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Revisiting Television Programming: Family Values under the Spotlight

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Abstract: Despite the mushrooming of countless means of information and communication technologies over the last two decades, the position of television as a medium of imparting information, offering rich menus of entertainment, and more importantly shaping peoples' perception of social reality and molding the national public opinion has barely waned. Surprisingly enough, this medium has successfully managed to gain more momentum and vivacity. It is now readily viewable on various digital devices, such as computers, tablets, and smart mobile phones. With the advent of digital broadcasting satellite technology, moral panics have often erupted as to the alleged injurious effects of the consumption of material produced in Latin America, Western Europe, the United States, in addition to religious programs aired on many Arab channels. Concerns have been mainly voiced with regard to the erosion of Moroccan traditional family values and the endorsement of rather 'alien' attitudes towards areas relating to extramarital relations, abortion, family type, single parenthood, same-sex marriages, polygamy and divorce. The purpose of this paper, then, was to examine the effects of the content of these tele-visual programming on the attitudes and perceptions of Moroccan young viewers. Hence, two major hypotheses were put forward and a questionnaire was used as the instrument to gather data from the respondents. The results of the quantitative analysis, which harnessed both descriptive and inferential statistics, did not lead to the corroboration of the stated postulates though the study revealed a number of interesting findings.

Keywords: television, family, values, effects, programming, youth

1. Introduction

In spite of the boom in information and communications technologies, which has_spawned a number of other important tools, such as the Internet, DVD, and smart mobile phones, few analysts would agree that the medium of TV has been abandoned or even weakened. Truly, its iron grip may have been loosened, but its presence as a commodity, which not only informs and entertains but also provides companionship and security, is unquestionable. Many people would keep the set on while there may be no one watching or listening attentively. It is well documented that the media may play a significant role in shaping, changing, and even inculcating new values. As Harris (1994) asserts, the media "may actually change one's value or attitude, rather than merely desensitizing or reinforcing an existing one" (p.252). On top of all, family values have been at the center of controversy between sociologists, educators from the one side, and media executives and decision makers from the other (Morgan, Leggett & Shanahan, 1999). Concern also encompassed other values pertaining to consumerism, gender roles, sexuality, and other religious beliefs and values.

The concern about the infiltration of alien values and their impact on the indigenous ones is one legitimate theme of this research endeavor. Indeed, one of the harshest attacks to Arab satellite television concerns the high ratio of imported programming from non-Arab countries. A large portion of programming is produced in western and Latin American countries and imported to numerous Arab stations to keep the 24/24 hours broadcasting engine running. The worrying concern about these imports lies not in their sheer size as much as it revolves around their alleged detrimental impact on the traditions, social mores, and the conventional cultural values of mainstream audiences. This supposedly cultural invasion is materialized through the purchasing of programs that contain themes and pictures that conflict with traditional

family values, like harmony, faithfulness and filial piety, and the broadcasting of erotic scenes and offending verbal sexual innuendo.

Rationale and Framework

The purpose of this paper is to examine the impact of the content of Arab satellite TV broadcasting on the perceptions of family values by Moroccan students in higher education. The major rationale behind this study lies in its attempt to shed light on a poorly investigated phenomenon. Such paucity is confirmed by a number of researchers. Amin (2007) contends that scientific research carried out to debug the Arab satellite effect and its diverse dimensions remains strikingly anecdotal and that "more research is needed to broaden our understanding of the implications of Arab satellite television broadcasting in transforming cultural and religious forms in the Arab world" (p.7).

Family values have always been at the center of agendas in most political campaigns. Morgan, Legget and Shanahan (1999) report how the issue of family values was a dominant and controversial theme in 1992 American presidential campaign. They describe how the then vice-president Dan Quayle "criticized the decision of a television character in a situation comedy, Murphy Brown, to have a child out of wedlock" (Ibid., p. 48). The former American President George W. Bush (2000-2008), while running for presidency, also sought the help of religious institutions. By overemphasizing the place of religion in his agenda, he "promised a restoration of [...] old-fashioned values by fostering a wholesale change in the popular culture" (White, 2003, p. 153). Most often, George Bush's speeches are so fraught with religious allusions and testimonies that White even claims that "Bush did more than merely assure evangelicals that he was one of them" (White, 2003, p.152).

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Framework

This paper adopts the 'Cultivation Theory' as a theoretical framework for the examination of the main research issues. George Gerbner - the founder of the Cultivation Theory- and his associates, think that the medium of TV is the key defining 'cultural arm' of the American society whose prime mission is to "socialize people, and particularly children and the younger population, into standardized roles and behaviors" (Gerbner and Gross, 1976). TV, it follows, is a mass medium that performs the function of a homogenizing institution that projects dominant values and ideologies. In simple words, Gerbner stipulates that heavy exposure to television, in general, leads viewers to "perceive the real world in ways that reflect the most common and recurrent messages of the televised world" (Gerbner et al., 1994, p. 18). Some of the basic tenets of the 'Cultivation Theory' include mainstreaming, resonance, Mean World Syndrome, and First Order and Second Order effects.

2. Literature Review

The fact that contemporary societies have in recent years undergone deep and fast changes on many levels is the unassailable truth. Given the sweeping societal changes and their feared social and economic aftermaths, decision makers, allied with academicians and experts, have sought to delineate those apparently skewed behavioral phenomena, to trace their origins, and to forecast foreseeable changes (Bourgia, 2006). Cultivation researchers, from their part, have veered their attention from traditional themes, such as violence and security to focus on more timely and pertinent issues relating to intergenerational communication, family values, gender roles, and sexuality. The amount of research on family values, conducted from a cultivation perspective, is on the rise (Skill & Robinson, 1994). This issue continues to form a central 'lighting rod' in political agendas and debates in most western societies. In what follows, two hallmark and closely relevant studies will be brought under close scrutiny.

In a study, Morgan, Legett & Shanahan (1999) explored the relationship between heavy TV exposure and the endorsement of traditional family values. This research was essentially stimulated by the 1992 American political campaign in which the theme of family values was an intriguing and a defining one. The controversy was sparked by an American actress, Candice Bergen, who bore the name of Murphy Brown in a popular situation comedy and who chose to have a baby out of the marriage institution. Dan Quayle, the then American Vice-President sharply criticized the character's decision and described it as indicative of "the decay of family values" (p. 48). This research built on earlier content-analyses of family TV programs which mostly alerted to the decreasing popularity and underrepresentation of the conventional nuclear family and the steady rise of single-parenthood and other family structures and roles on American TV. The study adopted two General Social Surveys which incorporate standard Family Values Indexes and used a number of statistical controls to account for spuriousness.

Results indicated that heavy consumers of TV were less supportive of traditional family values as they pertain to illegitimacy and single- parenthood. The researchers also found that young age was a negative and significant predictor of the endorsement of conventional family value indexes. Of substantial methodological relevance is the finding that TV was no longer viewed as a medium that sustains the status quo and portrays conventional values. Interestingly enough, this finding resonates well with the cultural imperialism proponents who advocate that American media content is replete with messages that "are spreading moral decay across the land" (Morgan, Legett & Shanahan, 1999, p. 59).

Zaharopoulos (2001) also examined Greek adolescents' consumption patterns of TV and their perceptions of traditional family structure relationships and values. The sample included participants from urban and rural areas. The research employed a host of independent variables. Most importantly, this study used, in addition to total and specific program viewings, the variables of using other media outlets, U.S. program viewing ratio, the viewer's perceived realism, and the individual's motivation for viewing. The survey questionnaire was designed to elicit the respondents' attitudes towards various family issues, such as divorce, the extended family, the role of grandparents, filial piety, and intimate child-parent communication. Overall, results consolidated the finding of previous studies by reaffirming that the total mode of exposure was not a significant predictor of the respondents' cultivation. Rather, the researcher found that heavy viewing of American TV correlated positively with a depreciation of filial piety and extended families. The research also pointed to the importance of specific program genres and other media consumption as key factors that contribute to shaping the adolescents' perceptions of family issues. The absence of a content-analysis, then, coupled with the difficulty to determine causal relationships are among the main limitations of this study.

3. Methodology

Broadly speaking, the sections of the survey were designed to gather information that would ultimately be quantifiably measured in order to confirm or refute the following research hypotheses.

H1: Heavy consumers of Latino soap-operas will especially display more permissive attitudes in areas related to 'illegitimate' kids, extramarital relations, and abortion.

Sub-hypothesis: Compared to viewers of other programs, respondents who report high consumption of American material will endorse highly unrestrictive family values in areas pertaining to family type and size, single parenthood, same-sex marriages, and divorce.

H2: With respect to the issue of polygamy, heavy viewers of religious satellite TV programs will tend to display highly conventional attitudes.

The sample consisted of 408 randomly selected students who agreed to take part in this research. All participants were enrolled in higher educational institutions in the city of Meknès. Of all respondents, 128 students (31.4%) belonged to Les Classes Préparatoires aux Grandes Écoles d'Ingénieurs (CPGE) in Omar Ibn El Khattab high school. 94 students (23%) of respondents pursue their education at

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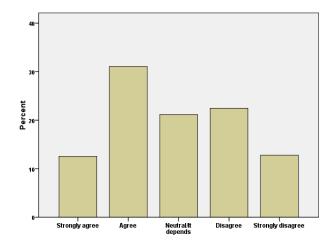
L'École Nationale Supérieure d'Arts et Métiers (ENSAM). A sizeable group of 106 students (26%) was affiliated to the University of Moulay Ismail, the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, from diverse mainstreams. Relatively smaller portions of respondents consisted of 34 (08.3%) and 46 (11.3%) students enrolled at the Faculty of Sciences and the Faculty of Law, respectively. The students' participation was completely voluntary and they were thus given no rewards for their contribution. They were also wellinformed, in advance, about the objectives of the study. Statistically speaking, of the 408 participants, 222 (54.4%) were males, compared to 186 (46.6%), who were females. For descriptive purposes, the age variable was partitioned into four categories, namely 18 through 19, 20 through 21, 22 through 23, and students aged 24 or over.

Operationalization of Constructs

Unlike traditional measurements deployed by orthodox cultivation analysts, this study had adopted a lenient version of the cultivation measurement scale. Respondents were offered six options to choose from, i.e. no time at all, less than 1 hour, between 1 and 2 hours, between 2 and 3 hours, between 3 and 4 hours, and more than 4 hours. In this study, exposure was not, then, treated as a continuous variable in order to facilitate the classification and inputting of data. The first two options measured light viewership. The third and fourth options referred to moderate viewership. The respondents who chose the fifth or sixth option were regarded as heavy viewers.

4. Results and Discussion

The first hypothesis stipulated that heavy consumers of Latino soap-operas will especially display more permissive attitudes in areas related to 'illegitimate' kids, extramarital relations, and abortion. Before undertaking the statistical analysis of this three-pronged hypothesis, we had first to carry out a description of Latino programs' viewing, which is the independent variable. We found out that no more than 17 students (4.2%) met the stringent requirements of heavy viewership of Latino programs, based on the espoused coding framework. When asked about their opinions about according 'illegitimate' births' similar legal status just like any other children, we obtained the results below.

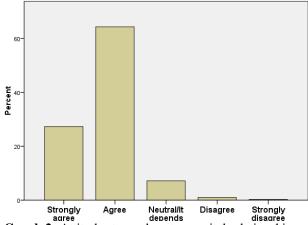


Graph 1: Attitudes towards kids born out of wed-lock

As the graph lucidly illustrates, 12.5% expressed their full support; 31.1% also expressed their agreement while 21.1% were undecided or neutral on the issue. On the other side, 22.5% did not conceal their disagreement. Still, another 12.8% said they were totally opposed to granting such rights to kids born to parents who are not bound by the marriage institution. Generally, then, the proponents of the illegitimacy option do relatively outnumber its opponents. What is surprising is that, based on a gender versus attitude sub-crosstab, there emerged no substantial differences amongst the sexes. Rather, females were even more unsupportive of the statement as 61.2% of them said they disagreed strongly.

More importantly, we needed to examine the attitudes of heavy viewers separately. The cross-tabulation displayed that 47.1% amongst heavy viewers of Mexican programs expressed their agreement with the item in question, compared to 23.5% who disagreed and a tiny portion of 11.8% who strongly disagreed. When compared to their light viewing counterparts, only 30.3% showed their agreement, compared to 12.8 who were totally against granting equal rights to illegitimate kids. The results, though moderately suggestive, remain largely inconclusive because of the absence of polarized clustering on the issue. The X2 test, thus, did confirm this point (sig 0.485). Such insignificant result was further confirmed by the Pearson correlation test which only yielded a 0.027 positive correlation.

The next component of the hypothesis postulates that high consumers of Latino soap-operas would generally show more favourable attitudes towards having extramarital relationships, compared to the other viewers. Graph 2 below exhibits the aggregate responses and the relative percentages.



Graph 2: Attitudes towards extra-marital relationships

Statement: Married people must not have any extra-marital relationship.

Taken together, the two agreement options enjoy a sweeping majority. However, one needs to be reminded that these people do not approve of married people's having extramarital relationships since the statement was phrased negatively. The next step, then, was to find out the distribution of responses of the two viewing groups.

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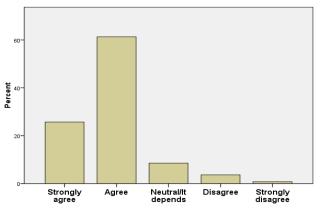
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To our great surprise, all heavy viewing students who reacted to the statement expressed their disapproval of the behaviour. Unexpectedly, 1.1% of light viewers supported the establishment of extramarital relationships while 7.4% within the same group were undecided on the issue. This finding comes in stark contrast to our initial prediction of an allegedly injurious impact of Mexican soap-operas that are said to be fraught with asocial representations that foster non-traditional family values. The X2 test of significance featured a low significance result (0.784). A similar correlation result (0.26) was also found. Because of the absence of strong relationships, running a regression analysis was not deemed necessary.

The next question in the hypothesis invited the participants to give their opinions about the issue of abortion. The item described abortion as an outright human crime that cannot be justified under any circumstances. Let us examine the respondents' reactions in the following graph.



Graph 3: Attitudes towards abortion

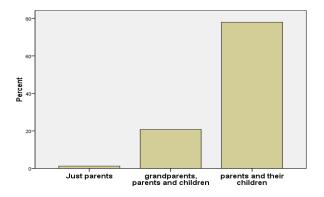
As the graph above clearly demonstrates, 61.3% show their support; 25.7% are fully unequivocal about the issue. It remains to be seen whether this apparently dominant attitude can be applied at an across-the-board level.

The contingency tabulation showed the clustering of answers around the first and the second options for heavy and light viewers alike. The highest agreement percentages are 76.5% and 60.6% that go to heavy viewers and light ones, respectively. Disagreement rates are rather negligible. The inferential Pearson X2 and correlation tests did not yield significant results, namely 0.63 and -0.039, respectively. Overall, then, the hypothesis had received little empirical support both at the descriptive and the inferential level and should thus be rejected.

The above unexpected findings may be attributable to the relatively small group of respondents who were categorized as Latino soap-opera heavy viewers. It could also be assigned to the possible awareness of Moroccan consumers of latent messages and their active negotiation of conveyed meanings. This idea rests on the theoretical assumption that viewers are not vulnerable and gullible species but are rather agents who interact positively with media content and manage to actively reconstruct most televised stories (Bandura, 1994; 2007). However, it remained to be seen whether this finding could be confirmed with regard to other

imported programs. The focus on Latino programs for the analysis is justifiable for relatively being the oldest and amongst the most widely watched material. Today, both domestic and satellite channels teem with Mexican, Brazilian, Indian and Turkish melodramatic tele-novellas. Over the last few years, Turkish soaps have made a remarkable successful incursion into Moroccan and Arab satellite space by offering extensive thrilling sagas which, compared to Latinos, bear certain affinities with the Arab cultures and have amazingly hooked millions of viewers, especially females whose eyes get glued to their screens during the airing times.

As pointed out earlier, viewing western imported material, especially from the USA, has been reported to lead viewers to adopt more liberal and nonconventional family values. A sub-hypothesis was, therefore, elaborated to gauge the truism of such a claim. Because of its exploratory nature, we had to compare American viewership to the French one since these two -American and French programming- top the rates of foreign media imports. The sub-hypothesis predicts that high consumers of American material, compared to French consumers especially, will endorse highly unrestrictive family values in areas pertaining to family type and size, single parenthood, same-sex marriages, and divorce. The first statistical procedure was to describe the independent variable, namely the American program viewing genre. 41.4% of all respondents were classified as heavy viewers, compared to 58.6% who were considered, in line with coding criteria, as light ones. The item relates to the ideal family type. The following Graph exhibits the findings.



Graph 4: Optimal family type and size

The outstanding third bar which represents 78% of the total responses reveals a dominant attitude amongst the sample. While 20.8% think that a family should be an extensive one that consists of grandparents, parents and their children, a far less small rate (1.2%) is supportive of the nucleus family that only comprises the parents. The students were also asked to suggest an optimal number of children, in case they opt for the first or the second option.

Both the X2 and the correlation tests gave low significant and relationship levels, i.e. 0.97 and 0.030, respectively. It is worth reporting, though, that the gender variable was not an important indicator as it correlated positively (0.263) in the regression analysis.

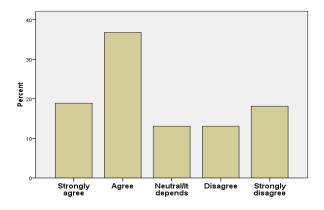
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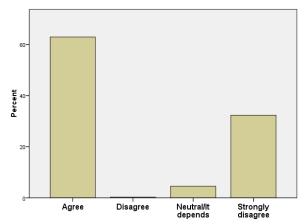
Single parenthood, then, was the next issue to be examined. The statement invited the respondents to give their views on whether unmarried single fathers or mothers must be legally entitled to set up their own families and raise children. Graph 5 below illustrates the students' attitudes.



Graph 5: Attitudes towards single parenthood

Outstanding amongst the responses is the 'agree' option which accounts for 36.8% of all answers. In general, thus, unfavourable attitudes amongst the sample are far less striking. The X2 inferential test yielded 0.7 which is as insignificant as the negative correlation result of -0.056. This could possibly be due to other intervening variables, such as education, socio-economic status, gender, or the use of other media like the Internet. However, after launching the regression analysis, it transpired that, with the exclusion of marital status and original dwelling which positively correlated with the attitude (0.404 and 0.483, respectively), none of the other variables showed significant directional association.

Another controversial family issue pertained to same-sex marriages which are gaining more legitimacy in some parts of Europe and America. The respondents were asked to show their support or disapproval of disallowing such behaviour in the Moroccan society. An aggregate view of all responses is displayed in the following graph.



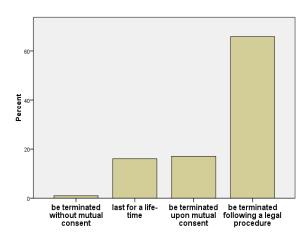
Graph 6: Attitudes towards disallowing same-sex marriages

Statement: Marriage between two persons *of the same sex* should never be allowed in our society.

The bars show the large support in favour of forbidding same-sex marriages, be they gay or lesbian ones, inside the kingdom as 62.9% expressed their agreement, compared to 32.3% who vehemently and surprisingly disagreed. The X2 test yielded a mild result of 0.19. This was further confirmed by the correlation test which produced 0.67.

All things considered, the initial conjecture was seriously undermined as many young students, across the board, both supported and opposed same-sex marriages. These opinions reflect a burgeoning cohort of Moroccan vouth who are progressively getting more tolerant of a social behaviour that had been for long considered a taboo subject. Although sodomy and lesbianism are ancient human sexual practices, they have often been regarded as disgusting, unlawful, shameful, and worthy of punishment by mainstream population standards. To illustrate, on November 19, 2007, an alleged wedding party between two men in the Northern Moroccan town of Al kasr AL kebir triggered an unusual social and political row which only ebbed with an official announcement that the event was a mere traditional feast celebration. Later, some journalists were even later prosecuted for personal libel and reputation defamation. Similar incidents have equally been reported in other places in Meknés and Marrakesh regions (Bouaachrine, 2007). Hence, the mounting tolerant attitude could be traced back to a subtle and imperceptible shift that is taking place and which may be partly due to the massive influx of televisual and electronic material that has invaded much of today's youth space. Yet, the regression analysis showed a barely important relationship between the attitude and the respondents' daily Internet use (0.051).

The attitude towards divorce was the last element to test in the sub-hypothesis. The students were asked whether the marriage union should last for a life-time or may be put to an end for some reasons. Let us survey the diverse views as displayed in the graph below.



Graph 7: Attitudes towards divorce

As the bar in the graph demonstrates, a majority of 65.8% of respondents believe that marriage should be terminated along a legal procedure. On the other extreme, a tiny portion of 01% think that divorce can be filed without any mutual agreement between the marriage partners. The inferential X2 test yielded an insignificant result of 0.222. The correlation

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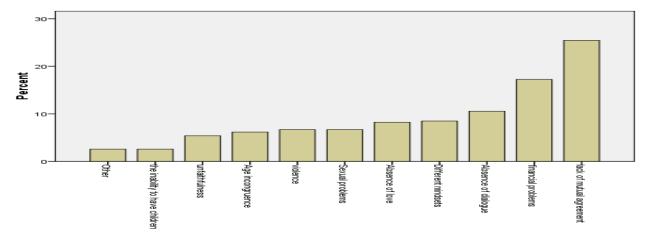
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test confirmed the crosstab finding procedure by a low negative relationship of -0.025. Of all variables entered in the linear regression analysis, civic engagement was the only variable to have a direct positive association with the attitude towards divorce (0.449). This is probably assigned to the vigorous efforts deployed by the activists of a number of local NGOs like the Democratic League for Women's Rights (LDDF), who have been lobbying for the implementation of the new Moudawana's reforms which are

believed to have offered fairer solutions to divorce (Moroccan women, 2007, p. 1). The growing number of youth affiliated to NGOs may be certainly contributing to the changing attitudes amongst the young population. The following question about divorce sought to elicit the students' opinions about the possible reasons behind taking a divorce decision. The graph below provides a comprehensive overview of the dominant views.

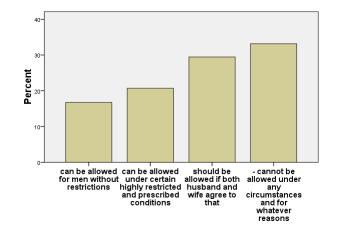


Graph 8: Attitudes towards divorce

Of all options, two main reasons stand out, namely the lack of mutual agreement and financial problems which enjoy 25.4% and 17.2%, respectively. It is interesting to note that the question was an open-ended item that was content-analysed and subsequently submitted to statistical measurement. Relatively infrequent and/or impertinent answers were subsumed under the 'other' option which accounted for 02.6% of all answers. Differences between the two viewing groups were not remarkable.

Still, we needed to carry out a comparative statistical analysis in which we examined the attitudes of heavy viewers of French programming with regard to the same four issues. In general, after running all tests, there emerged no important associations, nor any statistically significant results with the exception of a strong correlation between heavy French programs' viewing and the attitude towards disallowing same-sex marriages (p<0.05). This led us to conclude that the sub-hypothesis was largely uncorroborated.

The last hypothesis posits that heavy viewers of religious satellite TV programs will tend to display highly conventional attitudes with respect to the issue of polygamy. Before exploring the students' opinions on the above issues, we need to have an idea about the independent variable, i.e. religious programs' viewing, and its two attributes. A descriptive analysis showed that 32.4% of respondents were categorized, along coding criteria, as heavy viewers of religious programming, whilst 67.6% were classified as light consumers of such material. The following graph illustrates the proportions regarding the diverse attributes of the variable of polygamy.



Graph 9: Attitudes towards polygamy

In aggregate, there seems to be no prevalent attitude. However, more than a third of the sample (33.2%) believes that polygamy should be banned and not be allowed under any circumstances. This opinion is met, on the other side, with another hard-line view that holds that polygamy should be permitted freely for males. Curiously, we felt it interesting to explore gender differences amongst the respondents. However, the test revealed no significant differences between the sexes. What was so surprising is that more females (18.7%) chose the first alternative compared to males (15%).

As to the significance level of the finding, the X2 produced a humble result of 0.290. The Pearson correlation test revealed a small negative relationship between the two variables (-0.005). Interestingly, there transpired, after running the regression analysis, a moderate direct relationship between the students' civic engagement, age, and their attitudes, i.e. 0.411and 0.423, respectively. Overall,

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the hypothesized association was largely refuted with reference to heavy viewing of religious programming and the adoption of conventional attitudes towards polygamy, i.e. showing strong support for having more than one wife at the same time.

This finding could seek its explanation in several reasons. First of all, most satellite TV programs, be they religious or otherwise, hardly depict families with polygamist husbands. When they do so, these families are, more often than not, portraved negatively or at least unfavourably. Another important reason lies in the nature and the discourse of most religious programs aired on Arab satellite TV channels. Renowned religious scholars, such as Al Qaradawi, Amr Khalid, and Al Kerni are not strong advocates of polygamy because they contend that there are certain moral and physical restrictions prescribed by Islamic teachings that strictly discourage men to marry more than one wife at the same time. Polygamy, though, is not disallowed altogether. Last but not least, the fact that most students come from monogamous families and that polygamist marriages are rare occurrences because of the new family law's restrictions could persuade students to believe that the effective management of two or more households is a real nightmare. Still, the portion of ardent polygamy proponents may have their good reasons as well. Those students may think that such behaviour should be an act of free choice which does not violate women's rights and that polygamy is, at times, an efficient solution to nuptiality and other socially undesirable behaviour like adultery or divorce. However, in a country like Morocco, where even some educated people still uphold polygamist marriages, despite legal strict regulations, eradicating polygamy seems, within the foreseeable future at least, a mere illusion.

5. Recommendations and Conclusion

One of the merits of this work is that it is amongst the first few attempts to unravel the effects of Arab satellite TV on the attitudes of Moroccan youth towards conventional family values from a cultivation perspective. The findings carry a number of implications for specialists in a number of fields, such as sociology, communications theory, and cultural studies, in addition to the Moroccan officials in charge of public and private media strategies. The research did also highlight the important role of socio-economic and demographic variables, mainly age, gender, and the educational level, as moderators of the cultivation differential.

With the fast expansion of the electronic society and the new information super highways, the need to teach younger generations how to approach media content comes to the forefront. Information and education sectors should jointly coordinate to devise programs that shed light on the mechanisms of media production and distribution and also the manipulative nature of most media messages, and to provide them with the tools of critical appraisal and analysis. Incorporating a media literacy program in Moroccan educational curricula is likely to boost the students' critical thinking skills and to allow them to build up more immune personalities. It will also enable them to develop more

tolerance towards the 'other' by accepting multiple views and conceding to different interpretations.

One of the most outstanding observations of this research is that the Moroccan educated students 'feed on' different program genres. However, most respondents have a penchant for entertainment programs, compared with religious or cultural programs. This may be attributable to the paucity of such TV programs. This is confirmed by Zermane (2007) who confirms that "more than 60% of Arab satellite TV programming is devoted to entertainment" (p. 1). Undoubtedly, producing interesting cultural programs requires highly technical facilities, professional staff, and is financially more demanding. The production of cultural material is often put under tight governmental control and is also often distorted, boring, and does not appeal to the interest of young viewers. Likewise, the local religious programs, to be appreciated by young Moroccans, need to tackle the real issues and day-to-day problems of modern life and not address far-fetched and irrelevant topics (Shakkouri, 2010). They should also invite leading religious clerics and not beginning ones who, by issuing weird 'fatwas', may possibly spark violence, sectarianism or extremism.

The need to replicate this study to assess its validity and reliability and chart the attitudinal changes and value orientations of young educated Moroccans is one such large avenue opened up by this work. It is equally recommended to enlarge the scope of 'Cultivation Analysis' by launching studies that assess high exposure to other media outlets, mainly the Internet and other social networks.

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