The use of YouTube in Morocco as an instrument of social critique and opposition

Three cases: Richard Azzouz, Hamid El Mahdaouy, Najib El Mokhtari

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Abstract

The use of social media has experienced an extraordinary growth in Morocco, along with the introduction of Internet at the end of the 20th century. The booming of Internet users with the quick spreading of both devices and connectivity has created a new area of expression far different than the official discourse the Moroccan public was used to. The take-over of the online space in Morocco has shown new types of communication and protest that are completely in opposition with the official media discourse. Among the various social media tools that are used in Morocco today, YouTube is a one of the most popular, for both producing and watching content.

This thesis investigates the use of YouTube in Morocco, both in an official way and as a counter-power tool, mainly highlighting the emerging of oppositional popular cultural discourse and its diverse aspects.

Keywords

YouTube, Morocco, popular culture, opposition, political communication
Sammanfattning

Användningen av sociala medier har upplevt en extraordinär tillväxt i Marocko, samtidigt som Internet började sprida sig vid slutet av 90-talet. Höjningen av Internetanvändare samt den snabba spridningen av båda enheterna och anslutningen har skapat ett nytt uttryckssätt annorlunda än den officiella diskursen som den marockanska publiken brukade. Övertagandet av Online utrymmet i Marocko har visat nya kommunikation och proteststekniker som är helt motsatta till den officiella mediediskursen. Bland de olika sociala medierna som används i Marocko, är YouTube en av de mest populära, både för att producera och titta på innehåll.

Denna avhandling undersöker YouTubes användning i Marocko, både officiellt och som ett motkraftsverktyg, som lyfter fram den framväxande oppositions populära kulturella diskursen och dess olika aspekter.

Nyckelord

YouTube, Marocko, populär kultur, opposition, politisk kommunikation
Acknowledgment

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Since this work is about Morocco and social media, I would like to have a special thought for all the people arrested in the Hirak of the city of Al Hoceima (including the journalist El Mahdaouy arrested in the 20th of July 2017). Many of them were young people filming the protests live on Facebook or sharing information. My wish is that they will be freed soon with their fellow activists, and continue spreading the free information in this world.
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1. Introduction

The rise of Internet in the world has initiated a substantial change in communication cultures and ways of accessing and disseminating information. Morocco is not an exception to this transition. The country has in fact joined the digital age, and a noticeable fraction of the population is connected to Internet. Almost half of the population (42.75%) is connected to Internet\(^1\). The youngest generation represents a big part of the population (45% is below the age of 24\(^2\)). Among this generation, the use of Internet is even higher, especially in urban areas. 100% of the 300 young people aged between 18-35 in Casablanca, interviewed in a survey, said that they had access to Internet (Sabry, 2016:2).

YouTube, one of the most known social media worldwide, is allowing people to film, share, and view videos of users in the entire world. Its uses can vary from professional news broadcast to children singing funny songs. One interesting use of it is the so-called video podcasting. This communication way consists of taking a video of oneself targeting a broad online public, while discussing a myriad of issues including politics, economy and entertainment. Uses of video podcasts by different Moroccan citizens through YouTube are transforming meanings of the Moroccan public sphere and are therefore worth studying and examining.

My thesis will examine uses of YouTube by three Moroccan citizens, in particular the aspects that highlight the line drawn between the official and the popular, with a focus on language as discourse. The study analyzes the manifestation of popular culture in the podcasts made by ordinary Moroccan citizens. The aim of this work is to investigate if there is an opposition between the discourse held by the three podcaster and the official discourse. The specific criterion that I have used for this matter was language, as a subculture, and its different manifestations. Among the findings of this work were that language is complex and can be used as an opposition tool, either directly, by the choice of a given language, dialect, word, or indirectly, through the chosen subjects and the challenging of taboos and red lines.

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\(^1\) https://www.anrt.ma/sites/default/files/rapportannuel/rapport_annuel_anrt_2015_vf.pdf
\(^2\) http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/morocco-population/
1.1 Background

1.1.1 Morocco

Morocco is a north African country situated in crossroads between Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. In this context, traces of Roman, Berber and Arab traditions (to which we can also add Jewish influence as well as French, Spanish and Portuguese heritage) make up the cultural fabric of this country. This confluence of encountering has left a culturally rich country with complex identity questions raised even nowadays.

Morocco’s population is 34 million inhabitants\(^3\) from which 99% are Sunni Muslim (Lust, 2011:577). Literacy rate in the country is among the lowest in the MENA region. It was 30% in 1975, and raised to “only” to 56% in 2006 (Lust 2011:84). The Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER – the total enrollment in a specific level of education) in the primary education was however 107% in 2005, which is a sign that the literacy rate is going to raise even more in the next years.

The political system in Morocco is a constitutional monarchy adopted since its first constitution in 1962. This does not imply that this system is new to the country. On the contrary, as an exception to most MENA countries, Morocco has a tradition of long ruling independent state. It is for instance the only state in North Africa that was never occupied by the Ottoman Empire and stayed independent from it. From pre-Islamic times and later, many Berber or Arab dynasties ruled the country, expanding sometimes its border from Northern Spain to the Senegal river (The Almoravid Dynasty in the 12th century). The current ruling family is the Alawite family. It has been in power since 1666 and is considered as one of the oldest ongoing regimes in the world (Lust, 2011:578). The Alawite dynasty founder used their progeny from the prophet Muhammad as a legitimization tool to have control over the country. Since that time, the monarchy has been at the center of the Moroccan state and remains its most powerful structure.

Before colonization, the state structure was very weak, with everything centralized in few urban centers, and no institutions or democratic processes. The concept of citizenship was not understood for someone living in the countryside or a nomad, even if they were also living under the Alawite state rule. No state representation was in fact present to link them with the concept of state. The area where tribes opposed to the authority of the Makhzen (a term referring to the powerful Moroccan administration and ruling elite, including the monarchy) were living was called Bled el Siba (Burke, 2014:158).

\(^3\) [Link](http://www.hcp.ma/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=320&Itemid=68&lang=)
Only for 44 years (1912-1956, when the country was a French and Spanish protectorate) was there an exception to this long independence. During this period, the fundaments of a modern state were built, including police and other administrative institutions giving thereafter a coherence to the notion of state in the daily life everywhere in the country. The French and Spanish gave even more legitimacy to the monarchy and helped it during rebellions for independence (Rif Republic, Gelvin, 2015:121). This has helped the monarchy to be even more powerful after the independence in 1956 than before the protectorate in 1912. In the first constitution of 1962, and through all the other constitutions until 1996 (included), the king was considered as Commander of the believers (Amir Al Mouminin – Religious legitimacy) and that his person “shall be sacred and inviolable” (Lust, 2011:548). Unlike most MENA countries, Morocco has since its first constitution adopted a multiparty system. One of the reasons for this policy is that the main power is in the hands of the King. Whatever government or parliament comes does not change the situation, given that it is only the Makhzen that chooses the strategies to follow. It is interesting to note, however, that only parties accepting the monarchy can enter the political system and partake in the national elections⁴. So, there is a distinction to make between the political (legal) opposition in parties, and the (illegal) opposition that is against the political system (i.e. monarchy) in general.

Repression was very present during the time of King Hassan II (1961-1999). At his death in 1999, his son Mohammed ⁶th succeeded him, and has conducted some reforms (new family code, less repression, recognition of Amazigh language, etc.). However, the essence of the system remained the same, with monarchy in the middle of everything, and gathering all powers, while political parties are merely “decorative”.

According to Reporters without Borders 2017 World Press Freedom Ranking, Morocco is ranked at the 133rd place out of 180 countries. The organization notices a “slow but steady decline in media freedom in Morocco. The kingdom’s authorities use political and economic pressure to deter local independent media outlets from covering highly sensitive subjects”⁵. Freedom House from its part ranks Press freedom in Morocco as “Not Free”, but with an Internet freedom status of “Partly Free”. The organization notes in fact that “however, the

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⁴ Moroccan Constitution of 2011. Article 7: “The political parties may not have for objective, infringement to the Muslim religion, to the monarchical regime”.

⁵ https://rsf.org/en/morocco
population has some access to independent viewpoints through Internet, satellite broadcasts, and private radio”⁶.

1.1.2 The linguistic situation in Morocco

The geographical situation of Morocco, combined with its rich cultural history, has created a unique linguistic situation in the country. Many languages coexist comfortably both in the public and the private spheres. The two native languages in Morocco are Berber (in different dialects) and Darija (Moroccan Arabic). Hebrew was native to the Jewish minority, but their number decreased drastically during the 20th century (due to immigration), and has been estimated to 2500 persons in 2012⁷.

The linguistic situation in Morocco is however not limited to the native languages. The official languages according to the 2011 constitution are Arabic and Berber. While the constitution does not clarify which variant of Berber or Arabic it is, the official use in state documents and political matters tends to be in classical Arabic or standard Berber, which are both non-native languages.

In addition to the two official languages, a third language holds a strong position even though being a foreign one, it is French. French language is the legacy of the colonial period that had lasted 44 years (between 1912 and 1956). Morocco was indeed a French and Spanish colony. Since Morocco’s independence in 1956, the state chose to keep French, while the status of Spanish is in constant regression and not used in administrative contexts (Marley, 2004:26). Sixty years after the independence, French is still holding a strong status in the country, and is extensively used in the business and administrative sectors (Zouhir, 2014:43). It is also the widespread teaching language in the high education and in many areas of the private sector. French is used every day between 20% and 30%⁸ of televised programs and its knowledge is required for many posts.

If it is natural in a country with the same background as Morocco to have a richness and a multilingual context, it is important to add that these languages have different statuses and fulfill distinct socio-cultural functions. A considerable number of people do in fact speak more than one language, and use each of them in different contexts. The native languages are used in daily life situations and in the private sphere while classical Arabic and French are highly rated. The

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⁷ http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=16432
⁸ http://www.haca.ma/pdf/Cahier%20de%20charges%20SNRT%20VF.pdf
native languages are not present in school. classical Arabic and French are the languages of instruction. They are also the languages of power in Morocco.

Classical Arabic is in fact seen as the language of religion while French is perceived as sophisticated and modern. Both languages compete but are perceived of a higher status than the native languages (Zouhir, 2014:43). Official discourse is mainly in classical Arabic and can occasionally be in French. The use of Moroccan Arabic can be seen as a populistic sign or a lack of mastering of classical Arabic or French.

1.1.3 Internet in Morocco

Internet was introduced to the public in Morocco in 1995 and have since then experienced a rise in use, sometimes in exponential terms. In the yearly report for 2015 issued by the National Agency for the legalization of Communications (The Moroccan Regulator)\(^9\), there were 14.55 million Internet users in the country, which gives a penetration rate of 42.75%. Almost half of the population is connected to Internet. This is a high rate in the MENA region, especially considering the illiteracy numbers in the country. Internet usage has grown by 45% between 2014 and 2015, giving an idea about the future prospects of this medium, and its importance in Morocco.

1.1.4 YouTube

YouTube is a video streaming website that was created in 2005 by Chad Hurley and Steven Chen (Renó, 2007:4). Millions of new videos were since then added to its database on a daily basis. It is difficult to classify YouTube by the classical terms: Is it a media? It has no centralized publishing instance and anyone can add content. Jay Bolter describes YouTube as “an immense archival database which has successfully integrated the media practices of social networking” (Snickars & Vonderau, 2009:61).

YouTube is a free platform and anyone with an account can upload videos that can be watched all around the world. An interesting fact about this website is that all is uploaded, no matter what the content is about. The content will however be subject to control, and a video might be removed if complaints are received about it. This process can be slower depending on the country and the targeted language.

The user-friendly structures of YouTube have made it very popular, and is therefore used by a large number of people. In a country such as Morocco, YouTube, as the evidence will later show, can serve as a tool of free expression tool unaccommodated for by official broadcasting.

The freedom of expression that YouTube offers worldwide has caused it to be banned and censored by different governments around the world. Compared to the MENA region, Internet censorship is not heavy in Morocco. Our media of interest, YouTube, was in fact banned only once for few days in May 2007.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

According to the latest rankings regarding press freedom, media situation is critical in Morocco. We have in fact seen in the background that press is considered as “Not Free”. Freedom stops especially when the red lines are in stake. Red lines are a conventional term referring to three taboos in the Moroccan society: “The Monarchy, Islam, and Morocco’s territorial integrity”. Moreover, we have seen that there is a linguistic hierarchy in the country. From one side; Classical Arabic and French are considered as languages of the educated, and are used in the official state discourse and media. From the other side, the Moroccan Arabic dialects and the Amazigh (Berber) variants are considered having a lower status.

The “partly free” Internet does however offer an alternative space for free expression. Voices representing different opinions are present continuously through different platforms, such as YouTube. YouTube is a social media website that allows users to share videos worldwide. As a social media, it will combine the three C’s that will be developed in theory (cognition, communication and co-operation).

We will also see in the theory part that language can have subcultural uses that are subversive and oppositional to official media discourse. The choice of which language to be used in a discussion, and even the choice of words and themes, can in fact be a sign of opposition and subversion.

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10 30 Million people visit YouTube everyday
https://fortunelords.com/youtube-statistics/

11 http://mashable.com/2007/05/30/youtube-bans/#sujQMV20dkgT

12 https://globalvoices.org/2007/05/26/morocco-blocks-access-to-youtube/

13 https://www.hrw.org/report/2017/05/03/red-lines-stay-red/moroccos-reforms-its-speech-laws
Using the political communication theories, the critical discourse analysis method, and given the background above, I have chosen to focus on three Moroccan podcasters on YouTube for my research question:

Do Richard Azzouz, Hamid El Mahdaouy and Najib El Mokhtari use elements of language on their YouTube videos as discourse of opposition? If so, what is the manifestation of this oppositional discourse towards the official red lines?

In other terms, the second question can be formulated as: What is the tool that each of the three podcasters chose to challenge the official red lines?

The study analyzes three videos of three Moroccan podcasters. The purpose is to investigate and exhibit the elements of opposition that appear in their language. My contribution will essentially focus on two elements of opposition. First, the use of Moroccan Arabic instead of the officially used classical Arabic or French and how is it considered as opposition. Second, the challenging of red lines (Monarchy, Islam, territorial integrity) by each podcaster, using his specific way. For Richard Azzouz, the focus will be on the use of cursing towards red lines and taboos. Hamid El Mahdaouy will be studied from the angle of challenging political taboos using daily life facts and logics. Finally, the analysis of Najib El Mokhtari’s video aims to investigate the opposition that is between his scientific language and some red lines set by the state.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Theory

This research and its findings will be contextualized within key theoretical debates on political communication, popular culture, language as a subculture, and social media uses.

2.1.1 Political Communication theory

Political communication is a field between political science and communication that studies the “transmission of information among politicians, the news media and the public”14. This discipline is essential for understanding the relation between politics, power and the different tools of communication reaching out to the public. Many notions and concepts are familiar to political communication, such as “public opinion” and “civil society”. These notions have raised with the modern society, and are deeply rooted in it. Political communication studies the

14 https://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/pnorris/Acrobat/Political%20Communications%20encyclopedia2.pdf
influences behind the political discourse, and highlights questions such as: How a subject is chosen and given the priority? Who can access the media and reach the public? What can be said and what cannot? To whom?

Political communication scholars study “the information processes that shape the news, create advertising messages. […] Many of them note that large segments of the population are strategically excluded in public information campaigns. […] Moreover, the messages aimed at targeted audiences are typically designed not to stimulate independent thinking by providing alternative understanding, but to draw out the audience’s pretested, preexisting emotional concerns” (Benett & Entman, 2000:7). Nowadays, Internet has changed the strategies and the fundamentals of political communications to a big extend. The routines of communicating and interacting in Internet are in fact different than offline, which implies a drastic change in study and analysis tools.

In our context, and since the study regards Internet, a good theoretical tool to be used is the social media theory. Social media are in fact used for political purposes, and are a part of political communication. The understanding and the theorization of those new communication tools will be of an important use for all this research work.

2.1.2 Social Media Theory

During the beginning of the 21st century, the world of information and communication has witnessed a tremendous change with Internet. Social media platforms (Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, etc.) have allowed a record information flow that is still growing day after day, especially with the future upcoming of the Internet of Things.

As its name states, social Media is a combination of two words, summarizing two advanced concepts: social and Media. Let us first define each of these concepts in a theoretical way, before combining them and reaching a social media theorization that can be used for our study.

In its broadest definition, a society is based on a group of people organized in diverse ways, living and interacting with each other. All the people in a country or similar countries can also be referred to as a society. In the context of our study dating of 2017, the society we are interested in is the modern society. Jürgen Habermas (1989:19) considers that the modern society is based on the differentiation of social roles. This results in:

• The separation of the economy from the family and the household so that the modern economy emerged.

• The rise of a political public sphere in which human beings act as citizens who vote, hold a political opinion... in contrast to the earlier system in which political power was controlled by the monarch, aristocracy and the church.

Not only a person is a citizen (public sphere), but they can also participate in other spheres as well. The cultural sphere regards the socio-cultural events a person is involved in. The professional sphere is an example, where they are related with colleagues and people in the same network. The cultural sphere includes also the private culture, also called the “sphere of intimacy”, related to family life as well as emotional and sexual relationships (Fuchs & Trottier, 2015:117).

Through this definition, we can see that in modern society, a person has dissimilar roles in different spheres. One can for instance (at the same time) be a woman, a professor, a member of an opposition party, a marathon runner, a grandmother and have many other roles on both public and private levels.

2.1.3 Culture

The cultural sphere of a person as we have seen regards the socio-cultural events a person is involved in. The correlation between culture and society is trivial in the 21st century, but it has not always been the case. The term culture has in fact changed its meaning through time, and reached its current meaning after the industrial revolution. Before this period “it had meant primarily the tending of natural growth […] but it changed in the nineteenth century to culture as such, a thing in itself. […] It came to mean a whole way of life, material, intellectual and spiritual” (Williams, 1960: xiv). Culture in this last definition is tied with the society, as it is a way of life, and a set of events that relate to the modern social life.

As we have seen in the background, Morocco is a constitutional monarchy, with an elected government and parliament. The Moroccan parliament is divided into two houses; The House of Representatives (395 members) and the House of Counselors (120 members). Elections are held each 5th year to renew those institutions. The first elections were in 1960.

According to the background above, and besides the lack of democratic roots in many processes of the country, one can observe that notions such as vote, election and constitution are familiar
in the Moroccan context. Thus, the theory and notions defined by Habermas can be applied for it in the following of the study.

**Media**, the plural of medium, is a word defining the group of information intermediaries such as television, radio or newspapers. In the classical pre-Internet era, media was very symbolically related to power. “Those who work in the politically relevant sectors of the media system (i.e., reporters, columnists, editors, directors, producers, and publishers) cannot but exert power, because they select and process politically relevant content and thus intervene in both the formation of public opinions and the distribution of influential interests. The use of media power manifests itself in the choice of information and format, in the shape and style of programs, and in the effects of its diffusion” (Habermas, 2006:419).

Pre-Internet medias are either state-owned or part of the private sector. In the first case, the state has obviously the control of it, especially if a country is not free. In the second case, media is a commercial enterprise impacted by advertisers and influence makers. The examples of Rupert Murdoch and Silvio Berlusconi illustrate this idea (Habermas, 2006:421).

### 2.1.4 Popular culture

Popular culture is a term referring to the spread of cultural elements within a society or a part of it, that are mainstream and representative of it. It is transmitted from one generation to another, and includes language, proverbs, music, poetry, etc. Internet has helped considerably in spreading popular culture, as it allows everyone to express themselves in the way the wish. Wikipedia is a live example for this spreading. The online encyclopedia does in fact allow anyone to write on the subjects they know, choosing the language they want, and sharing it with the world. YouTube is another example of the spreading of popular culture online, especially by offering to subaltern classes a space of expression for free (own translation from Portuguese, Renó, 2007:3).

In Morocco, popular culture is diverse and variated. As we have seen in the background, the country is multicultural and combines different particularities. “What is considered popular culture in the Rif [northern part of Morocco] has no relation with popular culture in Souss [south Amazigh Morocco], Jbala [mountains in North west Morocco], Fez or in the East... What unites us nationally is not popular culture but religion, the modern state and its institutions” (Belkbir, 1991:17). This observation joins the definition of popular culture, and confirms that it can be common only for a part of a society, while other elements form the identity of the whole nation. In this context, the example of Morocco is pertinent. The Moroccan state adopted indeed the
centralized state model, marginalizing the popular culture to create a strong common identity for the state. This idea is confirmed by Sabry:

“Why aren’t there any Imazighen (berber) films in Moroccan television? Why aren’t there any Jbala or Sahraoui films? Because of these elements one could venture to say that the ‘popular’ in Moroccan popular culture is not at all ‘popular’. What we have is a ‘pseudo-popular’ culture that speaks not its voice, but the voice of the center. It is the Makhzen and its apparatuses that have the control over the means of cultural production in Morocco” (Sabry, 2003:73). However, since the introduction of Internet to Morocco and especially since the inception of different social media platforms, YouTube included, Moroccan popular culture is no longer dominated by official discourse.

In Morocco, there are 11 TV channels and 52 radio stations. The audiovisual media broadcasts in different languages, including Classical Arabic, Berber, French, Moroccan Arabic, and Spanish (daily news on the first channel). The written media are more limited and exist either in classical Arabic, Berber or French. An attempt for a magazine in Moroccan Arabic was launched in 2006, “Nichane”, but it was stopped by the prime minister in the same year. The Moroccan official state agency is called the Maghreb Arab Press (MAP) and is owned by the state. Regarding the Internet, electronic media have boomed in the recent years, having millions of readers monthly. The most prominent electronical newspaper in Morocco is Hespress.

As we have seen, social media is a term combining two concepts defined above. The information model (Fuchs, 2015:114) is based on the triple C (cognition, communication and co-operation). This triad is the basis of social life. The specificity with social Media, is the fact that it combines the three of them. In YouTube, a user first publishes a video. Another person sees it and becomes aware of it (cognition). This person can then comment on it (communication), which creates a discussion (co-operation).

An interesting concept coming with the term social media and related to it is the “democratization of the Media”. It is a term referring to “the fact that “big corporations” do not own the podcasting “air waves” (Internet), the phrase represents freedom of access, voice, and opinion. In podcasting, inexpensive hardware, software and Internet space can allow

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17 Page 5. Hespress is the most popular Moroccan page on Facebook [https://mocroland.files.wordpress.com/2015/07/hespress-analysis-anass.pdf](https://mocroland.files.wordpress.com/2015/07/hespress-analysis-anass.pdf)
anybody to be a broadcaster.”

This definition is the theoretical starting point of this study. The studied medium (YouTube) is in fact a social media allowing the users to be seen by everybody in the whole without any limitations. Moreover, it is a challenge for the Moroccan official media, that cannot control neither censor content published by Moroccan citizens on an American streaming website.

2.1.5 Language as a subculture

A subculture is a cultural group within a larger culture, often having beliefs or interests at variance with those of the larger culture. Within the Moroccan popular culture, our focus will be on the subculture using the Moroccan dialect as an opposition tool. Language can in fact be used as “an opposition tool and not only a communication one. Political activists use it to produce militant discourse that competes with the official political discourse in classical Arabic in the creation of symbols and political culture” (own translation from Arabic, Amghar, 2017:198).

According to this logic, language itself and the ways in which it is used, can be and act as a subculture. The use of the language of the street (slang) instead of the classical official language can for instance be a subculture. This subculture clashes with the official discourse and shows an opposition to it. There is in this context a clear interrelation between the opposition as an act, and the used language. The “street” language can be interpreted as a reaction against a system, that imposes common values, common “proper” way of talking, and common norms. The ruling system and its normalized languages; have however, difficulties to control the Internet, and allows therefore for oppositional discourses to be part of public domain. “Internet use is indeed playing a greater role in challenging authoritarian regimes” (Kalathil & Taylor, 2001:2).

**Opposition**, as defined in the Oxford dictionary, is a noun showing resistance or dissent, expressed in action or argument. Opposition can have different manifestations. In the context of this study, the opposition that interests us is related to the uses of language. Using the language in a given way to express opposition can be a subculture. As we have seen when discussing the research question, this work highlights mainly two elements of opposition in the use of language. First, it is the use of Moroccan Arabic instead of classical Arabic or French.

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19. [http://www.igi-global.com/dictionary/democratization-of-the-media/7199](http://www.igi-global.com/dictionary/democratization-of-the-media/7199)
Second, how the podcasters use elements of language (cursing, political facts, scientific discourse) to challenge the official taboos set by the state.

Social Media, opposition and language as discourse are at the core of this study. Analyzing how a popular YouTube podcaster’s language clashes with the official news agency’s one, does, as I will show later, emphasize this three-dimensional relational structure. First, the field of study, YouTube, is a social media. Second, the analysis is regarding the opposition between two ways of communication. And finally, the metric used to describe this opposition is the language and elements related to it.

2.2 Earlier research

Political communication is a discipline always subject to study and analysis due to its importance for the political life. It follows the developments on all the domains that it depends on, and needs thus to be updated if any of these areas is subjects to a change. Many prominent scholars have studied this domain. Among the most important sources I have chosen to include the studies of Habermas, mainly Political communication in media society, that is very relevant to this thesis. The study investigates the complex relation between the media, the public sphere and civil society. Many changes have in fact happened to political communication with the modern technologies, and even others are yet to come. New strategies and ways of adaptation are expected.

Social media as a research domain and a theory has been heavily studied from different angles. Both the words and the concepts behind them are thoroughly theorized and well-studied by scholars. When it comes to society, I have chosen reference books about the subject: Culture and society by Williams, and literature by Fuchs (Towards a theoretical model of social media surveillance), and Sabry (Emigration 2.0? Young Moroccans, emigration and Internet). These reference books provide a full background about social media and political communication in Internet era. Moreover, Sabry’s book already puts the reader in the Moroccan context, with a strong background of the Internet and social media in the country.

As a social Media, YouTube was the highlight of different researches and studies, both regarding its technical sides and the social science aspect. From the latter, I have chosen to read the generalist book “The YouTube Reader”, then narrowed my focus on the popular culture side by referring to the Brazilian paper on the subject “YouTube, the mediator of Popular culture” by Renó Denis. YouTube is a giant website in terms of traffic and influence. The YouTube Reader gives an introduction and a background to master this social media, while
Renó’s study involves the notion of popular culture and links it to YouTube. This link is important to notice, especially that our study uses it as well. I was however surprised to find that resources were few when studying YouTube and its relationship with popular culture. My wish is that this study will be a contribution to enrich the field.

Morocco as a state in the modern world has been studied since the pre-colonization time, mainly by French and Spanish missionaries. The political and socio-economic situation of the country is thoroughly explained in numerous studies. “The Middle East” of Elen Lust dedicates a full chapter to this situation, giving us a broad picture of the county. I have also used The Ethnographic State, by Edmund Burke III, to refer to the historical background of Morocco, especially the political aspects. Data about Internet numbers are provided by the National Internet Regulator (ANRT) that issues reports about Internet in the country on a yearly basis. Regarding Morocco, sources were available, varied, including local and international literature. This high abundance gave me a clear idea about the background and the situation in the country.

This study is unique because it combines all the elements that are above. To our knowledge there is no study that has been conducted about YouTube in Morocco, and consequently neither about political communication using this tool in this country, nor the opposition that can be found between the popular culture and the official discourse. By using the three podcasters, this study can be an introduction to a bigger work, analyzing the situation of social media in the country, and the opposition between the different manifestations of popular culture and the official discourse.

### 2.3 Method

This thesis can be considered as a **single case study**. The focus of a case study is “to answer “how” and “why” questions” (Yin, 2007: 23). In this thesis, the interest is to answer the “how” question. Each study case should have a unit that is studied. In the scope of the thesis, the unit will be the social media YouTube in Morocco, and the study will be about how this tool is used to challenge the official discourse, in different extents and ways.

In order to study my research question and to be able to investigate it in a complete way, I have decided to use first descriptive statistics, and then Critical Discourse Analysis.

#### 2.3.1 Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics that I will use will consist on counting the number of metrics for the most trending videos on the Moroccan YouTube on a given period. Descriptive statistics is a method
of gathering and measuring data through observation (Esaiasson et al, 2007:393). This method answers questions such as “where”, “when”, or “who”. It gives empirical indication about the studied object or phenomenon. However, one of limitations of this method is that it cannot be generalized out of the studied object. The results of this part of study will then be only related to it.

YouTube allows searching for trending videos in each country and returns a list of 50 videos. Table 1 summarizes how the data will be gathered:

**Table 1. Metrics related to trending YouTube videos in Morocco**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language of the title of the Video</th>
<th>Classical Arabic (..)</th>
<th>Moroccan Arabic (..)</th>
<th>English (..)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spoken Language</td>
<td>Moroccan Arabic (..)</td>
<td>Classical Arabic (..)</td>
<td>English (..)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Entertainment (..)</td>
<td>Politics (..)</td>
<td>Science (..)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of views</td>
<td>More than one million (..)</td>
<td>Less than one million (..)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of video</td>
<td>Song (..)</td>
<td>Podcast (..)</td>
<td>Sport (..)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The method illustrated in the table compares (data) information related to trending YouTube videos in Morocco during a given period. The comparison criteria are the languages spoken in the videos, the subjects of the videos, their type and the number of views. I have chosen these metrics to obtain a first result in numbers, which can give us an idea about the current tendency. Those numbers can then be compared with the tendencies of the official discourse, and help us conclude if there is a resemblance or an opposition.

### 2.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a “critical theory of language which sees the use of language as a form of social practice” (Janks 1997: 329). Words are in fact not neutral and have different connotations depending on how and when they are used. I will use the three dimensions’ analysis that was proposed by Fairclough (Janks 1997: 329):

1. **Text analysis (description);**
2. **Processing analysis (interpretation);**
3. **Social analysis (explanation),**
I have chosen critical discourse analysis because it is a powerful analysis tool that reveals a lot of information either in the text, or from the elements related to it. It is a big source of data that can be used and developed further. However, this method is limited, since the study of a text relies first on interpretations. The latter are relative and open to different views and perspectives. I have tried to overcome this issue by using long videos that provide enough material to get a general idea of the language patterns.

The analysis of the language and words used to describe different videos will be of use during this study. I will analyze how the use of a language or words can be related to a specific position and how their use can express an opposition. It is important to note that this study applies the CDA only on the language, and not on other elements such as the music or images that are in the videos. The focus of analysis will be the language, and how the opposition (if any) does manifest itself with this instrument.

Table 2 summarizes the approach that I would like to follow for my discourse analysis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. Specific analysis of a Video/comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of views</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the study is combining different methods, it can be considered as a Triangulation. Triangulation in social sciences is “defined as the mixing of data or methods so that diverse viewpoints or standpoints cast light upon a topic” (Olsen, 2004: 3). In the case of this study, the combination of two methods will contribute to answer the research questions. From one side, descriptive statistics, by comparing data, will answer the question if there is a difference of expression or not. From another side, discourse analysis will focus on special elements of this difference, and highlight the popular culture aspect, and show if it is present in YouTube more than in the official media.

2.4 Material

My material will be various videos from Moroccan YouTube channels. One reason for this choice is the high popularity of this website in the country, which had allowed it to be accessible by many parts of the society, from the rich to the poorest, and from the intellectuals to illiterate.
Processing a video has become simpler nowadays, and needs only a phone and an Internet connection. This allows a large number of people to express themselves and then transmit and communicate their messages on the net.

The material that I have chosen for this study is divided into two parts. The descriptive statistics part will be based on 50 trending videos that are weekly suggested by YouTube when choosing the home country. I will take the material related to two consecutive weeks in May 2017. The total will then be 100 videos that will provide us with statistics.

In the second part (discourse analysis), I will study five videos related to five different channels. For each channel, I will study the most viewed video and apply the method that I have described above. Within the five channels, three are related to podcasters, while two are from official media created by the state. The five channels I have chosen are:

- **Richard Azzouz**: A Moroccan citizen living in the USA, very critical to the regime, and very popular among young people in Morocco.

- **Hamid El Mahdaouy**: A journalist having regular podcasts discussing the politics and news in Morocco

- **Najib El Mokhtari**: A vulgarization of science in Moroccan Arabic

- **MAP**: YouTube Channel of the official press agency

- **Le360**: YouTube channel of a newspaper owned by a king’s counselor

Besides the videos themselves and their content, I will also conduct a small statistical study about the comments, mainly those mostly rated. The idea will be to analyze their language and the message that they transmit.

For the official media part, I have not chosen the YouTube channels of state television such as SNRT or 2M. The reason is that the videos in these channels are the same videos that are broadcasted on TV. On the other side, videos from the MAP or Le360 are especially conceived for Internet. I believe that this choice is better for a comparison with the podcasters, since it will allow us to study videos that are on the same ground.

### 2.5 Demarcations and limitations

The title of the study “The use of YouTube in Morocco as an instrument of social critique and opposition” suggests that the result can be generalized to the whole Moroccan society and
YouTube. This is not the case due to many factors. Usage of Internet in Morocco is not homogeneous in the country, and there might be a bias since most users are rather from the young urban class. Unfortunately, YouTube does not provide the ages of people watching the videos (only available for the video owner). This does not allow us to consider that Internet is the mirror of the Moroccan society yet. It is true that YouTube, with its video content, reaches more people than Quora for instance. The result however cannot be generalized since Internet penetration in Morocco is roughly 43%, and illiteracy is still a serious problem in the country.

It is also worth to notice that there is a considerable number of Moroccan citizens living outside of Morocco, among which one podcaster that I have included in my study. Unfortunately, the trending YouTube videos by country are counted inside the geographical area. This means that the Moroccan citizens living outside Morocco are not taken into consideration (by YouTube Morocco) when watching a video. They are counted in the YouTube of the region where they live. This does also mean that foreigners in Morocco (either tourists or living there) are on the opposite counted in the trending YouTube Morocco video, since they are within the Moroccan geographical borders.

The geographical aspect applies also to the comments. As I have included the comments in the study, there is no method to know who writes the comments and from which country they are coming. Some of the people commenting might not be Moroccan, but there is no way to know it.

Another important limitation that can affect the study is that the trending videos list can include duplicated videos. The reason can be that some people download the original video (that is already trending) and then upload it again on YouTube. This makes some trending videos counted two or even three times with different titles.

Having defined the popular culture in the theory, I did not specify which aspect of it was marginalized in media. Popular culture is in fact a broad concept that includes various domains. Some might be tolerated (music or poetry), while others might not be. Even within one domain, some ways of expression might be fought if not going in line with the system. In that sense, I have chosen to narrow my use of popular culture in this work to the elements of language touching the Moroccan red lines in the three studied YouTube videos. Other elements (choice of music, images) will not be studied.

Unfortunately, YouTube does not offer an archive of its statistics, and the only way to check the popularity of a video is by checking the instantaneous ranking made by YouTube (that lasts
for one week). It is then very difficult to conclude absolutely on tendencies of popularity on the Moroccan YouTube, unless if we gather a significant set of months or years, which is impossible in the scope of this thesis.

Finally, the aspect of monetization is also an important factor to consider when reading the conclusions of this work. As known, YouTube offers payments for the popular podcasters when their videos reach a given number of views. Thus, one can never know the motivation of people when filming a video: If they are honest and spontaneous, or if at the opposite they are just trying to chock and make the opposition in purpose to get popular, and therefore more money. Related to this, a lot of discussion can be made about the popularity of the videos and the veracity of the views. Several videos that have a considerable number of views are accused that they buy views, meaning actually that a number of the views has not been done by real people, but rather robots or programs. This observation suggests that some of the trending videos would not have been trending if only the real views (by humans) were considered.

This point is however out of our scope since our study is about the opposition itself, and its manifestation, not about the reasons behind it.

3. Analysis

3.1 Trending Videos in Numbers

This part presents the data that I have gathered with the descriptive statistics method. Each week, YouTube issues a list of 50 most trending videos for each country. The list can be accessed at the trending menu to the left in the main page. The 50 videos depend on the country where the user is registered. This can be changed in YouTube settings.

I have created two tables, each one characterizing elements that describe the 50 most trending videos in Morocco for two consecutive weeks. Table 3 shows the elements for trending videos of the 10th May 2017 while table 4 studies those of 17th May 2017. Links for the videos studied in both tables can be found in the Annex.

---

22 Trending Videos in YouTube [https://www.youtube.com/feed/trending](https://www.youtube.com/feed/trending)
### Table 3. Metrics related to trending YouTube videos in Morocco – May 10th, 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language of the title of the Video</th>
<th>Classical Arabic (36)</th>
<th>Moroccan Arabic (16)</th>
<th>French (5)</th>
<th>Italian (1)</th>
<th>English (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Example:</td>
<td>دووناك ترعب لم يستغل الملك بسبب الرقم 12 وأعتبرت إهانة للملك للمغرب والمغاربة (تحليل ورأي شخصي)</td>
<td>يمارس دار ليف مهمه هاد يلد ناس مسططي</td>
<td>«L’Algérino - Les Menottes (Tching Tchang Tchong)»</td>
<td>“INSULTO BENATIA MAROCCHINO DI MERDA POST JUVENTUS TORINO 1-1”</td>
<td>“DJ Khaled - I’m the One ft. Justin Bieber, Quavo, Chance the Rapper, Lil Wayne”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video about the visit of the King to the USA.</td>
<td>Video about a comedian doing a live broadcast.</td>
<td>French rap song.</td>
<td>Video about a Moroccan football player.</td>
<td>Song of American pop.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spoken Language</th>
<th>Moroccan Arabic (31)</th>
<th>Classical Arabic (15)</th>
<th>Italian (2)</th>
<th>French (1)</th>
<th>English (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Entertainment (33)</td>
<td>News and Politics (17)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of views</th>
<th>&gt; 10 Million (2)</th>
<th>Between 1 and 10 Million (8)</th>
<th>Between 100,000 and 1 Million (31)</th>
<th>Less than 100,000 (9)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of video</th>
<th>Information/News (20)</th>
<th>Music/Series (12)</th>
<th>Vlog/Podcast (10)</th>
<th>Cooking (4)</th>
<th>Sport (4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Table 4. Metrics related to trending YouTube videos in Morocco – May 17th, 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language of the title of the Video</th>
<th>Classical Arabic (34)</th>
<th>Moroccan Arabic (12)</th>
<th>English (4)</th>
<th>French (3)</th>
<th>Spanish (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spoken Language</th>
<th>Moroccan Arabic (30)</th>
<th>Classical Arabic (15)</th>
<th>English (3)</th>
<th>French (1)</th>
<th>Spanish (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Entertainment (32)</td>
<td>News and Politics (18)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of views</th>
<th>&gt; 10 Million (4)</th>
<th>Between 1 and 10 Million (11)</th>
<th>Between 100,000 and 1 Million (31)</th>
<th>Less than 100,000 (4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of video</th>
<th>Information/News (18)</th>
<th>Music/Series (16)</th>
<th>Vlog/Podcast (7)</th>
<th>Sport (3)</th>
<th>Others (6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
From the two tables, the very first comments and observations that can be made are the following:

- There is a variation between the language in which the title of the video is written, and the language of the video itself. This variation is between classical Arabic and the Moroccan dialect. An explanation of this phenomenon can be that the Moroccan dialect is not written, which makes the users name their video in classical Arabic, the language they learn first at school.

- All the videos about news and politics (excluding podcasts) were spoken in classical Arabic. An explanation can be that they are either from official news channels (just copy the content to YouTube), or from users that imitate the news channels, even in the way of talking and presenting.

- All the podcasts within the trending set of videos were in Moroccan Arabic. Usually, podcaster have many videos on their channels, and upload new ones on a regular basis. In these podcasts, the users choose to discuss a given subject or issue. Some podcasts have their own shows on YouTube, investing a lot on decoration and scenario, while others just sit on a chair and talk in front of a camera.

- There is a total absence of the Amazigh language in the trending videos of the Moroccan YouTube in both weeks. An explanation can be that Amazigh dialects are regional and not always mutually intelligible. There are various regions in Morocco with their own dialects, and none of them is big enough to have a majority. The probability for a video to be trending on a national level would be higher if it is understood by all. The Moroccan dialect satisfies this condition as is the lingua-franca in the country.

- Trending is a relative term. While in some countries trending videos in a week would all have over 10 million views, we have seen in the table that a few trending videos in Morocco have less than 100,000 views. This information can nuance our study since a video can easily be trending if the limit to reach is only a dozen of thousands of views.

Given the observations above, and given our theoretical framework, the quantitative study allows us to draw the following conclusions:

- There is already an opposition regarding the used language, between the podcasters and the news related videos. On one side, the Moroccan dialect is used by podcasters, while the trending news channels broadcast in Classical Arabic.

- Within the trending podcasters, only Moroccan Arabic is used. The local native languages (Amazigh) do not appear in this ranking. Only the national spread dialect is
used within the trending videos of the two weeks. The use of the Moroccan Arabic for podcasts when addressing the Moroccan public can be then considered as a subculture.

In the next section, we will study in detail this opposition and how it manifests itself. Elements of language from videos of three podcasters will be studied and analyzed. The conclusion section will then summarize the results and discuss the further work that can be done.

3.2 Critical discourse Analysis

The Critical discourse analysis part will highlight three YouTube videos from Moroccan podcasters, and answer the research questions related to them. This will be done by investigating elements of language in each of these videos. The CDA part will also include two videos from official channels. The two videos will be used as examples to characterize and mark the differences in discourse.

3.2.1 Richard Azzouz: Opposition by cursing and crossing of red lines

Richard Azzouz is a Moroccan podcaster living in the United States of America. According to his videos and YouTube channel description, Richard (alias name, his real name being Rahal Hawari) is very critical to the Moroccan regime and qualifies it by words such as: “tyrannical, fascist, despotic”\(^\text{23}\). As of May 14\(^{\text{th}}\) 2017, his channel had 40,000 subscribers, and his videos were watched 13 million times in total. This considerable number can allow us to conclude that it is a popular channel within a country of 34 million people. There is no proof that the millions of views are from Moroccans. However, the fact that he is broadcasting them in Moroccan dialect makes the probability higher that the audience is the Moroccan public.

The video that I will study about Azzouz is his second most popular one. The reason why I have not chosen the most popular one is that it is rather short (3 minutes), plus that it is a video montage, with many external materials. The second video entitled “I think therefore I am” is on the opposite, a long video (32 minutes) where the podcaster takes time to express himself and his opinions in front of the camera.

The video is a montage joined by music in some parts, especially the beginning and the end. The place is Getty Museum in Los Angeles. Azzouz explains during the video the choice of this place by the fact that he wanted to share culture that he enjoys in the United States. He

\(^{23}\) [https://www.youtube.com/user/hawarirahal/about](https://www.youtube.com/user/hawarirahal/about)
explains that “on the opposite of some countries, here in the US, a person named Getty has chosen to give his wealth for culture and share it with us”. Azzouz tries to give the video a cultural aspect and calls it a “guided tour that I hope you will enjoy with me”. The subject of the video is Moroccan politics and the situation in the country. The speech is spontaneous and Azzouz moves through many areas related to the main subject.

Table 5 summarizes the main elements of Azzouz’s video “I think therefore I am”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of views (17 May 2017)</th>
<th>Number of Likes-Dislikes</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Relevant Words/ positions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>267048</td>
<td>501 Likes 374 Dislikes</td>
<td>Moroccan Arabic Some words in English/French</td>
<td>Politics of Morocco</td>
<td>“We are not your slaves” “You are traitors appointed by the French colonizers” “You are stealing our wealth, leave us and give our women freedom” “Tyranny, dictatorship” “We are the Berber citizens of North Africa, we have a big history. Our revolution has started and we will take our land back by force” “We want North Africa free of Arabic and Islamic slavery” “You sponsor terrorism and have monopoly on the religious discourse” “Our nation is North Africa”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A calculation that I have made shows that Azzouz had used 50 curse words in this video, which gives a rate of 1.5 curse words per minute, or one curse word each 38 second. We can observe
that curse words are not used on a constant pace in the video. Azzouz has in fact not used any curse word in the first eight minutes, but started using them gradually while talking and analyzing. One explanation to this behavior is that Richard Azzouz has been very criticized in his previous videos about the use of curse words and excessive swearing. This video shows in fact a change of atmosphere, by being in a cultural place (museum) and trying to talk in an intellectual and serious tone. One example is when he starts a vulgar insult in Moroccan Arabic (pronounced the first letters) then translates the word into classical Arabic, having a less vulgar connotation.

The behavior of curse words use shows the spontaneity of Azzouz and his involvement in the speech he is giving. It appears clearly that Azzouz is affected by what he is saying, by showing himself angry and insulting different people and institutions. The curse words are directed towards two of the taboos, which are monarchy and religion. Examples of the words used when referring to these two subjects are “donkey”, “dogs” or references to sexual orientations.

The language used is Moroccan Arabic, with some introduced words in French or English. It is however very important to note that the title of the video is written in three languages: English, French and Berber (in the Latin script). The absence of classical Arabic is a conscious decision, since Azzouz describes himself as an anti-Arab, pro-Berber militant. Azzouz describes many times in the video the Moroccan regime as an Arab regime coming from the Middle East. For Azzouz, North Africa is Berber and all Arabs are “invaders”, including the current regime. Azzouz’s discourse is based on direct attacks towards many institutions in Morocco, including the monarchy and political parties. The attacks are violent and explicit, with words such as “slaves, traitors, dictator”. Azzouz does not consider himself as a Moroccan citizen, but had rather said many times in the video “being a north African Berber citizen”. This identification goes in clear opposition with the Moroccan national discourse that considers Arabic, Islam, Monarchy and national borders as identifiers. Azzouz rejects these elements one by one, as the sentences that I have gathered in table 5 show clearly. The podcaster takes help of historical references to consolidate his argumentation. The way Azzouz talks is very informal, with many curse words, a populist and simple language that can be understood by a maximum of people in the Moroccan society.

It is interesting to note that Azzouz talks in an Arab dialect (the Moroccan dialect) to reach his audience and preach pro-Amazigh ideology. One reason for this choice is that the Moroccan dialect unites the Moroccans and is understood by most of them. A second reason is the lack of mastering of Berber by Azzouz, that I have noticed while watching his other videos.
The conclusions that can be made after watching the video by Richard Azzouz is that he shows his opposition through crossing the conventional red lines. Not only does Azzouz refer to these red lines by name (especially Monarchy and religion), but he does also insult them and use swear words to describe them in different occasions. The discourse of Azzouz is populist and direct towards the popular mass, using a very informal language of the street. The discourse is using emotions and facts to affect those who are watching.

There are 311 comments about the video. The considerable number of comments can lead us to conclude that the views are not fake, and makes the video popularity more trustworthy. Table 6 summarizes some trends about these comments.

Table 6. Main elements of comments on Azzouz’s video “I think therefore I am”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language of the comment</th>
<th>Moroccan Arabic (190)</th>
<th>Arabic (56)</th>
<th>French (30)</th>
<th>Classical Arabic (20)</th>
<th>Amazigh (6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opinion of the comment</td>
<td>Disagrees/Insults Azzouz (173)</td>
<td>Agrees / Encourages Azzouz (60)</td>
<td>Other (78)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The comments are written mostly in Moroccan Arabic, and do in majority disagree with Azzouz. A considerable number of comments show their disagreement by insulting directly Azzouz with the same words he is using. The comments being mostly in Moroccan Arabic, we can conclude that we are still within the same subculture (Moroccan popular culture) that we have defined earlier. An interesting fact about the comments is that many people have affirmed agreeing with Azzouz on his political analysis, and his opinion towards the Monarchy, but his crossing of the religious red lines makes him less popular and many sympathizers change their minds.

3.2.2 Hamid El Mahdaouy: Opposition by pushing the limits and using logical thinking

Hamid El Mahdaouy is a Moroccan journalist who is active on YouTube in parallel with his journalistic work. He is the founder and the editor in chief of an electronic newspaper called Badil (alternative). YouTube views on El Mahdaouy’s channel are almost 21 million views in total (as of 14th May 2017)24. The language used in his videos is Moroccan Arabic. The main

24 https://www.youtube.com/user/elmahdaouy22/about
subjects of the podcast are news and the political situation in Morocco. El Mehdaouy uploads regularly videos on his YouTube channel.

The relevance of choosing a person such as El Mahdaouy for this study is the fact that he is a journalist and already has a space of expression in his own newspaper. However, the ideas expressed in the newspaper are not expressed to the same extent as those in the personal videos. An interesting observation about the videos is that El Mahdaouy always starts them with “Badil” logo and his famous greeting “Welcome to all the visitors of Badil website”. The newspaper does not, however, mention the videos in its homepage, which suggests to us that the videos are the “personal space” of El Mahdaouy.

I have chosen to study the most popular video of El Mahdaouy’s channel because I think that it is relevant on many aspects. First, the video is popular and has almost one million views. Second, it is a long one (37 minutes) where El Mahdaouy talks alone in front of the camera, expressing a big number of ideas, material and thoughts. Finally, the title of the video is touching the red lines, and talking about “the King arresting the head of the government”.

In this video shot at home, El Mahdaouy is wearing a formal suit, talking slowly and calmly. We can observe behind him a prize of journalism that he has received earlier and exhibits in his living room. El Mahdaouy has talked about this prize in another video, and uses it to legitimize himself as a trustful journalist. The video starts by talking about a scandal that was current in April 2016. It is regarding a married Caid (a grade for employees in ministry of interior) who was filmed with a married woman in her house and was caught and filmed by her husband. El Mahdaouy, after briefly explaining the case, asks questions such as: “Why is this man not punished while he has clearly broken the law?” and refers to relevant articles of the Moroccan law. “The article 250 in the law says (...) Why does not the state apply it?”.

The discourse in El Mahdaouy’s case is logical, structured, critical, but still very respectful. This way of analyzing continues even in the second part of the video, about the relation between the King and Benkirane (the head of the government). Benkirane is a member of the Islamist party PJD, and El Mahdaouy uses this fact along with the Monarchy’s instrumentalization of religion to ask questions such as:” The head of government calls opponents ravens or by fruits names. This is not allowed in Islam. How does the King Amir Al Mouminin allow the second man in the state to do this? It gives a bad reputation to the King”. In both subjects that El Mahdaouy is discussing, his main argumentation is the use of logics to convince the audience. He has in the example above tried to show contradictions of using Islam in politics, for both
parties and the monarchy. This is a red line crossed. However, as a journalist, El Mehdaouy does not give him the same freedom that we have seen in the case of Azzouz. His discourse is careful, and starts always a sentence about monarchy with the expression: “with all the due respect to the king”. In the video, the journalist talks exclusively in a very simple Moroccan Arabic and explains in detail his logical argumentation. I would describe this approach as a “vulgarization of politics” or a “simplification of Moroccan political context”. This does in fact challenge the official discourse, known for being elitist, and relying on a population not understanding how the political game works in the country.

A noticeable tool that El Mahdaouy is using to gain trust of the audience is the environment where he films his videos. As we have seen in this video, it was filmed in Hamid’s living room. Other videos were filmed in the forest, in the houses of modest people he was visiting, or even on a boat in the Bouregreg river between Salé and Rabat. An explanation to this behavior in the journalists´ weekly videos can be that he wants to show that he is a “simple citizen” sharing the same life and thoughts as the millions of other people watching him.

Table 7 summarizes the main elements of El Mahdaouy’s video “The king arrests Benkirane”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of views (20 May 2017)</th>
<th>Number of Likes-Dislikes</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Relevant Words/positions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>830393</td>
<td>3025 Likes 1444 Dislikes</td>
<td>Moroccan Arabic</td>
<td>Politics of Morocco</td>
<td>“How can you receive bribes and not get punished?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Why did this man not get sentenced while he violated the law as we have shown?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“You are insulting our intelligence”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“You, as head of the government have tools, why don’t you investigate instead of just complaining?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“We are a country of institutions and rules, not a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are 813 comments about the video. Table 8 summarizes some trends about these comments.

**Table 8. Main elements of comments on El Mahdaouy’s video “The king arrests Benkirane”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language of the comment</th>
<th>Moroccan Arabic (494)</th>
<th>Classical Arabic (241)</th>
<th>French (52)</th>
<th>English (6)</th>
<th>Spanish (4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opinion of the comment</td>
<td>Disagrees/ Insults El Mahdaouy (276)</td>
<td>Agrees / Encourages El Mahdaouy (165)</td>
<td>Other (372)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While most of the likes are supporting El Mahdaouy’s video (3025 likes against 1444 dislikes), the tendency seems inverted in the comments, where 276 comments disagree with the journalist, and only 165 support him. Most of the critics are however insults and do not discuss the content of the video. Some critics are personal and contain swear words, even if El Mahdaouy was respectful during all his speech. A reason why the critics were not about the content is the length of the video (37 minutes), that will make it difficult for people to watch the whole.

3.2.3 Najib El Mokhtari: Opposition by scientific language and facts

Najib El Mokhtari is a Moroccan engineer who makes videos of science popularization in Moroccan dialect. The videos are aimed to a broad public, starting from children. Najib’s channel has less views than the two previous channels (1.3 million in total)\(^\text{25}\). I have however chosen to include him because he is working on other aspects. Najib’s channel is in fact the most popular scientific channel in Morocco, and is even known in other Arab countries.

\(^{25}\) [https://www.youtube.com/user/najibmok/about](https://www.youtube.com/user/najibmok/about)
Opposition does in fact not only imply politics, it can be through many other means. One of those means is the use of science in order to make people more aware and educated. As we have seen in the background, the Moroccan state is having the monopoly on the religious field, and its teaching. In 1979, Islamic studies were introduced to humanities faculties of public universities, with the underdeclared purpose of marginalizing philosophy and other social sciences, as a result of the Marxist-inspired student contestation of the early 1970’s (Sater, 2016:66).

This have resulted in a state education that does not include critical thinking. The teaching way is indeed more relying on memory and taking all the information given as facts. This was a technique employed by the state, and even acknowledged by the former king, Hassan II, who said in an interview with the French writer Jean Daniel:” I prefer not to educate the people, because those who were educated became opponents”26. The policy of education was a matter of state. During many decades, “education was directly under the authority of the ministry of interior” (Sater, 2016:136).

The video that I have chosen from Najib’s channel is his most popular. It is called “Why do not all Islamic countries fast on the same day?”. It is an eight minutes long video, in Moroccan Arabic, but includes subtitles in classical Arabic as well. Besides its very interesting scientific content, we can already see that thee negative question expresses opposition. A point that is very interesting in my opinion is that the video combines both scientific and religious aspects, two fields that the state prefers to monopolize in Morocco.

The video starts by an informative disclaimer from Najib. He informs that the video will not have any religious opinion, nor deliver fatwas. With this said, the focus in the following minutes was only on scientific facts. Through a little experiment, Najib shows how earth is turning around the sun and itself, and that the moon is turning around earth. This explained why people in distinct locations can either see or not the moon, and therefore start the fasting month (or wait for the following day). Najib talks in a simplified Moroccan Arabic, but uses scientific words in Classical Arabic, since there is no Moroccan version of them. The explanation is simple and logical. Najib describes in fact his work as “vulgarization of science”. The aim of his videos is to make science available for everybody, and therefore the use of Moroccan Arabic as a communication tool. This idea was criticized by two separate groups. The first group, elitist Moroccan, considers the Moroccan Arabic as a dialect that cannot be used for education. This

26 http://mahdizahraoui.blogspot.se/2012/08/la-faillite-de-lenseignement-public.html
group agrees with the official policy that limits languages of education to classical Arabic and the (former colonizer) French language. By using the Moroccan dialect, Najib challenges this argumentation and shows that it is possible to transmit science as well in the Moroccan dialect. It is a language that can be used also outside houses and markets. The second group is the Arabic speaking people who do not understand the Moroccan Arabic, mainly from the Middle-East. As mentioned, the primary audience for Najib is Moroccan, and the best and most effective way to transmit information to them is by the popular language. This could not be changed. To solve this situation, subtitles in classical Arabic were added later to the videos.

On the opposite of the two previous videos, Najib’s video is not spontaneous. It is prepared and the author already knows what to say in a structured way and without any breaks. The video is pedagogical and easy to understand. It can be compared to a course at school, including interactive elements and drawings. A little detail is that Najib wears the Moroccan traditional clothes. In religious occasion, it is in fact popular to wear traditional clothes in Morocco, and Najib shows by this occasion his belonging to the society.

Table 9 summarizes the main elements of Najib’s video “Why do not all Islamic countries fast on the same day?”

**Table 9. Main elements of Najib’s video “Why do not all Islamic countries fast on the same day?”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of views (20 May 2017)</th>
<th>Number of Likes-Dislikes</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Relevant Words/ positions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>189.210</td>
<td>3494 Likes 41 Dislikes</td>
<td>Moroccan Arabic</td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>“This video is about astronomy and history of science”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“I will not give any religious opinions, nor deliver fatwas”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“The Arab calendar before Islam have origins from Babylonian civilization”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“The astronomical calculations are exact on a millisecond scale”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
87% of the times a moon was reported as seen was wrong in Saudi Arabia, between 1961 and 2004”
Different countries use different techniques, either relying on science or human eye”
“Should all the Islamic countries fast on the same day? What do you think?”

The very small number of dislikes in this video compared with the two others, shows that science leaves less place for critics, as it does not include opinions and points of view.

Even when using a pure scientific argumentation, Najib reveals points that are problematic in a state like Morocco, and its red lines. An example is when the pre-Islamic era is referred to: “*The Arab calendar before Islam have origins from Babylonian civilization*”. The Moroccan state has always had in its ideological fundaments that Morocco has started with Islam, and every reference to a pre-Islamic history was marginalized in the official history. Raising this point is a clear challenge to this idea, and a motivation to investigate in that sense.

Moreover, Najib challenges with his last sentence asking if all Islamic countries should fast on the same day. This is a difficult and identity-based question. For Salafists, the answer would clearly be yes. However, for a state like Morocco, having nationalism in the focus, the answer would be clearly no. A nation state has borders in its fundaments, and the national identity has the priority. One should not forget that Morocco is a relatively new nation-state in the modern sense of the term (independent since 1956). Before the colonization of 1912, the start of fasting day was not uniform in the country (long distances, information would spread slowly). Each region fasted according to when they saw the moon. In 2017 it is however different, and a person in Saidia (extreme North East) would fast if the moon is seen in Dakhla (extreme South West). The neighbor in Marsa Ben Mhidi (a city in Algeria, 2 km from Saidia) will not fast if no moon is seen on the territory controlled by the Algerian state. As we can see, the question is very challenging in political terms, even if the discourse was purely scientific.
By raising purely scientific questions, Najib ends up challenging the state and its official discourse, and questioned some of its fundaments and undiscussable pillars.

There are 198 comments about the video. Table 10 summarizes some trends about these comments.

**Table 10. Main elements of comments on Najib’s video “Why do not all Islamic countries fast on the same day?”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language of the comment</th>
<th>Classical Arabic (96)</th>
<th>Moroccan Arabic (80)</th>
<th>French (14)</th>
<th>English (6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opinion of the comment</td>
<td>Agrees/ Encourages Najib (73)</td>
<td>Disagrees with Najib (10)</td>
<td>Other (115)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the opposite of the two previous videos, most comments here are in classical Arabic. One of the reasons is that not all commentators come from Morocco, and ask if Najib could talk in classical Arabic in his videos in order for them to understand. This is the reason why subtitles in Classical Arabic were added later to the video.

A valuable information about the comments, that is also different from the two previous videos, is that there are no insults at all. Even the expression of disagreement is done in a respectful way. Najib is considered as a professor lecturing, and the comments are more towards the content than the person. A difference from the cases of Azzouz and El Mahdaouy.

### 3.2.4 Official channels

I have chosen two videos from official channels to characterize their trends. The first official channel is the YouTube channel of the official Moroccan news agency Maghreb Arab Press (MAP). The second channel is Le360, an electronic media close to the Makhzen, and owned by a counselor of the king\(^{27}\).

The channel of MAP has a total of almost 9 million views and 12,000 subscribers\(^{28}\). Although it is an official state agency, its description is written exclusively in the French language. A language that is both elitist and not constitutional as we have seen in the background. Among the 10 most popular videos of MAP, seven are entitled in French while three have titles in


\(^{28}\) [https://www.youtube.com/user/MAPTVMaroc/about](https://www.youtube.com/user/MAPTVMaroc/about)
classical Arabic. The most viewed video is called “Golshifteh Farahani, an unconditional lover of Morocco”. The video is about the Iranian actress Golshifteh Farahani who visited Morocco and participated in the Marrakesh film festival. The video has 44,722 views. It is exclusively in French. It starts with a Moroccan journalist speaking French with an accent and introducing the subject. The actress then starts describing the beauty of the country, the nature, the food and the cities.

A very important information that I have noticed while I was watching the video is that comments are not allowed, neither is liking or disliking the video. One should know that by default, YouTube allows comments and liking/disliking. The user wishing to disable them must change the settings. From this, we can understand that the MAP does not want people to comment or show their opinion. This is a little contradictory with the spirit of YouTube, an interactive social media. Even if MAP is on social media, it still uses the “traditional” techniques where media provides information and does not discuss or want to be accountable.

The second channel that I use for example of official discourse is Le360. Le360 channel on YouTube has 73 million views and 179,000 subscribers. As for MAP, the description of Le360 channel is exclusively in French. Among the 10 most popular videos of MAP, eight are entitled in French while one has a title in classical Arabic and a last one in English. The most viewed video is called “Aid Al Adha: The sheep price up to 7500 Dirhams”. It is a video about the preparation for the Muslim sacrifice feast. Although the title is in French, the whole video is in Moroccan Arabic, featuring farmers and buyers who give their opinions about the sheep price ahead of the feast of 2016. The video was viewed by half a million people. Statistics about the video are however small if compared with the number of views. There are 750 likes and 171 dislikes for the video. The number of comments is only 51. It is a very small number if we compare with the videos from the podcasters that we have studied earlier. This can raise questions about the veracity of views.

4. Conclusions and discussion

The spreading of Internet in the 21st century has allowed more people to access knowledge and to be connected to the world. Morocco was also affected by this technological revolution, and the net became an important source of information and interaction. Social Media appeared as a manifestation of this interaction, especially the video-based website YouTube. This platform of

29 https://www.youtube.com/user/Le360Live/about
video sharing has allowed millions of users in the world to express themselves to a large public outside of the elitist media model.

In this work, I have studied the use of YouTube by the three Moroccan podcaster Richard Azzouz, Hamid El Mahdaouy and Najib el Mokhtari. The purpose of the study was to investigate if language was used in their discourse as an opposition tool. In the case of a positive answer, what were the elements of opposition manifesting themselves.

In order to answer the research question, I have divided my analysis into two distinct parts. The first part was a statistical one, to have an idea about the trends of the Moroccan YouTube. The second part, which has more importance for the results, was a critical discourse analysis of three videos, each one being a popular video of the podcasters that I have chosen to study. Along with these videos, I have studied two videos from official media in order to exemplify them and give an image of YouTube channels representing the official discourse.

My main findings in this research work were the following:

- Language can be a subculture itself. While official discourse in Morocco is mainly in classical Arabic or French, most trending videos (statistics) and all the podcasts are in Moroccan Arabic. The use of Moroccan Arabic has different origins. As opposed to traditional media, social media relies on the three C’s, cognition, communication and cooperation. This relation gives YouTube a more popular aspect, as it links between the video broadcaster and the receiver. Since it is more accessible to all, a pragmatic use of the language would be the choice of Moroccan Arabic, as it is the most understood language all over the country.

In this context, the choice of the language itself is a way of opposition to the official discourse. The latter is in fact elitist and considers Moroccan Arabic as a dialect that cannot have the same status as Classical Arabic or French. By choosing to talk in a native language (instead of what is taught at school), the podcasters show their opposition to the elitist media. The same trends apply to comments that are in majority written in Moroccan Arabic. An interesting finding was that the MAP channel was banning comments, which makes us wonder why they would use an interactive platform if they would not make their subscribers enjoy the benefits of social media.

The three podcasters that I have studied used a simple Moroccan Arabic, with a clear idea of getting the message broadcasted to all, besides the education level, or any other prerequisites. It is important to know that the all the three podcasters speak other
languages (Classical Arabic, French, English, etc.). The choice of Moroccan Arabic is not a per default choice (because of not knowing any other languages), but rather a conscious one. Azzouz does for example speak and mock Classical Arabic in many of his videos. Najib and El Mahdaouy motivate their choice of Darija by being the closest language to all Moroccans, and the best understood by all. Darija as a subculture opposed to the elitist discourse is clearly present in the three podcasters’ videos. To be even closer to people, El Mahdaouy does even choose to film himself in the public space, to show that he is a citizen like any other, and add a popular tone to his message.

Not only the fact of using a given language is a manifestation of opposition. The content of this language, either the words or ideas, does also express the opposition. Opposition can have different meaning depending on the person talking and the angle they see things from. Moroccan official discourse symbolizes many ideas and images. One can for example be attached to monarchy but reject the Arabist ideology. Likewise, another person might agree with Islamic values of the state but be very critical to the monarchy. Richard Azzouz, the first podcaster in the study, chose to express his opposition by directly challenging the Moroccan red lines, through the use of swear words and historical facts and numbers against them. Never an official media in Morocco would allow the use of any curse word, no matter the subject. In case it is a red line, this would have of course more serious repercussions.

Hamid El Mahdaouy from his side challenges the official discourse by pushing the limits of criticizing and uses a logical thinking. Being a journalist, Hamid knows how to be careful and respectful but still knocks some forbidden doors (i.e. the monarchy). By reasoning simply and logically, the editor-in-chief of Badil tries to explain some contradictions in the Moroccan political scene in order to raise awareness of the bad situation in the country. This is clearly opposed to the official media giving an idea of a stable country where nature and food are nice (MAP video) and that people are preoccupied by event and feasts (Le360 video).

Finally, Najib El Mokhtari uses scientific language and facts to make the audience think outside of the box. The state has chosen an education system relying on memory and selective facts while hiding or banning many others that would not suit its ideology. In this context, a language such as that of Najib challenges this restriction, as it is stimulating discussions on delicate areas such as Morocco during the pre-Islamic era, or the identity-related question: Is religion before the nation-state or the opposite?
- **Political communication** has changed considerably its methods and routines to adapt with the different technologies. In the era of **social media**, the theoretical concept of **popular culture** can gain more attention. This culture that was marginalized for years does not need to be approved through official means to be presented to the world. As we have seen, YouTube gives the opportunity to broadcast videos on a global scale. The podcasters that we have studied took this opportunity to show **opposition** to the official discourse. The official discourse in Morocco does in fact rely on three fundaments: Monarchy, religion and territorial integrity. It is not allowed to criticize them. By cursing the monarchy, Azzouz challenges this discourse. Moreover, he has the opportunity to be watched, heard and even become famous. The same applies to El Mahdaouy and Najib El Mokhtari as well. YouTube (and social media in general) has opened the doors to popular culture (and marginalized cultures in general). By showing the opposition in this study, Renó’s argument of “offering to subaltern classes a space of expression for free” can be extended from subaltern classes to any marginalized or opposed cultures that are not allowed to appear on official media.

## 5. Future work

This thesis aimed to study the oppositional discourse in the Moroccan YouTube, taking the example of three podcasters. It can be extended through different angles. YouTube, as a social media has in fact not the monopoly of video broadcasting. Nowadays, other platforms such as Facebook or Twitter allow live video broadcasting. It can be interesting to analyze video content there also. It is especially relevant for Facebook, where the users know more personally each other, and the interaction can be different than if the video is publicly shared on YouTube.

Another aspect that I have found extremely interesting when doing my research is the absence of the global aspect in the trending YouTube videos in Morocco. Among the 50 most trending videos that I took the 10th May 2017, only two videos (4%) were involving foreign material (both were foreign songs, one French and the other American). I have done a little comparison with Sweden and Brazil. Out of the 50 trending videos in Sweden the 13th May 2017, 25 of them (50%) involved foreign material, mostly American videos in English. On the same day, three (6%) of the 50 most trending videos in Brazil were having a “global” aspect. This difference between the three countries taken as an example can be extended. Research can be done on questions such as: Why is the global content more visible in some countries while the
local content is more trending in others? Especially that Internet is a tool making globalization easier. It appears however that not all the countries follow it at the same pace.

The study of the comments can itself be a big inspiration for research. It contains an incredible number of data and elements. When I have started my analysis, I have planned to include the comments in the study. During this work, I have seen the immense potential that could be analyzed in the comments of a single video. One path that could be investigated is the effect that comments have on a podcaster, viewing the development of the discourse from one video to another. Another idea can be to study the comments themselves, qualitatively. Discussing the ideas and the content of comments should be as relevant as the video itself, especially that YouTube is an interactive platform, where even the video uploader can answer the comments and discuss with the users.
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Annex

List of 50 most trending videos in YouTube Morocco (10 May 2017)

1. Yassar Ou Mratro
2. List of 50
3. Annex
4. 44
5. 41
6. 39
7. 38
8. 35
9. 34
10. 33
11. 31
12. 30
13. 28
14. 27
15. 26
16. 24
17. 23
18. 22
19. 21
20. 19
21. 17
22. 15
23. 14
24. 13
25. 12
26. 11
27. 10
28. 8
29. 7
30. 5
31. 3
32. -
33. -
34. -
35. -
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38. -
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40. -
41. -
42. -
43. -
44. -

1. Yassar Ou Mratro
2. List of 50
3. Annex
4. 44
5. 41
6. 39
7. 38
8. 35
9. 34
10. 33
11. 31
12. 30
13. 28
14. 27
15. 26
16. 24
17. 23
18. 22
19. 21
20. 19
21. 17
22. 15
23. 14
24. 13
25. 12
26. 11
27. 10
28. 8
29. 7
30. 5
31. 3
32. -
33. -
34. -
35. -
36. -
37. -
38. -
39. -
40. -
41. -
42. -
43. -
44. -
List of 50 most trending videos in YouTube Morocco (17 May 2017)

1. مصهر حصرية لعملية مقتل حارس ق비سارية العنف
2. شاهد الأمير موالي الحسن بنعلامة ضابط ايزابيل كولويل
3. قناة مغربية طاهرة بعد دفاعها بساعات نائمة لحولها بلم شنت وعمل على جعلها مساويا وحدها في قبرها
4. وجهة مكثوف و بالدرو ميدي: اعترافات صادمة على لسان أم مغربية: خروج للدعاية وكليب وشرب
5. تعرف على حياة النجم الأموي مهند زين من منحذري أصوله و هو النجم الذي قتل
6. VLOG (70) (Achir Sekra 7it Ramadan 9arib O M3aha Tarf Min 9isa D 7yati Sa3a Nzid NkmeKem L3iha
7. لالة العروسة فيديو ضرب زوجته Lalla Laaroussa
8. موالي الحسن يهيب العالم بالعرض العسكري وهذا ما أعلنهم الملك محمد السادس
9. L'Algérino - Les Menottes (Tching Tchang Tchong)
10. ما لم يتنبأ اليه شاهد اللقطة التي أفرزت قنبلة خير! مشاركون في سلسلة تجربية 2017 من البرامج الجامعية
11. بالفيديو لحظة انتباك مضحكة بين مكاون وزوجته اخبار صديق نيوز
13. [الدوري الاسباني | 13 هدف ميسي | 3 هدف رونالدو | 1 هدف سيسك كاesa | 4 هدف دييغو سيلفا | HD |]
14. $5555
15. الدوزي - أول حزب (فيديو حصرية) (دوزي - أول حزب (فيديو كليب حصرية))
16. مغربية دعت المغارية للثورة لبرد عليها الملك محمد السادس بطريقة لم تطرأ على عاليا
17. تعرف على اسباب طلاق الفنان بنغالياتان اتت تست Респуб طيات دايد لوانزورت
18. Yassar Ou Mrato
19. عまさに
20. colonel plein
21. في القوة الملكية المغربية
22. 20 سنة
23. يجب أن تكون
24. ooren
25. في الاستماع
26. في العالم
27. يجب
28. الإعلان
29. في الدم
30. تكالة
31. في التصوير
32. في العالم
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50. في العالم
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Video of Richard Azzouz "I think therefore I am"
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xSTMwPxsba8

Video of Hamid El Mahdaouy “About the Caid of Deroua... And the king arresting Benkirane”
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=muX6w4lydoA

Video of Najib El Mokhtari “Why do not Islamic countries fast on the same day?”
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=puOwof4aoU

Video of MAP “Golshifteh Farahani, an unconditional lover of Morocco”
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3jJqRE1RaM

Video of Le360 “Aid Al Adha: The sheep price up to 7500 Dirhams”
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sFn5kYEMS7M