one. Tarik Al Wahda, as a matter of fact, is a testimony that translate the mere relationship between youth and their King Mohamed V with a strong collaboration and wise guidance of the crown prince Hassan II; hence, youth 'involvement in building the road that links the North and South of Morocco was only a

symbolic picture of unity, sacrifice and indication that progress in any country is to be inspired by its youth.

This does not deny the fact that youth participation has been undermined at particular moments in history; still, with the democratic transition launched by his majesty King Mohammed VI, different changes have been introduced to the Moroccan social context, but still with the demise in political parties' roles, youth effectiveness within political life has as well decreased.

To melt into all these factors, a well designed research methodology is required; therefore, chapter two described in detail the type of methodology decided for this study. The types of methods employed in any research are as important as the findings it aims to achieve. This noble mission can only be reached through targeting the best of quantitative and qualitative methods of research, and therefore chose the most suitable instruments to collect data. To cover an issue related to youth in action, it was necessary to design a questionnaire in which university students were supposed to provide their reactions towards the cultural, social and political components of Moroccan society. Moreover, in the future, these students may be engaged in political action, and decide for public affairs; for this reason, it was important to approach the experience young political leaders who decide for public issues by interviewing them.

The presentation, description, analysis and interpretation of data; hence, is the major objective of the third chapter. The findings of this research are emanated from the statistical analysis of the questionnaire along with the analytical description and interpretation of the semi-structured interviews. In order to test the impact of the cultural, social and political discourses on university students it was necessary to design the questionnaire whose parts are meant to test first youth' cultural perception of politics in general, political interest and participation in political

life. The order of the questions ended up by suggesting a set of alternatives to political action that merely analyze youth attitudes towards civil society as a substituent. These questions were mapped to test and answer the research questions designed for this dissertation and test the risen hypotheses. What the research brought confirms the two hypotheses, prognosticating that the socio-political discourses impact youth effectiveness in the DMP. Moreover, it showed also the strong relationship between the presence of gender within DMP and the various discourses that shape this presence. In addition to that, the questionnaire's outcomes revealed different facts concerning youth participation in the political life; these university students are not isolated from politics, they are having a particular attitude towards political practice. This attitude was inevitably followed by a set of questions that mainly tested youth who have decided to join political action, and engage into DMP. Thus, the analytical description and interpretation concerning the semi-structured interviews allowed the research to be interpreted in real grounds, and be inspired from holistic experiences.

The young political actors were non-randomly chosen from four political parties. The choice of these politicians was inspired from the historical background of each party; from the most traditional administrative to the latest democratic modern ones. These parties which have been performing major roles in forming young leaders; it is now high time these young leaders took the initiative to represent the parties' efforts to form young agents if existed. In fact, the interviews' questions served two main purposes. First, to test the engagement of youth within the process of decision making, and second, another hidden aspect of these questions is in the fact that more the siege tightens the questions, the more the young interviewees started showing their dissatisfaction concerning their whole being as decision makers where decisions are mostly taken by old parliament members.

- **Limitations**

The researcher should start h/her journey bearing any mind that h/she will for sure be facing a set of constraints in order to take this scientific work to the safest side. The decision to investigate into the issue of youth as decision-makers was not clear from the very beginning; still, youth cannot be analyzed in isolation from the cultural, social and political components that forge youth identity, and therefore determine their effectiveness on DMP. To be honest, a superficial approach to these discourses could have led us towards the same conclusions concerning youth participation in the political field. For this reason, a sacred and deep investigation to these discourses was launched in purpose to highlight the major policies governing youth character, and test their impact on youth's effectiveness as decision-makers.

Since the center of study is youth, it was necessary to address university students' attitudes and perceptions of political action using a questionnaire. This choice has faced preferable not to call them constraints, but rather a re-consideration of different stages through which this thesis has been. Questions during piloting stage; some of them were not easy for students to understand, this is why the questions related to the roles of political parties, and the suggested choices explaining the decrease in these roles were modified in order to facilitate students' reactions to the designed questions.

A non-random sampling was selected to conduct the questionnaire, even though limiting the number of participants was helpful in generating the survey's findings, but as we know in social sciences, everything is relative and so are the findings generated from the research especially those related to human' phenomena. Hence, it was challenging to assume having been able to generate these outcomes for the whole Moroccan youth. In this case, the study opted for semi-structured interviews where participants were limited in number and choice.

In term of the interviews conducted, the meeting with some young politicians was not an easy task as it seemed to be. Snowball strategy was required at a first attempt to contact these young leaders. Several meetings were scheduled due to time conflict and cancellation by the interviewees. Still, this can only be slight challenge in from of the mere political agenda these politicians represent. It was important to choose effective questions which could get the young decision makers out of their basic political environment and the slogans they defend in every dialogue; towards a mere presence of youth whose being within these positions is manipulated by power relations.

If these challenges have, to some extent, exhausted the journey of research, they have at the same time contributed in explaining and understanding the presence of Moroccan youth within decision making places that long has been perceived as a form of democracy far from being an exposition of various internal and external forces, which paves the way for further interpretation to this topic.

- **Further Orientations**

Unlike the researches concerned with scientific facts, most of the investigations to approach human experiences are characterized by relativity. The various discourses that impact the research under study may change and be replaced by other discourses; therefore, the finding resulted from this study can be generated to different contexts.

To investigate the presence of youth in the DMP and test their effectiveness within this process was the major aim of this study. Thus, as we can say, nothing is far from being politicized; the socialization and the formation of young actors cannot be perceived as being a normal process, but rather it is a policy that decides for youth' political being before they themselves becomes decision-makers. At this point, further exploration to this problematic is

required by other researchers to surround other factors that may be challenging to the effectiveness of youth as decision-makers. As a case in point, a comparative study between Moroccan youth and non-Moroccans impact on decision making may help in examining other cultures and policies that govern the presence of youth within such places.

These unintended results can be valid within different contexts. Moreover, what this research has engendered as interpretations and analysis can be copied and moved from one context to another as far youth' presence constitutes a blurred image in different societies. However, there is a strong feasibility of studying these discourses to approach the notion of youth within their own cultural, social and political contexts; this study can be a source inspiration to develop new understandings of what it really means to be a Moroccan young decision maker.

Further research on this topic may generate wider findings especially by analyzing documents related to the presence of youth in the DMP; by conducting a critical reading to different documents and policies that dominate this participation. This can lead to further interpretation to this phenomenon. The use of participatory observation may also be relevant in observing and evaluating the impact of youth as decision-makers if researchers are given the right to observe this process. These suggestions can be pertinent and helpful to almost the majority of researchers. First in term of opening the floor to deepen the study, and to clarify an issue that long was a debatable one.

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# **Appendices**

## **Paper Hand Survey**

### Questionnaire: English version

The content of this questionnaire aims mainly at examining the cultural and political discourses that determine the impact of Moroccan youth on the decision making process. To serve this purpose, you are kindly requested to mark the appropriate choice. Your contribution will be of great assistance to the researcher. I thank you in advance.

- Are you?    Male        Female
- Your age?    Under 25        25-35

#### Part I: Political Interest

3. To what extent are you interested in the political field?

- Always
- Usually
- Sometimes
- Rarely

4. Are you interested in watching programs dealing with political issues?

- Yes                          No

5. If the answer is no, what makes you not interested in watching such programs? Tick more than one option

- Political language is not clear for common people
- The same political topics are repeated every time
-

The absence of a deep and reliable debate

The lack of some mechanisms that follow politicians promises

6. Are you interested in attending political seminars?

Yes

No

7. In your opinion, how can we evaluate the presence of youth within decision-making process?

Excellent

Good

Poor

Very poor

8. Which of the following factors can determine young politicians 'effectiveness within decision-making process? Tick one or more option.

Cultural background

Political formation

Party affiliation

Political experience

9. Have you voted in the last legislative elections on October 2016?

Yes

No

10. If the answer is no, are among these reasons what justifies your choice? Tick more than one option

Lack of interest in the political affaires

Lack of confidence in the political actors

The absence of credibility in political life

Youth issues are marginalized

11. Do you have any political affiliation?

Yes

No

12. If the answer is no, can one or more of the factors bellow justifies your choice? Tick more than one option

The absence of political formation for youth

The alienation of youth from decision-making zones

The mistrust in political parties' roles

Lack of commitment on behalf of these parties

13. In your point, do political parties have any impact in forming youth politically especially in what concerns : Tick more than one option

Attracting youth to engage in political field

Developing the values of leadership among youth

Encouraging youth towards a full participation in politics

Mobilizing youth to become future leaders

14. The imbalance in one of these parties' roles may lead to : Tick more than one option

Youth can lose confidence in the political sphere

Youth leading roles may decline

Youth roles within these zones will become invisible

Youth will be reluctant towards political action

15. In case of political crisis, what is the political for you choose to react with? Tick more than one option

Joining demonstrations to reflect your own political position

Discussing political events with friends and relatives

Sharing political point of view through social networks

Being neutral

16. Does one or more of the following elements determine the effective youth' political participation? Tick more than one option

The belonging to political decision zones

The full presence within decision-making process

- Voluntary practice of political action far from any pressure
- Youth' impact on the process of decision-making

**Please react to the following expressions**

	I totally agree	I agree	I do not know	I disagree	I strongly disagree
Political action requires youth 'awareness of the basics and functions of the political system					
Educational curriculums should include political culture					
Youth awareness of political democracy is what impact youth presence within DMP					
Morocco has witnessed a great change concerning					

freedom of expression					
The presence of youth within decision- making process is a democratic practice					
Media has the power to shape youth presence within decision-making process					
The direct impact of youth on DMP is what reflects the value of democracy					
Civil society can be an alternative to political action					

**We are grateful for your precious time**

## Questionnaire: Arabic Version

يهدف محتوى هذا الاستبيان بشكل رئيس إلى فحص الخطابات الثقافية والسياسية التي تؤثر في تواجد الشباب في مراكز القرار السياسي. لخدمة هذا الغرض ، يرجى التكرم بتحديد الخيار المناسب. مساهمتك ستكون مساعدة كبيرة للباحث. شكرا لك مقدما.

### 1 . الجندر

أُنثى  ذكر

### 2 . السن

أقل من 25  ما بين 25 و 35

### الجزء الأول: الإهتمام السياسي

3. أولا ، ما مدى اهتمامك بالشأن السياسي؟

دائما

عادة

بعض الأحيان

نادرا

4. هل أنت مهتم بمشاهدة البرامج التي تتعامل مع القضايا السياسية؟

نعم  لا

5. إذا كان الجواب لا، فما الذي يجعلك غير مهتم بمشاهدة مثل هذه البرامج؟ يمكنك تحديد أكثر من خيار واحد

اللغة السياسية ليست واضحة لعامة الناس

نفس المواضيع تتكرر كل مرة

غياب نقاش عميق وموثوق

عدم وجود بعض الآليات التي تتبع وعود السياسيين

6. هل تهتم بحضور الندوات السياسية؟

لا

نعم

7. في رأيك ، كيف يمكننا قياس تواجد الشباب في عملية صنع القرار؟

ممتاز

حسن

ضعيف

ضعيف جدا

8. أي من العوامل التالية يمكن أن يحدد فعالية السياسيين الشباب في عملية صنع القرار؟ يمكنك تحديد أكثر من خيار واحد

الخلفية الثقافية

التكوين السياسي

الانتماء الحزبي

الخبرة السياسية

9. هل صوتت في الانتخابات التشريعية الأخيرة أكتوبر 2016؟

لا

نعم

10. إذا كان الجواب لا ، فهل من هذه الأسباب ما يبرر اختيارك؟ يمكنك تحديد أكثر من خيار واحد

عدم الاهتمام بالشأن السياسي

انعدام الثقة في الفاعلين السياسيين

غياب المصداقية في الحياة السياسية

عدم احترام قضايا الشباب

11. هل لديك أي انتماء سياسي؟

لا

نعم

12. إذا كان الجواب بالنفي ، فهل يمكن لعامل أو أكثر مما يلي أن يبرر اختيارك؟ يمكنك تحديد أكثر من خيار واحد

غياب التكوين السياسي للشباب

إبعاد الشباب عن مناطق صنع القرار

عدم الثقة في أدوار الأحزاب السياسية

عدم الالتزام نيابة عن هذه الأطراف

13. في وجهة نظرك ، هل للأحزاب السياسية أي تأثير في تأطير الشباب سياسياً وخاصة فيما يتعلق ب: يمكنك تحديد أكثر من

خيار واحد

استقطاب الشباب للمشاركة في المجال السياسي

تنمية قيم القيادة بين الشباب

تشجيع الشباب على المشاركة الكاملة في السياسة

تعبئة الشباب ليصبحوا قادة في المستقبل

14. هل الخلل في بعض من هذه الأدوار الحزبية يمكنه أن يؤدي إلى : يمكنك تحديد أكثر من خيار واحد

فقدان الشباب الثقة في المجال السياسي

تراجع الأدوار القيادية للشباب

تخوف الشباب من الممارسة السياسية

تردد الشباب من اقتحام الساحة السياسية

15 . في حالة حدوث أزمة سياسية ، ما هي الطريقة التي تختارها للتعبير عن موقفك؟

الانضمام إلى المظاهرات لعكس موقفك السياسي

مناقشة الأحداث السياسية مع الأصدقاء والأقارب

مشاركة وجهة النظر السياسية من خلال الشبكات الاجتماعية

أن تكون محايداً

16. هل يحدد عنصر أو أكثر من العناصر التالية المشاركة السياسية الفعالة للشباب حدد أكثر من خيار

الانتماء الفعلي لمراكز القرار السياسي

الحضور الكامل في عملية صنع القرار

الممارسة الطوعية للعمل السياسي بعيداً عن أي ضغط أو إلزام

التأثير في عملية صنع القرار من خلال المشاركة فيه

القسم الثاني:المرجو التفاعل مع العبارات التالية

القسم الثاني:

أوافق بشدة	أوافق	لا أعرف	أعارض	أعارض بشدة
------------	-------	---------	-------	------------

					<p>يتطلب الفعل السياسي وعي الشباب بأساسيات ووظائف النظام السياسي</p>
					<p>يجب أن تتضمن المناهج التعليمية الثقافة السياسية</p>
					<p>إن وعي الشباب بالديمقراطية السياسية هو ما يحدد فعاليته داخل مراكز القرار</p>
					<p>شهد المغرب تحولا كبيرا فيما يتعلق بحرية التعبير</p>
					<p>إن تواجد الشباب في عملية صنع القرار يعتبر نوعا من انواع الممارسة</p>

					ديمقراطية
					وسائل الإعلام يمكنها أن تؤثر في تواجد الشباب داخل مراكز القرار
					التأثير المباشر للشباب على مراكز القرار يمكن ان يجسد التنزيل الفعلي للمقراطية
					يمكن اعتبار المجتمع المدني بديلا للفعل السياسي

نشكركم على وقتكم الثمين

## Questionnaire: French Version

Ce questionnaire est destiné principalement à étudier et diagnostiquer les discours culturels et politiques qui influencent la participation des jeunes Marocain dans la prise de décision. Prière de cocher la réponse adéquate, votre collaboration nous sera d'une grande aide. Merci d'avance.

1) Êtes-vous :

Femme

Homme

2) Age :

Moins de 25

Entre 25 et 35

### **Première partie : L'intérêt politique**

3) Intéressez-vous à la politique ?

Toujours

Souvent

De temps à autres

Rarement

4) Regarder-vous les émissions politiques ?

Oui

Non

5) Si non, justifier ce désintérêt en cochant une ou plusieurs cases ?

Le langage politique demeure compliqué par la majorité

Sujets récurrents

Absence de débat approfondie et fiable

Absence de mécanisme d'accompagnement et de suivie concernant les promesses des politiciens

6) Assistez-vous aux séminaires politiques ?

Oui  Non

7) Comment jugez-vous la contribution des jeunes dans la prise de décision ?

Excellent

Bien

Moyen

Faible

8) Lequel des facteurs suivants peut déterminer l'efficacité des jeunes politiciens dans la prise de décision ? Vous pouvez choisir plus d'une réponse.

Le contexte culturel

La formation politique

L'affiliation à un parti politique

L'expérience politique

9) Avez-vous voté aux dernières élections législatives d'octobre 2016 ?

Oui  Non

10) Si la réponse est non, y a-t-il des raisons pour votre choix? Vous pouvez choisir plus d'une réponse.

Manque d'intérêt pour les affaires politiques

Manque de confiance dans les acteurs politiques

L'absence de crédibilité dans la vie politique

La non considération des affaires des jeunes

11) Avez-vous une affiliation politique ?

Oui

Non

12) Si non, Est-ce que ca peut être du à un ou plusieurs des facteurs suivant ?

L'absence de formation politique pour les jeunes

Éloignement des jeunes des zones de décision

Manque de confiance dans les rôles des partis politiques

L'absence d'engagement politique de la part des parties

13) Selon vous, les partis politiques ont-ils une quelconque influence sur la formation des jeunes politiciens, notamment en ce qui concerne : Vous pouvez choisir plus d'une réponse.

L'attraction des jeunes à la participation au domaine politique

Le développement des valeurs de leadership chez les jeunes

L'encouragement les jeunes à la parfaite participation politique

La mobilisation des jeunes pour devenir des leaders à l'avenir

14) A votre avis, est-ce-que un dysfonctionnement de l'un de ces rôles (mentionné précédemment) peut engendrer : Vous pouvez choisir plus d'une réponse.

Le manque de confiance des jeunes par rapport au domaine politique

La régression des rôles du jeune leadership

La crainte de la participation politique par rapport aux jeunes

L'hésitation des jeunes à pénétrer la scène politique

15) En cas de crise politique, quelle méthode choisissez-vous pour exprimer votre position ?

Rejoignez les manifestations pour refléter votre position politique

Débattez les événements politiques avec des amis et des parents

Partagez le point de vue politique à travers les réseaux sociaux

Rester neutre

16) Un ou plusieurs des éléments suivants, identifient-ils la participation politique active des jeunes? Sélectionnez une ou plus d'option

Affiliation concrète aux centres de décision politiques

Présence entière dans le processus décisionnel

Pratique volontaire de l'action politique sans aucune pression ni obligation

Le fait d'influencer la prise de décision en y participant concrètement

## **II . Deuxième partie :**

Veillez interagir avec les déclarations suivantes :

	<b>Pas du tout d'accord</b>	<b>Contre</b>	<b>J'ignore</b>	<b>D'accord</b>	<b>Très d'accord</b>
<b>L'action politique exige que les jeunes soient conscients des fondamentaux et des fonctions du système politique</b>					

<p><b>Les programmes d'enseignement doivent inclure la culture politique</b></p>					
<p><b>C'est la conscience des jeunes de la démocratie politique qui détermine son efficacité dans les postes de décision</b></p>					
<p><b>Le Maroc a connu un grand changement en matière de liberté d'expression</b></p>					
<p><b>La présence des jeunes dans le processus décisionnel est considérée comme une forme de démocratie pratique</b></p>					

<b>Les médias affectent la présence des jeunes aux postes de décision</b>					
<b>L'impact direct des jeunes sur la prise de décision peut induire à la démocratisation effective</b>					
<b>La société civile peut être considérée comme une alternative à l'action politique</b>					

**Nous vous remercions pour votre précieux temps**

## **Appendix B:**

### **Parliament Members**

### **Semi-structure Interview**

### **Semi- structure interview: English Version**

1. What is the Role of the Elected Youth in the Development of Government Work?
2. What are the most prominent amendments you introduced in the committee related to Youth Issues?
3. How Can You Evaluate Gender Presence within DMP?
4. What Efforts Have You Made while Exercising Oversight Mechanisms toward the Government?
5. What is Your Contribution in Suggesting Public Policies Addressing Youth Issues?
6. How Does 2011 Constitution Empower Youth Presence within DMP?

## Semi-structure interview: Arabic Version

1. ما هو دور الشباب المنتخب في تجويد العمل الحكومي؟
2. ما هي أهم التعديلات التي قدمتموها داخل اللجن في علاقتها بالشباب؟
3. كيف يمكنكم تقييم الحضور النسوي داخل مراكز القرار؟
4. ما هي المجهودات التي بذلتموها خلال ممارستكم لآليات الرقابة اتجاه الحكومة؟
5. ما هي مشاركتكم في اقتراح سياسات عمومية تهتم قضايا الشباب؟
6. ما هو دور دستور 2011 في تعزيز تواجد الشباب داخل مراكز القرار؟

