

Research Article

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Modernity and Morocco: Gender Smoking as a Modernity Sub-youth Culture Aspect, Fez as a Case Study

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Abstract: Humanity continues moving forward in science and technology to pave the way to a series of changes in people's behaviours, norms and values. Modernity as a process of renovation affects generations' ways of behaving and living, especially the youth category. This is called "youth culture". One of the apparent aspects of this culture that the present research tackles is Gender Smoking. The present study is an attempt to investigate the habit of gender smoking as a youth sub-culture in Morocco. Also, the paper aims at investigating society's perception towards male and female smokers. For this purpose, the paper uses a theoretical and a practical part. The field work was conducted through distributing 100 questionnaires. Added to this quantitative measurement, 54 interviews were conducted as a qualitative measurement. Briefly, the findings proved that 59% of respondent's agree that modernity influences Moroccans' daily lives. Moreover, 65% of respondents believe that there is conflict between tradition and modernity. On the other hand, 31% agree that gender smoking is a modernity sub youth culture aspect. Finally, the majority of respondents, 98%, demonstrate that society tolerates male smokers. Oppositely, 72% of respondents show society's rejection of female smokers.

Keywords: Modernity; Tradition; Sub youth-culture; Gender Smoking.

Introduction

All societies seek to improve their quality of life, increase their wealth and develop their skills. In other words, humans are inclined to means and methods that ameliorate and facilitate their ways of life. They are disposed towards comfort and good welfare accomplishment. In this regard, modernity as a process of renovation and creativity, through its continuous technological output, is that tool which achieves these objectives. It is shaped in hard devices and materials that it produces. Simply put, luxurious cars, laptops, advanced smart phones, technological refrigerators, washing machines etc, are modern devices provided for the comfort of the human being. Nonetheless, such material output may bear with it seeds of intellectual and symbolic impact. In other words, modernity embodied in material productions can't escape the influence of modernism as a mental process. That is to say, it may shape the social and cultural structure of the society it deals with. As Karl (1961) states, "*Modernity is the development of new structural, institutional and cultural features and formations, and the growing potential for social mobilization*" (Deutsch, 1961). It started in Europe and spread its influence across worldwide communities and cultures. Unlike predominant assets and principles of mysticism and faith, modernism is based on Reasoning and pragmatic thinking. Thus, it carries with it the idea of a breakthrough with the ancient attitudes and ways of thinking. Due to modernity, the world has shifted from traditional modes of living to more new and comfortable ways. The west started conceiving of modernism as a thought at least since the renaissance in the 15th century. It turned into a lived reality since the break of the scientific and industrial

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revolutions of the 16th and 18th centuries, respectively. Yet third world countries didn't conceive of modernity till the late nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, with the foreign colonial penetration and its economic and cultural expansion. Colonization was one factor among others that paved the way to a series of reforms and changes in order to keep up with the west's moral and material developments. Morocco is one of the countries influenced by the colonial stream as well as by neocolonial impacts. This resulted in a change in many fields like Moroccan law and economy, infrastructure, language and culture.

In other words, colonialism was one of the tools that introduced the Moroccan population consciously or unconsciously to the impact of modernity. For example, Maghraoui (2013) argues that colonialism transforms different forms of hegemonic structures into the domains of science, medicine, technology, urbanism and art (Maghraoui, 2013). Moreover, Modernism came to enhance basic human, political and civic rights. Also, technological advancement and use can be a direct result of modernity expansion. Technology has urged Morocco to be more tolerant and open to other western developed cultures. For instance, the internet is a significant example. It is a means which facilitates communication across linguistic and cultural borders. This has affected Moroccan citizens as they became influenced by the westerner's way of thinking and behaving. Moreover, one of the results of modernity is the innovation of a youth culture, where adolescents decide to express themselves freely and courageously. This is achieved through changing their customs and behaviors as a way to revolt against old principles. The youth have adopted new kinds of music "Rap, Hip Hop and Rock", new cultural styles like "Emo girls" and new behaviors like "Drug use and Gender Smoking".

The motive behind this topic is its importance as a debatable issue, mainly in the midst of predominantly traditional communities like Morocco. Even when initiating new behaviors is challenging to the society and its traditional predominant norms, young boys and girls take bold and courageous decisions in this respect. However, new introduced values may cause some sort of a generation gap. Thus, the present study attempts to investigate how a society, sustaining traditional morals and manners by the pious and old people, could live between two opposite pillars. That is, modernity and tradition may not coexist as two contrasting elements. Moreover, the foremost aim of this research is to shed light on how modernity could engender behaviors and sub-youth cultures such as Gender Smoking. Meanwhile, the research paper attempts to answer questions such as: how does the Moroccan society deal with similar sub-youth cultures? Does the society tolerate male and female smoking? Are male and female smokers treated equally or looked at from a gendered dimension? Both the quantitative and qualitative approaches are used in this study. The sample population chosen is Fez city. The reason behind the choice of Fez as a sampling population is that though Fez is considered a big and modern city, it is still traditional and conservative in comparison to other cities such as Rabat and Casablanca where women express and enjoy more freedom. Questionnaires were distributed randomly. The aim behind the research is to discover their opinion and attitudes towards youth smoking and tell their own experiences in an unbiased manner. The paper is divided into two major parts. The first is dedicated to the review of literature. This part lays a theoretical ground for the thesis statement. It is subdivided into two major sections: *Modernity and Youth Culture in Morocco*; *Youth Culture in Morocco and its Impact*. These sections are subdivided into sub-sections. The former is subdivided into: *Morocco and Modernity* and *Modernity vs. Tradition*. The latter is subdivided into: *Gender Smoking as a sub-youth Culture* and *The Impact of Youth Culture on Moroccan Context*. The second part of the present paper is concerned with the methodology. The latter is divided into two main sections; *Variables and field work*. The former is further subdivided into subsections: *Graphs and Variables Description*. The Field work is equally subtracted into subsections: *Findings and Analysis*, *Questionnaires and Figures*, *Interviews and Interview Analysis*.

1 Modernity and Youth Culture in Morocco

1.1 Morocco and Modernity

Modernism and modernity as western concepts have intervened and shaped the path of development and growth in almost all Moroccan cities. This act was first introduced on a large scale within the context of colonialism to transform the welfare that accompanied the European technology to this country. This paved the way to a great change in Morocco's constitution and people's lifestyle. So what is modernity? How did Morocco get to European modernity? And how did it deal with that modernity? For example, Madan (1987) argues that modernity aims at the enlargement of

human freedoms and the enhancement of the range of choices as people begin to take charge of themselves (Madan, 1987). This trend started manifesting strongly around the seventeenth century in Europe to affect every nation in the West and, to some degree, most nations of the world. That period was marked by the creation of a revolt against the Roman Catholic Church and its stagnant resilience against scientific research. Thus, modernism stood against the dominance and persecution of religion for launching a new enlightening period. As Giddens (1997) states, *“Medieval Europe thought the authority was the word of God and was revealed through the teachings of the Roman church. The enlightenment challenged this whilst accepting new ideas of religion, myth and tradition; thus, helping create a new faith through knowledge and reason. The enlightenment ushered a period of uncertainty for religion in Europe, and Christianity in particular was criticized by the enlightenment writers”* (Giddens, 1997).

This suggests that modernity implies social, political and cultural changes. It is a manifestation of civilization that contradicts tradition and traditional perceptions of values. Modernism believes in science and rationality and centers upon new values like social individualism and economic liberalism. It stresses mostly on individual's autonomy from the fetters and restrictions of religion. As a consequence, citizens' mentality and ways of behaving were being shaped along the dissemination of the new principles, calling for the liberation of men and women alike, the development of pluralism and democratization and the fight against all forms of authoritarianism. As Foucault (1995) emphasizes, *“Modernity refers to a period marked by a questioning or rejection of tradition; the prioritization of individualism, freedom and formal equality; faith in inevitable social, scientific, and technological progress [...] a movement from feudalism towards capitalism and the market economy”* (Foucault, 2019). Thus, modernism came with a set of principles that center upon the full liberation of the human being.

Moreover, Julieta & Anton (2009) add that modernity, among other characteristics, is an embrace of technology that imagined an escape from history and which is a desire for transparency and better health conditions (Julieta, Brian, & Anton, 2009). This means that modernity can be taken in terms of advancement in technology, sophistication of lifestyle and improvement of the welfare of the peoples. In short, modernity has come to provide citizens with a better, easier and comfortable life. As far as Moroccan context is concerned; modernity started shaping the patterns of Moroccan life in practical manner since 1912. Clearly, France and Spain's colonization of Morocco for decades until independence in 1956 shaped the political, economic and cultural institutions of the country. In other words, the French and Spanish existence affected Morocco as the latter underwent many reforms and changes at the economic, political and social levels. For example, Moroccan Politics was modernized; the infrastructure was solidly built; French language was introduced and adopted as the language of prestige among Moroccans; new laws were set in the context of modern requirements and needs and the economy was enlarged for free national and international exchange. Thus, Moroccans started living socially and culturally beneath an external influence, thinking from western concepts and using paradigms that are derived from western realities. This beholds that the kingdom of Morocco has witnessed various and great changes over the last decades.

In terms of gender relations, Morocco was a very traditional country. Males and females used to practice their customs with love and pride. Traditionally, the man was the main breadwinner of the family, while it was usually the woman's responsibility to look after children, doing the house chores, cleaning, cooking, and looking after sick or elderly relatives. Therefore, the man was allotted more importance than the woman. As Sachs (2001) holds, *“A husband can prevent his wife from traveling abroad, and the police will back up his legal right to stop her. A father can marry off his daughter against her will, and she, by law, must obey. A woman is trapped in a loveless marriage; with few exceptions, her husband is free once he declares himself divorced”* (Sachs, 2001). This means that a woman staying at home and men active at work was considered as something normal and ordinary. Even the wives of the Moroccan kings were unknown as they were not seen on television until the advent of Mohammed the sixth. The Moroccan kingdom started proving its modernity when King Mohammed the 6th got married to a commoner wife. Even their marriage celebration was broadcasted on television for the first time in the Moroccan history; whereas, traditionally nobody knew the wives of the kings or even their names, and also they were always from the same royal family.

This was a big step that the king took to show that he was trying to modernize not only the country, but also the royal constitution. As Sachs (2001) confirms, *“In 2002 he [meaning king Mohammed the sixth] broke with tradition and married a 24-year-old commoner, computer engineer Lalla Salma Bennani, reinforcing the image of a modern Morocco on the move”* (Sachs, 2001, p. 2). That is, Morocco has realized the importance of involving women in the process of change and comprehensive development to show and build a real democratic and modern society. Morocco engaged in a number of international conventions, notably the Beijing Conference of the Convention and the Elimination of All

Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which states that the full and complete development of a country and the welfare of science, and the cause of peace requires the maximum participation on the part of women on an equal footing with men in all fields (Waldorf, 2004). Enhancing women's situation has become the most important task of the Moroccan government. The latter has taken a series of measures culminating in the most important gain for Moroccan women, namely the reform of family law and the issuance of the family code "Mudawana" in 2003 by the king Mohammed the sixth. As Paola (2015) asserts, *"The Code of the Family guarantees to the woman the freedom to marry and to establish conditions to the polygamy, the possibility of choosing the divorce, the possibility to make appeal to the tribunal in case of divorce and to ask for the legal protection of the children"* (Paola, 2015). In other words, the question of women's rights has finally shifted from a private and religious sphere to a public and political one. The Mudawana formed a real turning point in the history of Moroccan legislation, and a qualitative leap in the history of promoting women's and children's rights. As there was a real change in the terms of the personal status law for the benefit of women and children, particularly regarding the right to marriage, divorce, custody and jurisdiction. Moreover, the state adopted a national strategy to combat violence and sexual harassment against women, and introduced listening centers and cells for battered women in hospitals; police stations and civil society associations (Paola, 2015, p. 4). Since Moroccan independence in 1956, there were significant changes in women's rights which were enhanced with the beginning of the third Millennium. In regard to education, women started having access by the force of law. They are enabled schooling despite the probable unwillingness of parents. That is, the days when women were kept housebound, cosseted and remote from society no longer exist in most of the Moroccan areas. As Thirdeyemom (2015) confirms, *"One of the biggest changes was the ability of women to go to school and receive education"* (Thirdeyemom, 2015).

In terms of the structure of the family, colonialism and modernity have affected the collective system of the Moroccan family. In the past, the family structure was an extended one where all first blood relatives were living under the same roof, including parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins. Solidarity and cooperation was a significant virtue of Moroccan society at that time. There was great human interaction and bonding among members of the same family. However, under the influence of western values and cultures, the family has been modified to be a nuclear one with only a mother, father and children. Here, individualism which is one value developed along the spread of modernism, started prevailing. Family structure transforms from a collective system to a nuclear one. For example, Chekroun (1994) highlights this idea, *"Within this frame, not only the number of the members has diminished, the vertical relations of authority have changed in the direction of an individualization but we can also gradually observe the transition from a family where the members' roles are related to their status to a family more oriented to the person and where the socialization of the members is much more horizontal"* (Chekroun, 1994). These factors led to the growing democracy and human rights streams that have been influenced by the western movements. As a result, Men's situation in general and women's in particular within family and society has partially changed. These steps prove that Morocco is becoming a more democratic and modern society that respects and ensures citizens' freedom and rights.

In terms of linguistic acculturation, Moroccans used to give value to their mother tongue, Tamazight and to Moroccan dialect before colonialism. In contrast, they instilled the idea that the western languages are more valuable and prestigious than the local ones as France and Spain entered the country. This led to adopting French and Spanish languages while neglecting native dialects. The French language has become widely spoken. Even though the French language is not native to Morocco, about half of the Moroccan population speaks it. The French language is omnipresent, especially in Morocco and particularly in urban cities: shops, restaurants, transports, ads and many others. It is witnessed also that, in all these fields, the writings or Ads are at least bilingual "French and Arabic", if not exclusively French. Among the factors that push people to adopt French is showing modernity and resisting backwardness as it is said in the Moroccan World News Magazine, *"French does not really enjoy acknowledgement as an official language, but it is the first, privileged foreign language"* (Ahuilat, 2015). Moreover, Spanish is also a part of the Moroccan culture that shows the influence of western acculturation. Spanish is spoken by many people in Northern Morocco, the zone of Spanish protectorate. For example, Ahuilat (2015) stresses that about 20,000 Moroccans know Spanish (Ahuilat, 2015, p. 2). Added to this cultural significance of foreign languages, it is worth saying that French remains a major instrument of career and school as well as of social and professional promotion. Thereafter, in a step forward to a more open country, King Mohammed the sixth insisted on the importance of learning foreign languages, as they help in reducing cultural and economic distances among countries. This was done by creating the National Charter for Education and Training in 1999 that insisted on this principle, and was reinserted in the Strategic Vision Document of 2015-2020 (Ibourk, 2016). It is recognized that in addition to French and Spanish languages, English is also given

significant value as Moroccans have started recently becoming much more interested in it. English is considered as the language of business and communication. Thus, Moroccans learn it so as to be close to western power and culture.

Moreover, modernity has also affected Moroccan fashion and clothing. With the openness of Morocco to the other cultures through free trade and new technology, Moroccans' way of dressing changed a lot from what it used to be. Traditionally, people used to wear traditional items like Caftan and Djellaba for both men and women. Moreover, Hayek, Slippers and many other items were highly appreciated as they were used by Moroccans daily. Recently, Moroccans' style has changed, dressing in modern fashion and simulating western dress, shape and manner. Nowadays, almost all Moroccans wear jeans, suits and t-shirts so as to be up to date with modernity. Morocco does also imitate the west's laws and conventions. For example, French influence is seen in the Moroccan constitution and its government renewing laws. It is noticed that the majority of the Moroccan state laws are copied from the French law. This is done by Morocco to show modernity and to demonstrate that it goes hand in hand with western culture.

Economically speaking, the Moroccan government took a lot of steps to modernize the country. As Paola (2015) emphasizes, *"Morocco's economy, today, has an open, market-oriented economy, while Morocco was very deep in debt in the 1980s, reforms and changes were made to improve the economy"* (Paola, 2015). Some of the important changes were: building the largest port in Africa in the city of Tangier, and also building a free trade zone that allows Morocco to compete not only with African countries but also with the Europeans'. Moreover, there is a great project and work in renewable energy in Tangier, which is now completed and has started to export energy overseas. As Liddell & Monjib (2009) stress, *"The king launched a free-trade agreement with the United States, have drawn increased foreign direct investment and sought to establish Morocco as a major player in the Mediterranean economic area, in which it now boasts a major port project (Tangier MED)"* (Liddell & Monjib, 2009). In short, modernity is a group of cumulative operations which directs society towards further development and progress. Economically, that progress could develop productive forces. Politically, it elaborates state institutions, based on liberalization of the traditional political practices and democratization of the public life. At the social level, it establishes new values and norms. Morocco is a country that has historically been marked by complex layers and coexistence between different histories, cultures as well as a dynamic interplay of different processes of modernization. Essentially then, modernity has been a driving force in the development of Morocco economically, politically, socially and culturally. Yet the predominant values of religion and tradition that rooted the social structure of Morocco for centuries remain challenges against the speeding pace of the modernization process.

1.2 Modernity vs. Tradition

Morocco has been and partially is still considered a traditional country. Conversely, modernity may refer to the quality or character of breaking free from the bonds of tradition and pre-modern beliefs and norms as highlighted above. Modernity started dominating the world since its appearance in the seventeenth century in Europe onwards throughout the rest of the world (Giddens, 1990). Morocco is one of the countries that have been influenced by modernity, as both men and women adopt modern norms in their daily life activities. Moroccan society is undergoing a great transition from a traditional past to a modernist future. Yet this transitional phase confronts several problematic paradoxes which often lead to clashes between members of the community. On one hand, men and women in the Moroccan society are carrying values, principles and concepts that are modern. Meanwhile, the same men and women still carry conservative ideas and traditional deposits received through formal and informal education either by family, street or school. This puts the relationship among people in a continually social and cultural conflict. As Sharabi (1988) emphasizes, *"Modernity has broken into our traditional and stagnant community's structures, but it has only touched the surface of our society without entering the inner depth, which resulted in a socially and morally struggle..., [the Arabs] took the material achievements of the modern civilization [the car, the plane, the Internet, and mobile] without adopting its values and its scientific and technical ideas"* (Sharabi, 1988).

Morocco is both a traditional kingdom and one of the most modern and outward-looking, at least of the Muslim world countries. Moroccan society manifests tradition and modernity simultaneously. Although modernization refers to a total societal process by which societies change technologically, socially, politically, economically and culturally; Moroccan society hasn't reached that total change because it has changed some things while many others are still the same. In other words, there is a mixture and a contradiction between modernity and tradition. In this regard, Chabal

& Daloz (1999) assert, “*There is no simple linear move from tradition to modernity since one can be both, traditional and modern at the same time*” (Chabal & Daloz, 1999). Simply put, the Moroccan person may manifest traditional and modern behaviors at the same time. This aspect embodies in the Moroccan character, both on the intellectual level as well as on the material level. For example, you may encounter a person who uses a Smartphone, electric devices, frequents bars for wine..., which are modern norms. The same person could be found on a Friday sermon raising amen hands to the cursing of the unbelievers (apparently the innovators of the smart phone and electronic devices he and his wife and family use) and preaching on religious issues, preventing his wife going outside home unveiled...etc. On the physical level, you can find, in places like Fez old Medina, the use alike of modern cars and donkey carriages passing some alleys and passages of the city.

For instance, Lwoods (2013) stresses this point, “*The first thing that struck me while I sat in the van as we drove from Casablanca to Rabat was the seeming clash between modernity and tradition. Brand new highways being used by tractors, gated estates surrounded by crowded housing districts, business headquarters placed in the middle of farmland, European cars stopped at lights next to donkeys*” (Lwoods, 2013). Recounting her traveling experience through Moroccan districts, Lwoods was astonished by the dichotomy extant of traditional and modern features, portraying how Moroccans mix between the traditional way of dressing with the modern one. In other words, Morocco seems to be neither a fully modernized country nor a traditional one per se. In contrast, it is a pot where the two concepts could be in, at least implicitly, a continuous conflict. This notes that “Tradition” and “Modernity” are widely used as polar opposites in Moroccan society’s social change because people would like to be modern by imitating the west. Meanwhile, they want to protect their traditions and norms. For example, wearing a Jellaba while driving a car, and using a mobile while preventing a female from education is an example of the same sort of unconscious split in character. This idea was emphasized by Lwoods (2013) who described the way of dressing in Morocco, “*The reality of street wear in Rabat proved to be very different from what I expected; while many older women dress very conservatively; Tank tops, short dresses, and heels coexist with hijab, long sleeves, and djellabas*” (Lwoods, 2013, p. 7). This dichotomy may represent an intricate, complicated mingling of both the Western and Maghreb worlds that is often hard for a foreigner to understand (Thirdeyemom, 2015).

Despite the fact that Morocco is working hard to keep pace with modernity, by adopting western forms of education, gender equity, human rights, freedom of choice and dignity; it could not change many other important things like annihilating illiteracy, violence and segregation. In this regard, Sharabi (2013) reports, “*The experience of modernity in Morocco – both structurally and conceptually – is complicated and a source of confusion. Morocco encountered European modernity at a time when Europe had realized an evolutionary path from the Renaissance. In the nineteenth century, the West had experienced the Enlightenment; Morocco, on the other hand, was thrown into a developed experience of modernity while its cities were still struggling with issues like illiteracy, dictatorship, and underdevelopment. This disparity has made Morocco’s transition to modernity extremely complicated and problematic*” (Sharabi, 1988). Another conflict that may result from adopting modern values is a cultural gap conflict among generations. When a society changes rapidly, the members of each generation are likely to develop their own perception on cultural and political establishments (Braungart & Braungart, 1986). When the younger generation comes with new and western norms and behaviors, the older one may see it as something abnormal and strange, accusing them of neglecting their local and unique traditions while embracing western values.

Moroccan youth feels a contradiction between the restrictions of religion and tradition and their urgent desire to be free and live within an unprecedented openness to the world. Moreover, most of them find it very difficult to cope with the new situation. Their lives become difficult because they find themselves stuck between the desire of a personal freedom and the hassling of the traditions and customs constructed by society. Furthermore, as citizens start adopting western languages like French and English on the one hand, they neglect their local and native one on the other hand. This has led to a wave of anger toward western culture, accusing it of coming to mess with Moroccan values. This shock of cultural and psychological modernity has caused a serious conflict between two broad categories: ‘the Innovators’ and the ‘Conservatives or Salafists’. The former calls for reform, modernization and the integrity of Western civilization, while the latter insists on keeping the traditional institutions and going back to the first Islam and give it a second reading. In this regard, Kamal (1934) maintains that contemporary Moroccan philosophical thought evolves in its attempt to come to terms with two problematic issues: the issue of modernity, on the one hand, and the issue of contention vis-à-vis the heritage on the other hand (Kamal, 1934).

Furthermore, the Salafists are among the first ones who reject modernity. Salafism as a return to the past and a search in the heritage is in sharp contradiction with modernity; while modernism is an expression of the transgression of the traditions, customs and religion. In other words, Salafism is an adoption of the text or revelation as a method to analyze the reality and look to the future; whereas, modernism entrusts Reason as a principle faculty towards creativity and updating. As Sadik (2016) states, *“Salafism advocates a return to the traditions of the so-called devout ancestors, while rejecting and cursing all that is new and modern. Instead of advancing the concept of hope in life, as well as dignity and tolerance under the umbrella of morality, instead of celebrating the ethics of community, this fundamental perspective embraces pessimism, weakness and fear and brings about horrible the politics of sin and guilt as consequences of non-adherence”* (Sadik, 2016). It can be deduced that modernity appears as a demonic conception in their essays. They say that modernity and secularism supporters work hard in order to fulfill the task of demolishing Islamic religion. Conversely, they insist on upholding authenticity, heritage and local customs. Accordingly, habits and traditions are the true wisdom of people.

On the other hand, there are other intellectuals who call for adopting modernity and abandoning authenticity. One of these most outstanding Moroccan intellectuals is Abdellah Laroui. He calls for a separation from Arab-Islamic heritage. Laroui is tightly attached to the Western modernity so much that it has become almost an obsession. Laroui's call for a radical decisive epistemological break with the past, what he calls “hassm”, has been a key contribution to the Maghreb and Arab philosophical discourse on modernity. Progress and development in the Maghreb and Arab world, asserts Laroui, can be achieved only if a decisive break with the past and its heritage takes place. Laroui (2011) (As cited in Sabry, 2010) holds that Western historical materialism and its revolutionary politics are the only strategy to get away from cultural Salafism, the superficialities of liberalism and technocracy, and the only route to modernity (Sabry, 2010). In this connection, most of these innovators cherish modernity and neglect traditions. Saying that the traditional customs are old and obsolete, they hinder the individual's vital activism and potential for full realization. Modernists see modernity as a new positive model which enables moving towards a prosperous future. Besides Laroui, Mohamed Abed al Jabri is another key figure in contemporary Moroccan thought. Being an intellectual in post-independence Morocco, al Jabri is also concerned by the Tradition-Modernity dichotomy. Unlike Laroui, al Jabri (2008) (As cited in Sabry, 2010) calls for the historicization of the heritage by modernizing it from within so that it reconciles with the present and the new realities of the Maghreb and Arab cultures (Sabry, 2010, p. 30).

By this, he means that a real modernity in the Maghreb and Arab world has to be connected to the Maghreb and Arab traditional past. He calls on the Moroccan and Arab intellectuals to play an active role in harmonizing between the modern world and Islamic tradition by using Reason. Al Jabri (2011) believes that the Arab-Islamic school of thought's current problems in entertaining a harmonious and balanced relationship with the demands of the contemporary world is due to the progressive loss of a rational and scientific dimension (al-Jabri, 2011). In this connection, al-Jabri explains how Arab Reason lacks an adequate historical perspective and objectivity, and can only be renewed through a serious questioning of the old values and norms and through a global and in-depth critique (al-Jabri, 2011, p. 87). In other words, al-Jabri proposes a scientific critique of Arab reason by renouncing the conservative understanding of tradition and by assimilating Western modernization. For al-Jabri, modernity does not mean heritage rejection, nor a decisive break with the past, as much as it means, *“Rising in a way to deal with the heritage to the level of what we call as the modernity, keeping up with the progress made at the global level”* (al-Jabri, 2011, p. 90).

To sum up, the colonial past of Morocco brought about a constant struggle between tradition and modernity that shaped the intellectual and political fields of Morocco. As highlighted above, there continues to be a conflict between these two assets. On one hand religious people insist that people need not abandon Islam and tradition for adopting external imposed values. On the other hand, a number of significant Moroccan intellectuals attempted, through their groundbreaking works and writings, to embrace modernity in its wide scope and dimensions. In this regard, Laroui sees the dominance of tradition in Morocco and Arab countries as the main reason behind the historical retardation of these countries, compared to Western nations. So Laroui asks for a separation from old traditions and an adoption of the modern ones. On the other hand, al Jabri attempts to chart a route towards modernity without a final breakthrough with patrimony and heritage. He insists on connecting to and starting from the traditions so as to understand and cope with modernity. It is clear from what is highlighted that the question of modernity swings in the minds of the Moroccan elites between those who are with and those who are against, which has resulted in varied visions and ideas in due regard to the present reality. Some see no room for welcoming modernity, considering it a ‘Western innovation’ and thus, an intrusion on the Moroccan culture; whereas, some others express their disposition to welcome modernity as

a civilization and a thought. Despite the diversity and differences in views on the subject of modernity, modernity still imposes itself on neighboring countries on many levels, especially on the cultural level. The human category, however, to which modernity applies mostly and which nurtures its continuity and growth is the youth sect. The youth that are aroused within the comforts of technology and are shaped and cultivated by the impact of social media, gladly embrace this corresponding trend.

2 Youth Culture in Morocco and its Impact

Thrasher (1927) holds that the concept of youth culture was first used in American and German sociology in the 1920s to refer to the evolution of a new adolescent culture in the interstices of the labor and school system (Thrasher, 1927). Nonetheless, Eisenstadt (1964) says that it was not until the 1960s that the concept became naturalized within the social sciences, thanks to the emergence of the consumer society and the contributions of structural-functionalist sociology, which resulted in the fact that lately, the concept of youth culture has become one of the most visited and fruitful ones in contemporary social research (Eisenstadt, 1964). Thus, youth culture bears the weight of the cultural changes that have taken place throughout the modern era. The access the youth have to technology and information, hailing from diverse points of the planet like Internet and Television has led to the fact that the youth are highly stimulated by the modern world and the great variety of goods it offers. For instance, Feixa & Nofre (2012) assert that youth culture is the sum total of the acceptable value system, behavioral norms and social relationships shared by young groups (Feixa & Nofre, 2012). Accordingly, youth culture is the way adolescents live and behave, the norms, values and practices they share.

Such youths may adopt practices that are disruptive of the reproduction of the traditional cultural ones, and that differ from the culture of the older generations. The concept behind youth is expressed collectively through the construction of differentiating lifestyles, mainly in leisure time, or in interstitial spaces in institutional life (Feixa & Nofre, 2012, p. 06). Elements of youth culture include beliefs, behaviors, styles and various interests. An emphasis on clothes, popular music, special linguistic repertoire use, dating and gender smoking may set adolescents apart from other age groups. This gives them the impression that they have a distinct culture of their own. From Japanese punk to Australian hip hop, youth subcultures are seen as being implicitly rebellious, born as much from a desire to reject the generation that went before them. Some of the commonly used youth culture examples are: the wearing of clothes that indicated freedom and change in the fifties, in the 1960's the invention of short skirts that showed women legs and encouraged free sex (Marte, 2008). Moreover, there were musical bands that speak to the issues important to teenagers such as The Beatles in the 1960's and Nirvana in the 1990's. Such brands started using drinking, smoking and taking drugs as revolutionary behaviors to what was contrarily dominant.

Also, the 20th century witnessed different modes and styles of youth culture such as the Flappers and the Mods. For example, the flappers were young women, confident about a prosperous future that became the symbol of effervescence. This liveliness was seen in their new attitudes in life in which they wore short skirts, bobbed their hair, openly drank, smoked and socialized with gangster type men (Goldberg, 2003). Also, they flaunted their disdain for what was then considered acceptable behavior. This break from the older values was also apparent in a new posture embraced by the flappers. Instead of an upright, corseted posture, they preferred a 'lop-sided' stance characterized by sunken chests and round shoulders (Latham, 2000). The Mods are also a great example of a British youth culture movement inspiring a popular lifestyle. The Mods were young men and women who introduced new brands of music and clothing. The Mod style and the embrace of modern technology spread from the UK overseas to America as well as other countries, proving it to be an extremely influential youth culture movement for sixty years.

In the Moroccan context, the youth culture is closely related to the background of mainstream culture and society, which regulated by its time, has seen significant transformation and a short transition. As Morocco is a country that is trying to go hand in hand with modernity, this has resulted in being influenced by the western cultures and behaviors. Moroccan youth, especially the urban population is very much in tune with communication and information technologies. For example, Floris (2009) found out of conducted interviews that 95% of young people consider Internet use to be their main free time occupation (Floris, 2009). Either at home or in cybercafés, the internet promotes a friendly social space and allows users to be linked to the entire world. Thus, this openness to other contexts does allow

Moroccans to keep pace with the global youth re-emerging tendencies and issues such as music, rap, hip hop, Emo culture and Gender Smoking. As Beytía (2008) confirms, “*Access to the Internet, the access of the masses to television and, in general, the growth of the entertainment industry, all lead to the fact that youth are highly stimulated by the world and the great variety of goods it offers them*”(Beytía, 2008).

All these things influence the young generation because they are easily attracted to odd practices and norms, and they admire everything coming from the west. As a result, they imitate many practices like changing their way of dressing and behaving. Moreover, the youth are encouraged to adopt different western values like freedom of choice and expression that enable them to express themselves freely and get out from the traditional circle. The first element of youth culture is music. Music for many adolescents is more than just an entertaining instrument. Beytía (2008) asserts, “*Music is a medium through which the mores, the concerns, and the problems of the subculture are communicated and conveyed*” (Beytía, 2008, p. 21). Furthermore, contemporary teenagers seem to listen to music the way older generation read books, considering it as a means that helps in attacking the foundations of traditional culture and pushing further the frontiers of freedom. Youth subculture patterns such as hard rock and hip-hop were introduced to Morocco since the late 1990s. During this time, an artistic underground movement was born in Moroccan that was centered mostly in the city of Casablanca. Starting with isolated groups in several neighborhoods, some dedicated to hard rock and heavy metal, and others to hip hop. Additionally, they were very young urban artists, around the age of 14-16, who started training in the street (Trott, 2018). They decided to depend on themselves, teaching each other how to dance or play the guitar, duplicating audio and video cassettes and photocopying old music magazines that reached the country. Followed by their group of fans, they also organized their first concerts in schools, via friends who were students there. They even took part in festivals their songs evoke what they see as terrible injustices all around them: poverty and corruption in Morocco and Africa. Metal groups nearly all sang or mumbled in English, with a few exceptions that decided to write in Moroccan dialect (Caubet, 2015). Much later, metal groups adopted the dialect ‘Darija’ from the start, since 2004. They have not only male fans but also female ones, the thing that confirms Morocco’s change.

In the last 10 years, fusion bands like Houassa, Ganga, Vibes and HobaHobaSpirit have gained a wide audience at home and abroad. With Artists like Casa Crew and H-Kayne, the Moroccan hip-hop scene may be the most vibrant anywhere in the Arab world. Because the bands tend to use the Moroccan dialect, *Darija*, rather than classical Arabic or French, they have also contributed to a social and linguistic revolution. *Darija*, which was long looked down upon by Morocco’s elite, is now the language of choice for advertising and some media (Beytía, 2008). Hip-hop artists are young boys and girls coming to manifest themselves in this music, which was launched and is moving its way, without caring about the general provisions. It is a generation that made the music a philosophy through which youth can express themselves in the light of globalization that has made the world a small village. They target variant issues such as globalization, drug addiction, prostitution, poverty and unemployment. Also, they advocate modern values like freedom of speech, freedom of choice in life and individualism.

Because of modernity, many things are changing in Morocco, especially among the youth and precisely among young modern Moroccan women. They have become more educated, free, independent, courageous and emboldened to express themselves, talk about what they like, do what they want and try new things like wearing divergent items and using drugs and cigarettes. Yet the patriarchal society doesn’t encourage such sub-youth culture patterns. Therefore, the slightly introduced features remain almost invisible, especially female youth culture. That is because females should be confined to the private sphere in a patriarchal society like Morocco. For example, there are a few female rappers in Morocco. Youssra Oukaf, a rapper better known as Soultana, first entered the hip-hop scene at the age of 13, growing up in the Ain Sebaa neighborhood of Casablanca. Now, the 30 year old woman is an internationally recognized artist best known for her single “Sawt Nssa” (The Voice of Women). For Soultana, rap is a platform for discussing important social problems. Sultana raps about the challenges facing women in this North African country: illiteracy, poverty, domestic violence daily harassment on the street and the restrictions put on women social freedoms (Stuckey, 2013).

Sultana presents an example of young Moroccan girls who were influenced by modernism and its tools such as media and internet. She tried to challenge the conventions and the fixed image representation of girls. Another female group that appeared in Morocco in recent years is the Emo girl’s type. Emo is an acronym of the word “emotion”. It began as stream music to hard rock in the early eighties in America to turn out in the beginning of the third millennium to a lifestyle for certain young groups worldwide. Most of its members are under 17 years old who have their own way of living, dressing and music that characterizes them (Wikipedia, 2020). The Moroccan Emo girls are girls who were influenced by westerners and tried to imitate them. So, Emo are girls who try to rebel against culture and tradition. The

Emo chicks' appearance is different and strange in some way. Their fashion became recognized for its hairstyles that include thin, flat and smooth hair on the sides and back of the head plus long side-swept bangs, sometimes covering one or both eyes. It's pretty much a rule that at least 25% of their face have to be covered by their hair at all times. Furthermore, their hair is often straightened or dyed in black or in bright colors, such as blue, pink, red or bleached blond. The Emo girls do have a special way of dressing, as they wear tight shirts, which often bear the names of Emo bands, and black jeans or cargos. They also wear a lot of black and heavy silver. Moreover, they always put on wristbands so as to hide scars.



Figure 1: Moroccan female rapper: Soultana¹



Figure 2: Emo girl²

2.1 Gender Smoking as a sub-youth culture Aspect

Modernity is associated with the sweeping changes in a particular society's morals, values, beliefs and lifestyle. Gender smoking could be one of the patterns of modern behavior. The Moroccan youth took smoking as a new culture through which they say that they have become independent, modern in some way and free to do whatever they like. According to

¹ <https://www.pri.org/stories/2013-02-20/soultana-voice-women-raps-morocco>

² <https://www.coratolive.it/rubriche/12802/emo-il-nuovo-fenomeno-adolescenziale>

statistics, most of the Moroccan youth initiate smoking habits before 20 years of age. A research finding in 1988 showed that 23.8% of secondary students were smokers with variation according to family, culture, environment and sex, 33% male vs. 8.6% female (Bartal, Bouayad, Bahlaoui & Meziane, 1988). Yet these statistics have increased dramatically after the first decade of the third millennium. For example, a recent study released by the National Observatory for Drugs and Addiction (ONDA) reveals that one in five Moroccan male and female students has tried smoking cigarettes at least once and one in ten students has tried hashish (ODNA, 2016). The youth may have several reasons for starting tobacco use, including looking cool, mature, sociable or believing that tobacco use is good for coping with stress and weight control.

Yet Smoking has not been traditionally accepted in most cultures. With the development of people's lives, this attitude has changed. Many previously unaccepted behaviors have started to emerge especially in urban areas. Moreover, smoking is being highly encouraged through the media. The latter is supported through many movies and songs, and it is shown as something normal, cool and prestigious. A study found that young adults smoked in about 75% of music videos. Moreover, *'Hail Caesar'* a movie by Ethan Coen in 2016, Scarlett Johansson is presented as very attached to smoking cigarettes in many scenes (DuRant & Rich, 1997). Also, *'Cigarettes and Coffee'* is a song by Otis Redding released in 1972 that puts coffee and cigarettes together to convey that they are part of the singer's daily routine and lifestyle. Additionally, the famous series of *Peaky Blinders* depicted the major character 'Tomas Shelby' as holding a cigarette and smoking in almost every scene. As Hooton says, *"Tommy Shelby is almost never without a cigarette in hand in Peaky Blinders, puffing away pensively as he devises ways to outmaneuver his rivals"* (Hooton, 2016). It is said that he has smoked over six thousands herbal cigarettes. Clearly, People's exposure to media and IT may influence and shape their cultural behavior. Media conveys direct and indirect messages that the audience assimilates and insert consciously or unconsciously. One of those indirect messages is male and female smoking promotion. This advocates the idea that there are many people who smoke and that it is not something harmful or shameful. On the contrary, it is displayed as a normal and a modern habit for both males and females. As the U.S. Surgeon General confirms, *"Youths who are heavily exposed to onscreen smoking imagery are approximately two to three times more likely to begin smoking than youths who are less exposed"* (Garcia, 2017). Moreover, human rights advancement encourages people to live at their full desires and choices. People say that they are free to do and behave the way they like, shying away from the imposed cultural and traditional boundaries. Consequently, smoking may be taken as a free choice, supported by modern civic rights.

We have seen that young Moroccans (thanks to modernity) have adopted new ways of dressing and acting as means of expressing free will. These justifications reflect modern values. They aim at a breakthrough from the old values that restrict their freedom and invent new ones. They invent their special kinds of music, like rock and rap and they take drugs and smoke cigarettes as new trending-demeanors. Moreover, they create their odd fashion style as we have seen with the Emo girls. These new artistic and cultural techniques could be either, a means of rebelling against cultural constraints or they could reflect free choices and decisions by the simple impact of modern trends and fashions. Despite the fact that Morocco has been considered a conservative country for a long time, the youth culture has brought traits of variability and revolt against numerous long time-rooted principles. Sub-youth cultural patterns, as reflections of modern values and assets, such as music, Emo culture and Gender smoking exert a constant impact on (in the words of Carl Marx) *the superstructure* of the society. It influences citizen's reflection, values, beliefs, customs, styles and interests.

2.2 The Impact of Youth Culture on Moroccan Context

From what is discussed earlier, we can deduce that the norms of today's youth differ very much from those of the old generation. Nowadays, the young generation is affected and influenced by the western cultures and their peers. This leads to them generating unique behaviors. The young generation has invented new kinds of music and new fashion styles. They are growing up in a world of globalization and modernity that somehow obliges change for updating and coping. Naturally, such change impacts youth's lives and the vast ratio of the society. This idea is asserted by the United Nations Rapport (2003) declaring, *"Modernity has offered clear economic and social opportunities and benefits for its citizens, but it comes with substantial social costs that often appear to affect young people disproportionately, given their tenuous transitional status within an uncertain and rapidly evolving global context"* (Nations, 2003). In this connection, older generations have always disparaged and vilified the activities and interests of the young boys and

girls. It is witnessed that the way people talk about teenagers has shifted a lot from what it has been. Nowadays, the old generation is frightened of the young's and sees what they do as something strange that cannot be understood. Youth subcultures have generated many condemnations, as there are many scholars who are against these youth subcultures.

According to Tell (1999), the adults say that teenagers misunderstand the real meaning of modernity and freedom and therefore, they misuse it by taking over odd and rude principals (Tell, 1999). Hence, common concerns about youth culture include a perceived lack of interest in education, involvement in risky behaviors like substance use and sexual deeds and engaging extensively in leisure activities (Parsons, 1942). As a result, these perceptions have led many adults to perceive youth culture as an attack on the morals of the current society. For many youth-subculture participants, their exclusive style works as a form of resistance to the adult world and habits. For example, Williams (2005) asserts, *"Why some young people choose to dress in ways that alienate them from many of their peers is partially explained by the concept of "bricolage" the re-ordering and re- contextualization of objects to communicate fresh meanings"* (Williams, 2007). Also, sub-youth culture bears connotations of sexual freedom and deviation. For example, many women begin sexual relationships before marriage which is prohibited and disallowed in the view of the old generation. Winter (2015) holds that 34 percent of young girls were reported in 2015 of engaging in premarital sexual activity (Winter, 2015). These actions are done in the name of openness, modernity and renewability. Subsequently, the youth and their new culture impact Moroccan society and may create storming views between those who tolerate and understand their new behaviors and those who criticize them. For instance, Moroccan Islamist politicians criticize the youth culture. They have denounced pop concerts as encouraging immoral behavior, associated with criminals and unfamiliar youth.

For them, youth subcultures are the root of the moral degradation and the changing values in younger generations. In this link, Subculture scholars have considered a variety of youth activities as resistant, rebellious or deviant. Adults insist that adolescents inhabit a separate world with different values and rules that could pave way to moral degradation. For example, Seilstad (2015) stresses in due regard to Hip Hop music in Morocco, *"Another issue with Moroccan Hip Hop is the criticism it faces from the Moroccan community that range from pointing out that Hip Hop is a foreign import to accusing Hip Hop artists of promoting immorality. Their actions to this by the Hip Hop artists themselves range from simply ignoring the criticisms to addressing it head on in song accusing the accuser of simply not understanding or trying to understand, or taking a more historical view"* (Seilstad, 2015). In other words, this youth culture may lack moral support from the community. For instance, Hip Hop artists may be labeled "Wladznqa"; "street kids" or worse. Male break dancers may be told that dancing is only for girls. Also, female Hip Hop dancers may be criticized for dancing with males.

We have seen that youth culture creates a lot of debate and controversy. It may create a wide range of criticisms and condemnations, accusing the youth of demolishing the native and traditional values in turn for adopting western norms. Its male and female participants get attacked. Nonetheless, girls are the most categories who get offended by the older generation. Moroccan traditional society may tolerate to some extent males' changing behaviors; whereas, females' new behaviors get criticized the most. When women adopt new gestures and postures, this change is considered as an open challenge to traditional values and customs. Adults still prefer and expect the youth to behave in decency and respect in public, putting much more pressure on the younger women. Nonetheless, the fact that the old generation may find it difficult to tolerate and endure the unpredictable change in the behavior of the youth doesn't demean the high spirit of the youth to continue their unique trend in open challenge to outdated norms. Youth culture goes on presenting and embodying unique lifestyle and different behaviors. In a word, human life is in continuous progress, individuals adopt modern and new values, morals and ways of thinking that are opposed to the traditional and old fashioned ones. The next part is devoted to methodology. It first identifies modernity according to the young's attitudes. Also, it tests the hypotheses presented in the review of literature, notably Gender Smoking as modernity sub-youth culture aspect. Also, it answers many questions raised in the abstract and introduction such as the outlook of the society to youth subculture, and the treatment of this society for male and female smokers as different sexes.

3 Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to give an account of the methodology followed in this study. It attempts to describe the objective of the study and the research questions asked. Moreover, it endeavors to justify the use of questionnaires as a fundamental research technique employed in the present study. It also describes the participants targeted, the sample size and the sampling procedures. The present study aims at figuring out the reasons behind this phenomenon as well as seeking to identify the different attitudes towards males and female smoking in Morocco. The study measures the variables related to research respondents of gender and age as they are considered important for the credibility of the findings. Initially, this research paper attempts to answer major questions such as to what extent does modernity affect Moroccan youth in generating different behaviors? To what extent could gender smoking be a modernity sub-youth culture aspect? How does Moroccan society look at male and female smokers?

To answer the research questions mentioned above, the study targeted 100 respondents and 54 interviewees. The participants were selected randomly. The sample population chosen in this research paper is Fez city. Such a choice refers to the fact that Fez is a city which largely embodies the dichotomy between modernity and tradition. Despite the large size of Fez city, it is still traditional and conservative in comparison to other cities such as Rabat and Casablanca where women have started to enjoy more freedom. The deliberate or purposive sampling technique is used in this paper. Relying on personal judgment in what concerns the selection of the respondents is believed to be more representative and will result in saving time and money. The reason behind the choice of this technique is that it is more effective; it enables us to get to know the reasons behind male's and female's smoking, and the varied attitudes towards smoking as a phenomenon and also towards female smoking with regard to gender differences. For example, the choice of age of 17-30 years old enables more precision of the findings and serves the thesis statement better. It is to be reminded that the purpose of the topic is investigating gender smoking as a subculture. Therefore, it is believed that the young smokers may be more concerned and provide valid answers about their choice. Henceforth, a further credibility and reliability of the findings is generated.

Concerning the research approaches, this paper makes use of both approaches: the quantitative and the qualitative. On the one hand, the quantitative approach is helpful in measuring the extent to which smoking prevailed in Fez city. Besides, it helps discovering the different factors behind smoking and people's attitudes towards male and female smokers. On the other hand, the qualitative approach will check the perception of the society towards sub-youth culture aspects such as Gender smoking. Also, it gets the image close to the reader of how the Moroccan society looks at male and female smokers. Mixing both approaches will increase the validity and the reliability of the data, and thus the quality of the findings. As far as the data collection procedures are concerned, the first data collection procedure to be used in this study is the questionnaires and the interviews which are quantitative and qualitative data collection instruments.

One of the strengths of using a questionnaire in this study is to elicit quantitative data related to the frequency of youth smoking in Fez city, the profiles of girls and boys who are more likely to smoke and the reasons behind smoking for both girls and boys. Since one of the weaknesses of the questionnaire is its limitation with respect to eliciting in depth answers from the respondents, the paper makes use of interviews as a qualitative instrument in order to investigate attitudes, opinions, behaviors, feelings and motives. It allows interviewees time and scope to talk about their opinions as well as their own experiences. Moreover, it allows the researcher to elicit in-depth information around the topic. One of the strengths of this instrument related to the subject of the study is that it enables male and female smokers to talk more freely about their experiences, as well as affording more in-depth data about the causes and the attitudes towards youth smoking. While distributing the questionnaire, the respondents were told that the information provided will be used only for the present study. Most of items used were closed questions and their answers are classified and grouped together. The questionnaire was designed in the English language and targeted only those who speak and understand English. The respondents' age is between 17-24 and 23-30 years old. Concerning the genders of the respondents, 50% are males and 50% are females. The research paper used a general literature (theoretical background) for expanding the extent of readership of the work. Moreover, the paper may contribute in understanding in depth the attitudes of youths to the adoption of smoking and the motives behind it.

❖ The following table summarizes the main components of the methodology adopted:

Methodology	Description
Fundamental Research Instruments	Questionnaire and Interviews
Questionnaire Items Type	Close Questions
Population Targeted	Fez City, Morocco
Sample Size	100 Respondents and 54 Interviews
Respondents Variables	Gender and Age
Major Research Questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none">To what extent does modernity push the youth to generate different behaviors and modes of life?What are the attitudes towards female and male smokers?

3.1 Variables Description

3.2 Graphs:

To investigate the issue of gender youth smoking in Morocco, it is decided to take an equal percentage of male (50%) and female (50%) participants as the following chart indicates:

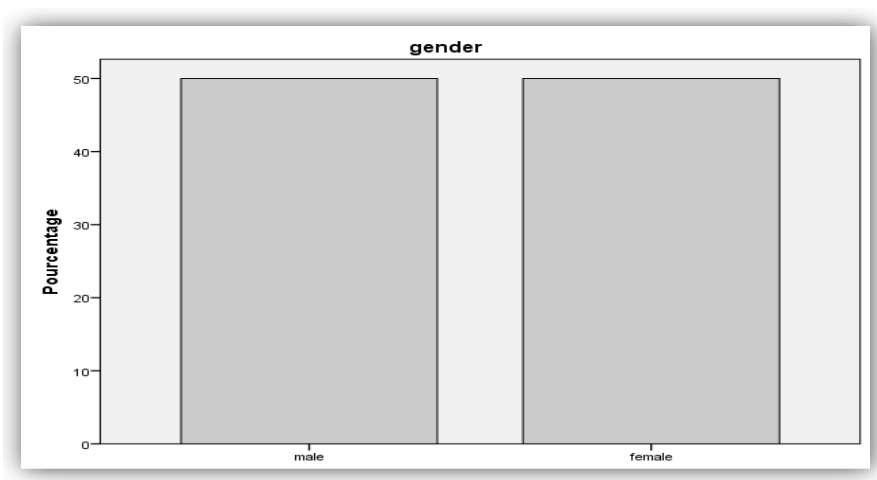


Figure 1: Gender.

Since my issue targets the youth population in Morocco, we tried to appeal to the most suitable audience. For our gender and smoking issue as a youth culture, we believe that the ages of 17-22 and 23-30 are our target audience. As illustrated below:

3.2.1 Variables description

The above-mentioned variables are of considerable importance in this research. They could shape the attitudes of respondents and could represent the rationale behind their answer’s variations. For the first figure of gender, 50%are males and 50% are females. The variable of age for the second figure isn’t less important in this regard. The age of the

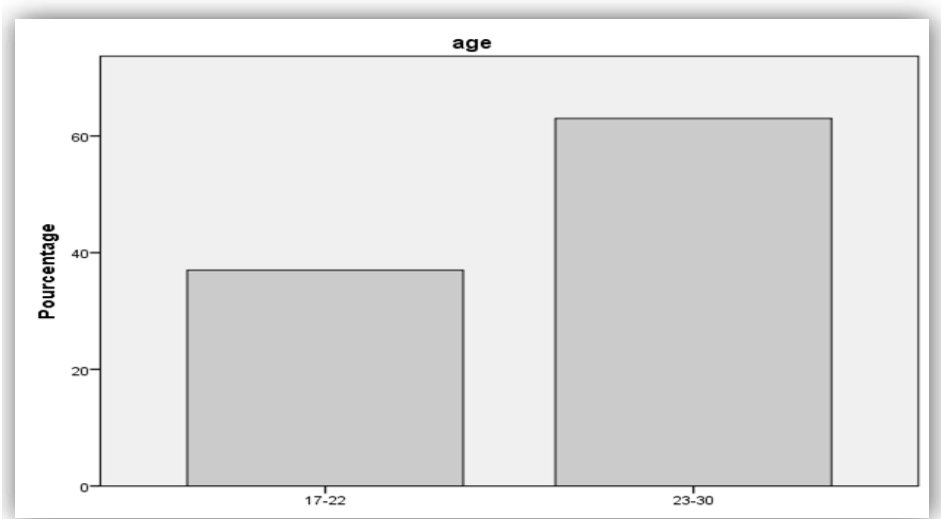


Figure 2: Respondents Age.

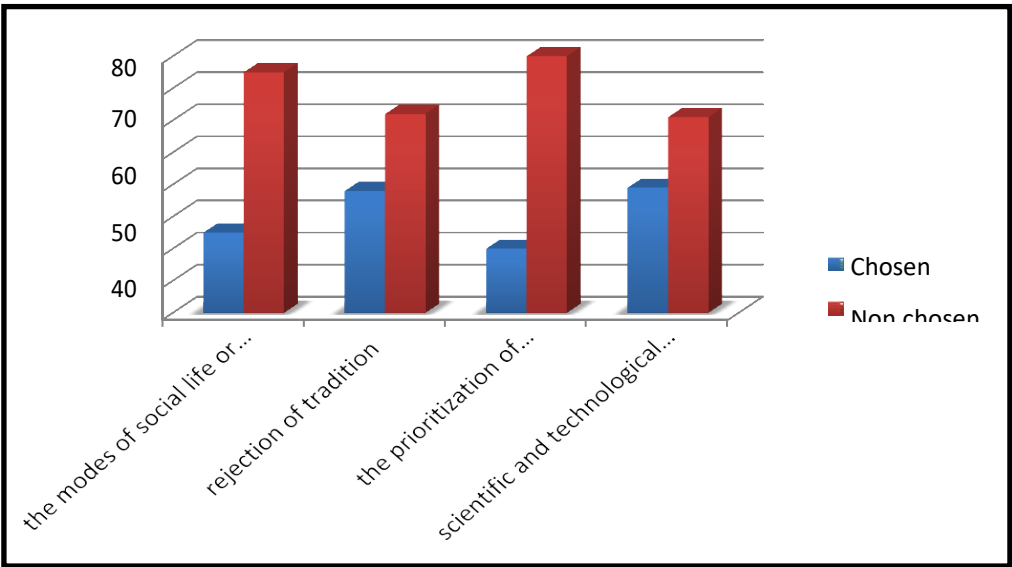
respondents is one of the most important characteristics in understanding their views about the particular problem of youth smokers. By and large, age indicates a certain level of maturity of individuals. In this paper as the second figure demonstrates, 38%of respondents are between the ages of 17-22 years old and 62% of respondents are between the ages of 22-30 years old.

4 Field Work, Findings and Analysis

4.1 Findings and Analysis

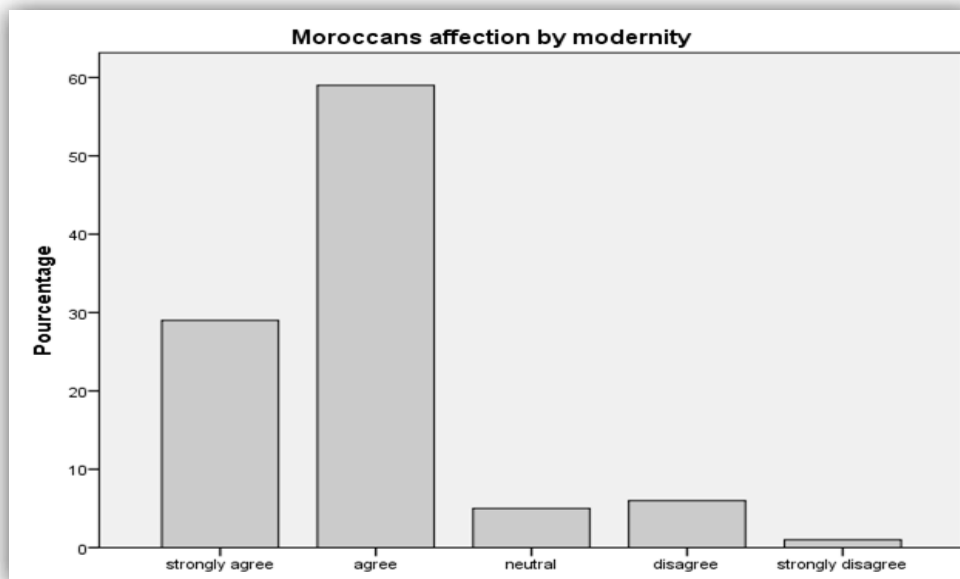
A. Questionnaires and Figures

i. Identifying Modernity



A close analysis of the above chart shows at first glimpse that 39% of respondents have defined modernity as a scientific and technological progress. The reason behind this choice may lay in people's excessive use of technology as a way to have fun and to make life easier. Moreover, 38% of respondents said that modernity is the rejection of tradition. This justification may be referred to the fact that modernity has come as a replacement of the traditions. It comes with new values and modes of life that correspond human scientific and technological progress. On the other hand, 25% of respondents perceived modernity as the modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from the 17th century to influence the whole world. In other words, it is a western invention that came to glorify the western new norms. This finding may stand as long as western and imperial expansion is concerned. Global economic and cultural dissemination may impact other local cultures and transform them gradually into a hegemonic one. About 20% of respondents understand modernity as the prioritization of individualism, freedom and formal equality. In due regard to this result, there is no doubt that modernity bears the seeds of human liberation and centers about the individual. Also, it is presented as a means of helping to a better and more comfortable life. From the above analysis, it is clear that most of the respondents are familiar with the context of modernity. The next chart measures to what extent Moroccans are affected by modernity in their lives.

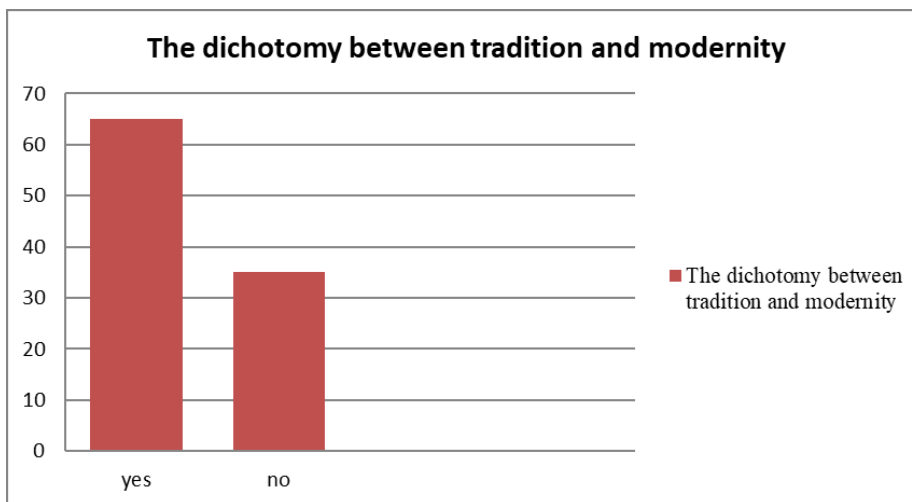
ii. Moroccan's influence by modernity



A quick look at the above chart shows that 59% of respondents agree that Moroccans are affected by modernity. This idea might be linked to the fact that since Morocco was under the impact of western culture, Modernism's influence can't be avoided. This fact can't be denied as long as modern technological devices and use are present in the life of the Moroccan person on a daily basis. Transportation means, communications devices and house chore technological tools that exist in the life of Moroccans reflect the urgent need and easiness with the benefits of modernity. Added to this, the opinion that Moroccans are highly affected by modernity is also explained by the fact that many if not most of people use media on a large scale, watch TV and surf the net daily, considering those technological means as a bridge that allow them to get to know about global news and cultures. Consciously or unconsciously; therefore, Moroccans get influenced by and adopt western modern values and fashions. Moreover, 28% percent of the respondents expressed their full agreement. In other words, this ratio strongly agrees that Moroccans are affected by modernity and its values. This percent reflects not only an attitude about other Moroccans, but mostly their own reality. The respondents, all of them, have got smart phones which are modern means and which, by most accounts, transform and spread modern values and modes.

Conversely, only 6% of respondents disagreed in due regard to the question of modernity influence. This result may be due to the fact that there are only a very few people who try to resist the effects of modernity by preserving local traditions. As highlighted in the review of literature, there is contradiction between tradition and modernity inside Moroccan communities. However, we also shed light on the Moroccan person who could manifest both, modern and traditional behaviors and ideas at the same time. In other words, the same person who uses cars and advanced communication devices in his life, may represent ideas contrasting modernity in overall. Therefore, it is not a fair probability that some respondents reflect, unconsciously, principles of rooted traditions. Additionally, there could be a perceived mental resistance to modernity and its conceptually implied themes in the deep mindset of the Moroccan person. This applies mostly to the clans of the society and their allies who conceive of modernity as a conspiracy against the local morals of religion. Therefore, the next chart is devoted to the investigation of the extant dichotomy between tradition and modernity.

iii. Do you perceive any conflict between tradition and modernity?



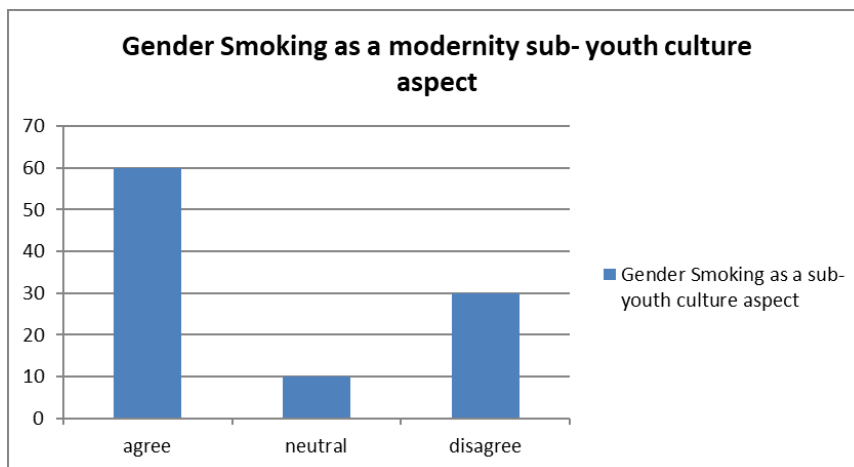
The findings of the graph above reveal that 65% of the respondents agreed that there is clash between modernity and tradition as two opposed poles in Morocco. This may confirm the supposition highlighted in the review of literature about this conflict. This counter-attack springs up from those clans of society who are attached ideologically to religion and traditions. Indeed, most Moroccans, because of a long history of external impact since Phoenician, Greek and Roman periods, have no problem with modernity at all. They love and feel proud of enjoying diverse cultures. However, those who demonstrate ideological defense mechanisms against modernity may be the extreme congregations of the society, tied to religion and Salafism. Unlike some old mediocre people who may simply prefer drinking a cup of tea and eating Moroccan food rather than having coke and burger or a Pizza for nutritional reasons, the religious Salafist category of the society demonstrates a totally different sort of rejection. It may go against all modern and western values for religious and ideological motives. Yet the same people again, are found ludicrously exhibiting those ideas of rejections through modern devices TV broadcasting, YouTube and social media items, which reflect an unconscious influence by modernization.

In other words, these people can use modern mobile phones; talk with their relatives using a video call and drive a nice car. Simultaneously, they oppose modern or what they call "*outsider*" values like women's rights, individualism, sexual freedom, abortion...etc. for example, their wives are veiled and imprisoned at home and in the kitchen like slaves; whereas, they could found lying on the couch watching TV. Thus, this sect of the society accepts only some aspects of modernity that do not contradict with their religious and cultural practices and refuse modern practices that go against local norms. Consequently, there is an acceptance of material modernity such as transportation means, electronic devices, media tools and all chore comfort items while the mental modernity or "modernism" is still absent.

That is to say, Modernity has broken into Moroccan societal structure but it touched only the surface and couldn't penetrate the mindset of the nation.

On the other hand, 35% of respondents said that there is no clash between modernity and tradition in Morocco. This may reflect the existence of an open-minded category of the citizens. This group welcomes diversity and variety. These people may admit the benefits of modernity on the physical level and embraces it on the intellectual doctrinal level. In other words, a significant percent of the society considers modernity and its values as an enriching element to the local principles of the society. Simply put, these people and their advocates see that there may survive a healthy combination between Moroccan local traditions and western values. In the review of the literature, we have noticed Moroccan intellectuals such as al Jabri and his belief in the possible coexistence of these two poles. These people can give value to their norms and at the same time, they cherish the modern values without any hate or resistance. They now believe more in individualism, freedom of choice and gender equality. We find some Moroccans embodying trendy devises, women wearing tank tops in streets, young girls smoking in big Cafes and expressing their sexual freedom and people eating in McDonalds. This means that these modern behaviors and practices have become part of many Moroccan's daily life. To sum up, there is a vast group within Moroccan society that retains value of the local traditions and cultures and expresses readiness to host new and modern values with open arms. These new modes and norms may trespass the ideological reservoir and embody in physical behaviors such as the creation of music bands and groups as highlighted in the theoretical background, the exertion of sexual intercourse outside the marriage institution which has started taking place in big cities and Gender smoking which is increasing among youths and girls. Thus, the next chart is dedicated to Gender smoking as a modernity sub youth-culture aspect.

i. To what extent do you believe that Gender Smoking is a modernity sub-youth culture aspect?

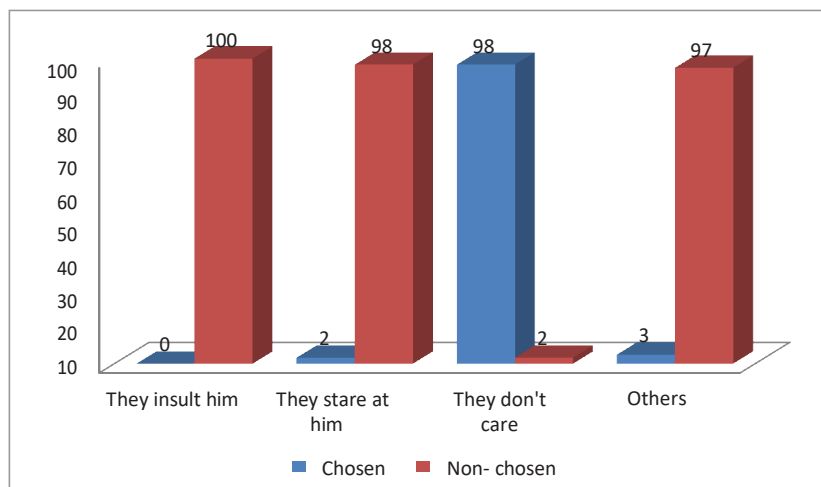


A quick look of the chart reveals that 60% of respondents agree on considering smoking as a modernity sub-youth culture. Such findings don't take us by surprise since several sub-youth culture behaviors are reflections of global trends. Modernity as an intellectual movement, carrying principles of individualism and self-expression could motivate actions and engender different demeanors and manners like Gender Smoking. On one hand, this habit may convey messages of a full realization of one's social freedom and desire. It may reinforce suppositions of free choice and free action. These beliefs demonstrate modern values' convictions. In fact, smoking is considered as a new fashion first among men, then among women and young people. Clearly, these people smoke just to display prestige. In other words, showing off and looking modern could be a primary reason that leads young people to smoke. This is seen in many commercials that feature a self-confident man smoking a cigarette alongside a pretty woman he wanted to seduce. Therefore, smoking could be portrayed as something cool, trendy and good. On the other hand, cigarettes allow a man, and especially woman, a time of freedom and a new way to emancipate and rebel against socially imposed norms. In fact, young people try in different ways to rebel and get rid of traditions and customs through adopting new and foreign ones. Smoking can be one of the ways they use to express their revolt. Moreover, it could highly stimulate gender

actions as subsequent steps and movements towards an overall social liberation. Given the fact that there is much restriction on social freedoms in partially conservative societies, smoking could be an initiating movement towards the realization of social emancipation.

Next to this finding, only 30% of the respondents disagree on the statement that smoking is a modernity sub-youth culture aspect. This may be explained by seeing smoking as something that has many negative health effects. In this respect, smoking in big quantities may cause grave diseases such as lung cancers, breathing troubles...etc. Although it is practiced by many people over the world, smoking is agreed upon as a harmful habit, especially for addicts. Conversely, Modernity is justified as bettering people's conditions. Since smoking may be seen as an unhealthy habit, the disagreement of the respondents is understood. Clearly, these respondents who may hold respect to modernity as an ensemble of good values may naturally expose their unwillingness and uneasiness against smoking. However, worthy of note is that the people who overdose cigarettes for addiction, stress and tension factors aren't the type of targeted category here. All in all, it is concluded that showing modernity and prestige could be a reason why the youth smoke. Moreover, it could be an indirect means of protest against the prevailed back warding customs and traditions. Youths have started adopting this habit, believing that it fits their era. But due to the fact that Morocco is a traditional and patriarchal society, we tried to investigate how the society reacts to male and female smokers. The answer is displayed in the following chart.

ii. Society's perception of male smokers

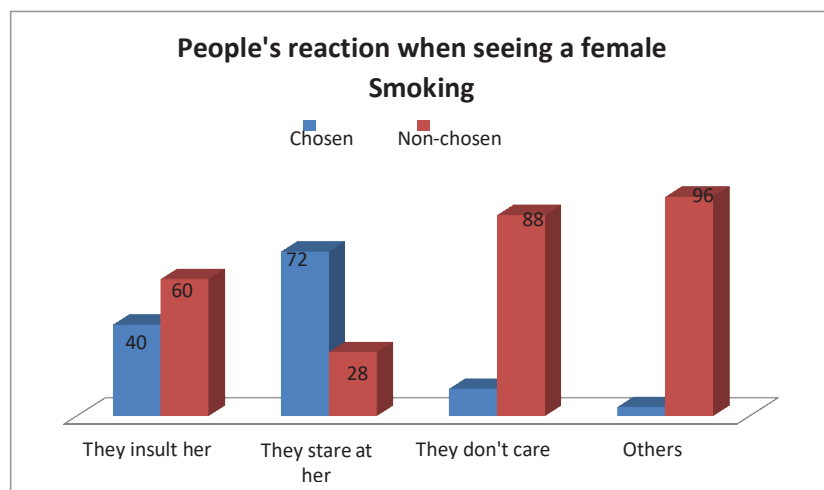


A quick glimpse at the figure above shows that the majority of respondents, 98% say that people do not care when they see a male smoking. This means that smoking is socially acceptable for men, as society gives men the freedom to do what they like, be it something good or bad. Moroccan society, as hinted at in the theoretical grounding, is a male-dominated society par excellence. Since he is a male, all he does is normal and favorable. Within a society where rules are issued and dictated by man, the male figure enjoys numerous acts and demeanors without being blamed. By virtue of being male, everything is accepted and tolerated. More than this, we find that even when man is supposed to be reproached for some mistakes, the society finds him excuses at the expense of women. For example, adultery actions put blame on the woman and not on the man. Girls are the ones reproached for their exposure to sexual harassment, taking them for wrong as going in streets late at night or dressing sexy and unveiled. Therefore, high value is given to males to behave the way they like, including smoking, dating and other behaviors, without fear or being bothered by the others.

On the other hand, only 2% of respondents say that people stare at men when they are seen smoking and no respondent at all, 0% advocated the supposition that male smokers may be insulted. This result can be expected in patriarchal societies where men have the upper hand. As long as most powerful decision positions in the society are held by the male sex, he issues rules and laws for reinforcing male dominance at the expense of women's loss. Males

are considered powerful beings that cannot be blamed or accused of doing something wrong. These results do insist on taking males' smoking as something natural and common. Clearly, men do not get assaulted or reproved by society even while behaving imperfectly. Thus, the next chart is designed to be checking society's outlook and treatment of female smokers in comparison with males'.

iii. Society's perception of female smokers



A quick glimpse at the figure above indicates that 72% of respondents said that when seeing a female smoking, they stare at her. This habit is socially unacceptable for women. In other words, the society may look at women as immoral and disrespectful figures when seeing them openly smoke. On one hand, men see this act as a challenge to religion that commands women to be at home decent and obedient. On the other hand, society considers smoking women as deviant and rebellious against the norms assigned to them. Therefore, staring at them in a despising manner may reflect a man's shock and non-expectation of the woman comportment. Simply put, men expect women to respect cultural and traditional norms, not disobey them or bring opposing gestures such as smoking.

Additionally, 40% of respondents say that people may insult girls when they smoke. This is because society does condemn females' smoking severely and cannot accept it no matter what may happen to the extent that people may call them offensive names. Such rude judgment may be based on unconscious indoctrination of the male character, raised to perceive of a non-negotiated superiority over females. Such people, traditionally and religiously instructed, treat women as objects in response to male's dictations. Consequently, the male figure is taken by surprise and may react cruelly when he perceives a woman manifesting behaviors such as smoking. For men, this action isn't looked at simply as a habit, but as a protest and a threat to male's privilege and dominance. It is perceived as a bold comportment, daring to subvert the status-quo of women as naturally weak creatures, unable and not in their right to defy man's social superiority.

On the other hand, only 12% of respondents said that people don't care when seeing a female smoking. This small percentage naturally reflects the small change talked about in the theoretical background. Thanks to many national reforms and international human and women rights issuing and fostering, women have started enjoying social freedoms by civil rights and by the power of law. Moreover, modernism as a movement and trend has introduced and stimulated women to express themselves more freely and try on things that weren't allowed before. Also, modernity shapes even males' mentalities towards gender social liberation. Clearly, the Moroccan male mindset is not only shaped to enjoy modern values for his interest only, but this mindset is also shifting in due regard to his perceived relation with the other sex. The more exposed to modernism and its liberating principles, the more open-mindedness and toleration between the sexes. Furthermore, about 4% of respondents say that there are other reactions that people may express when seeing a female smoking. From the two charts tackled above, we can conclude that to be a male smoker in Morocco is not the same as to be a female smoker. There is no doubt that the impact of smoking on males and females is more

or less the same. However, one of the common norms in our Moroccan society is that it accepts men's smoking and denounces women's. Female smokers are still not accepted and tolerated by society as they may get criticized and insulted for many reasons, notably cultural factors highlighted above. Clearly, female smokers are considered impolite and immoral girls; whereas, male smokers are treated with respect. They do not get attacked because of that habit. In a word, society sees females' smoking as something abnormal while male's smoking is considered a normal practice. To foster the credibility of the above findings, this paper opted for conducting interviews to hear from interviewees' own witnesses and experiences on the smoking habit.

B. Interviews

a. Interview Guide

- How do you identify modernity?
- To what extent Moroccans are affected by modernity?
- To what extent does the Moroccan society tolerate youth and gender smoking?

b. Interviews

1. *"I have been smoking for 10 years and I have never got insulted or criticized even when I was young...people do not worry because I am a man and I have the freedom to behave as I want".*
2. *"I do not see a vice with smoking women just as a man has the right to light a cigarette on the street and anywhere he goes, the woman has the right to do so, I hear and I see a lot of criticism because I am a woman who smokes [...] this bothers me so much but I do not care most of the time".*
3. *"Nobody cares about me when smoking because I am the man and all I do is acceptable".*
4. *"Smoking for men is something normal, it is a habit seen everywhere and anytime".*
5. *"Morocco is a male dominated society. Thus, men cannot be criticized because only them who can decide what is good and what is bad for them".*
6. *"When smoking, I notice that older men and women give me strange and disdainful looks sending me the message that what I do is a big sin that is not acceptable socially".*
7. *"People keep staring at me when I am caught smoking but the problem lies not only on men's look at women who smoke but even women themselves refuse female smoking[...] we are in a society that gives more value to the males than females".*
8. *"Once I was sitting in a café and smoking my cigarette but suddenly I started hearing some harmful and unpleasant insults from an old man [...] he said that I am a fallen who doesn't have manners and who should be killed, keeping in mind that it is not his business".*
9. *"I think that people do not care when seeing a female smoking because lately things have changed as we started seeing women going outside, working, and expressing themselves freely".*
10. *"Once a man spitted on me while I was smoking...I think that spitting on someone is worse than smoking because while smoking I harm nobody while by spitting you harm the other one".*
11. *"Well as female smokers we are still not accepted in this society [...] we are treated badly whereas smoking men do not get criticized taking into consideration that smoking is a bad habit that harms both sexes".*
12. *"The Moroccan society like other patriarchal Arab societies, refuses to give women their freedom to fulfill their demands and rights and to do whatever they want as long as they do not exceed their freedom or harm anyone [...] Even when it comes to personal matters, they always receive criticism and rejection from society".*
13. *"I think that our heritage and morals refuse every reckless behavior that is perpetrated either by a male or a female, according to my experience when it comes to mistakes there is no difference".*
14. *"In our society man is glorified meaning that nobody can blame or reproach him because of his gender even if he committed a mistake he will not be judged".*
15. *"Man in our society is the icon of perfection...even while perpetrating sins everybody will pretend that he didn't see that sin".*
16. *"We are no more living in a world dominated psychologically and physically by the male figurewell men and women start having some level of equality in which for example males and females who smoke can be treated equally".*

17. *"Anything against traditions, old behaviors and ways of living is called modernity in my point of view".*
18. *"I am absolutely with the first suggestion; modernity came from the developed countries to eliminate and drive out our authentic and pure traditions and habits and push us to imitate the westerners' beliefs".*
19. *"Well modernity is the move from extended family to nuclear family meaning to move from collaboration to individualism".*
20. *"For me to be young is to be rebellious against everything that restricts my freedom or that puts me under the scope, thus I took smoking just to say that I cannot be the society's puppet".*
21. *"I started smoking two years ago when I was under the pressure of exams as I used to stay late with my friends to review our lessons, and then I tried my first cigarette".*
22. *"Smoking was not something strange for me euh I was raised in a family where everyone smoked, starting with my father, young brothers and most of my relatives. I found the cigarette lying everywhere in the house in bedrooms bathroom and in the kitchen which urged me to try it on to see what makes it a companion to all my relatives".*
23. *"This habit has nothing to do with attracting the other sex; I smoked just because I was curious about this foreign habit".*
24. *"You may laugh at what I will tell you...well I used to like a boy who smoke and so as to attract him I decided to smoke in order to attract him and make him falling in love with me".*
25. *"Well [...] society started tolerating youth smoking because this habit is seen everywhere to the extent that it has become something normal because smoking is seen in media, in famous movies, and in many events the thing that let society to start accepting it as natural and sometimes prestigious habit".*
26. *"Society in general and adults in particular say that youth are immature and inexperienced to differentiate between what is right and what is wrong...so they don't accept what we are doing".*
27. *"Well men are given all the power and permission to determine what females can do and what they cannot do [...] and since women are obliged to do what men tell them to they are not allowed to smoke because according to men smoking it attributed only to them".*
28. *"To smoke is a choice for both males and female and both of them can decide whether to move forward this step or not".*
29. *"For me it is something normal for a woman to smoke as it is normal for a man to do so now men and women are the same they go outside both, work both, and also they may do whatever they want both".*
30. *"In our culture females are forbidden to do many things....you know there is a proverb that says: Forbid us something, and that thing we desire. Since I was prohibited to do many things I was very curious to know about them and smoking is one of those things".*
31. *"In order for a society to accept something and for us to normalize something we have to impose it....this was our plan to make society accept seeing a woman smoking euhh five years ago they were staring at me with hatred but now they accepted and started tolerating smoking women".*
32. *"For me a smoking woman is a bad man with the body of a woman smoking distorts the femininity of women and deprives her from her softness and cuteness whereas smoking men for me are doing something normal that fits their power and virility".*
33. *"Well to be a female smoker in Morocco is not as easy as to be a male smoker, as when people see a female smoker they say that this is the deed of prostitutes and not polite girls, they got insulted with harsh words, but while seeing a male smoking all they can do is to say poor boy or poor man and they make even pray God to forgive him and help him to get rid of smoking".*
34. *"Morocco started changing since the French colonialism, because they came with new technologies, values, and culture that got admired by the Moroccans and as a result they embraced them".*
35. *"With Internet, and social media people have become close to the western cultures and it became so easy for them to imitate foreign new and attractive behaviors".*
36. *"I personally don't agree that Moroccans are affected by modernity because we still see many traditional customs and norms, for example we still eat our t traditional dishes and we still glorify and celebrate the real meaning of family".*
37. *"Well in fact I am not addicted to smoking...I just smoke in cafes or when meeting some rich people just to show prestige".*
38. *"I know that smoking causes serious health problems but I smoke to show that I am a modern and up-to-date person and to avoid being called backward [hhhhhh] I know it's schizophrenic but this is how our new life is".*

39. *"While I was a student in high school some of my friends used to smoke and by inviting me to try on cigarettes every time I decided to taste it and since that time I couldn't get rid of it".*
40. *"These young boys are killing themselves by this poison...the calamity is that they know that smoking is harmful however, they still admire it!"*
41. *"You know since childhood we see that if the boy committed a mistake, the parents will tolerate it saying that in order to be a good man in the future he should make mistakes and learn from them, whereas if the girl did the same mistake, she will be punished severely saying that girls have to be courteous, cute, and must behave properly".*
42. *"I don't think there is a difference between males' and female' smoking euhh my family considers it a poison that hurt both sexes".*
43. *"We are a conservative society that gives men the freedom to do all he wants whereas females's behaviors are restricted severely in the name of traditions and norms".*
44. *"People mostly do not care when they see a male smoking even if he is a young boy they do not blame him just because he is a male".*
45. *"I am a man that's the answer...full stop".*
46. *"People cannot insult him because his gender gives him the quality of doing all he wants in front of everybody without caring of what the others may say".*
47. *"Modernity for me is linked to technology because thanks to it we have moved from traditional"*
48. *"Starting from my experience, women's smoking is associated with decay, and loose which means that if a female is smoking it means that she isn't well mannered".*
49. *"I do not like this. I see that smoking deforms the female character in it [...] well, whether I like it or not, my mind goes that it is an immoral woman and shows me that it is decadent and perverted ... even though she may be far from this impression".*
50. *"When I see a woman smoking, I automatically get the impression that she is cheap and easy to hunt".*
51. *"I personally don't smoke to attract other people [...] I smoke because I want to do this and not to show that I am a prostitute who is accessible for every male pff I don't know why male understand females' smoking in this horrible way".*
52. *"When some men see that I smoke, they think that I am easy and they can do whatever they want with me".*
53. *"I think that female smoking is due to recklessness because most of smokers start smoking at a young age where adolescents want to establish their identity and personality by trying on new and prohibited things".*
54. *"Morocco started changing since the French colonialism, because they came with new technologies, values, and culture that got admired by the Moroccans and as a result they embraced them".*

c. Interviews Analysis

i. Transcripts Coding

In order to go through the analytical steps of the interview, we follow the typical steps of analyzing interviews. That is, coding the transcripts and paroles of the respondents, categorizing these codes and organizing the categories themselves into common themes. For this purpose, three major structured questions were repeated during the interview process:

Quotes of the interviewed people	Code List
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"Modernity for me is linked to technology because thanks to it we have moved from traditional ways of living like writing letters on paper to sending messages by mobiles; well technology has made our life easier and modern".</i> • <i>"Anything against traditions, old behaviors and ways of living is called modernity in my point of view".</i> • <i>"I am absolutely with the first suggestion; modernity came from the developed countries to eliminate and drive out our authentic and pure traditions and habits and push us to imitate the westerners' beliefs".</i> • <i>"Well modernity is the move from extended family to nuclear family meaning to move from collaboration to individualism".</i> 	<p>➤ The identification of modernity as a western invention, coming with different values.</p>

Quotes of the interviewed people	Code List
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Morocco started changing since the French colonialism, because they came with new technologies, values, and culture that got admired by the Moroccans and as a result they embraced them”. • “With Internet, and social media people have become close to the western cultures and it became so easy for them to imitate foreign new and attractive behaviors”. • “I personally don’t agree that Moroccans are affected by modernity because we still see many traditional customs and norms, for example we still eat our traditional dishes and we still glorify and celebrate the real meaning of family”. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Moroccans are affected by modernity and change in their manners of life takes place. ➤ Customs and traditions still persist.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Well in fact I am not addicted to smoking...I just smoke in cafes or when meeting some rich people just to show prestige”. • “I know that smoking causes serious health problems but I smoke to show that I am a modern and up-to-date person and to avoid being called backward [hhhhhh] I know it’s schizophrenic but this is how our new life is”. • “While I was a student in high school some of my friends used to smoke and by inviting me to try on cigarettes every time I decided to taste it and since that time I couldn’t get rid of it”. • “For me to be young is to be rebellious against everything that restricts my freedom or that puts me under the scope, thus I took smoking just to say that I cannot be the society’s puppet”. • “I started smoking two years ago when I was under the pressure of exams as I used to stay late with my friends to review our lessons, and then I tried my first cigarette”. • “Smoking was not something strange for me euh I was raised in a family where everyone smoked, starting with my father, young brothers and most of my relatives. I found the cigarette lying everywhere in the house in bedrooms bathroom and in the kitchen which urged me to try it on to see what makes it a companion to all my relatives”. • “This habit has nothing to do with attracting the other sex; I smoked just because I was curious about this foreign habit”. • “You may laugh at what I will tell you...well I used to like a boy who smoke and so as to attract him I decided to smoke in order to attract him and make him falling in love with me”. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Smoking could be an aspect of modernity. ➤ Smoking is adopted mostly for craving and desire or prestige and showing modernity.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Well [...] society started tolerating youth smoking because this habit is seen everywhere to the extent that it has become something normal euh smoking is seen in media, in famous movies, and in many events the thing that let society to start accepting it as natural and sometimes prestigious habit”. • “Society in general and adults in particular say that youth are immature and inexperienced to differentiate between what is right and what is wrong...so they don’t accept what we are doing”. • “These young boys are killing themselves by this poison...the calamity is that they know that smoking is harmful however, they still admire it!” • “You know since childhood we see that if the boy committed a mistake, the parents will tolerate it saying that in order to be a good man in the future he should make mistakes and learn from them, whereas if the girl did the same mistake, she will be punished severely saying that girls have to be courteous, cute, and must behave properly”. • “I don’t think there is a difference between males’ and female’ smoking euhh my family considers it a poison that hurt both sexes”. • “We are a conservative society that gives men the freedom to do all he wants whereas females’ behaviors are restricted severely in the name of traditions and norms”. • “The Moroccan society like other patriarchal Arab societies, refuses to give women their freedom to fulfill their demands and rights and to do whatever they want as long as they do not exceed their freedom or harm anyone [...] Even when it comes to personal matters, they always receive criticism and rejection from society”. • “I think that our heritage and morals refuse every reckless behavior that is perpetrated either by male or a female, according to my experience when it comes to mistakes there is no difference”. • “In our society man is glorified meaning that nobody can blame or reproach him because of his gender even if he committed a mistake he will not be judged”. • “Man in our society is the icon of perfection...even while perpetrating sins everybody will pretend that he didn’t see that sin”. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ These interviews show how society treats and deals with youth smokers. ➤ Usually, society judges youths as immature and immoral and disrespectful of grandfathers’ values. ➤ Society can tolerate male smokers but doesn’t accept female smokers.

Quotes of the interviewed people	Code List
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Starting from my experience, women’s smoking is associated with decay, and loose which means that if a female is smoking it means that she isn’t well mannered”. • “I do not like this. I see that smoking deforms the female character in it[...] well, whether I like it or not, my mind goes that it is an immoral woman and shows me that it is decadent and perverted ... even though she may be far from this impression”. • “When I see a woman smoking, I automatically get the impression that she is cheap and easy to hunt”. • “I personally don’t smoke to attract other people[...] I smoke because I want to do this and not to show that I am a prostitute who is accessible for every male pff I don’t know why male understand females’ smoking in this horrible way”. • “When some men see that I smoke, they think that I am easy and they can do whatever they want with me”. • “I think that female smoking is due to recklessness because most of smokers start smoking at a young age where adolescents want to establish their identity and personality by trying on new and prohibited things”. • “For me it is something normal for a woman to smoke as it is normal for a man to do so now men and women are the same they go outside both, work both, and also they may do whatever they want both”. • “In our culture females are forbidden to do many things....you know there is a proverb that says: Forbid us something, and that thing we desire. Since I was prohibited to do many things I was very curious to know about them and smoking is one of those things”. • “In order for a society to accept something and for us to normalize something we have to impose it....this was our plan to make society accept seeing a woman smoking euuh five years ago they were staring at me with hatred but now they accepted and started tolerating smoking women”. • “When smoking, I notice that older men and women give me strange and disdainful looks sending me the message that what I do is a big sin that is not acceptable socially”. • “People keep staring at me when I am caught smoking but the problem lies not only on men’s look at women who smoke but even women themselves refuse female smoking[...] we are in a society that gives more value to the males than females”. • “Once I was sitting in a café and smoking my cigarette but suddenly I started hearing some harmful and unpleasant insults from an old man [...] he said that I am a fallen who doesn’t have manners and who should be killed, keeping in mind that it is not his business”. • “I think that people do not care when seeing a female smoking because lately things have changed as we started seeing women going outside, working, and expressing themselves freely”. • “Once a man spitted on me while I was smoking...I think that spitting on someone is worse than smoking because while smoking I harm nobody while by spitting you harm the other one”. • “Well as female smokers we are still not accepted in this society [...] we are treated badly whereas smoking men do not get criticized taking into consideration that smoking is a bad habit that harms both sexes and that is forbidden religiously on both sexes”. • “For me a smoking woman is a bad man with the body of a woman smoking distorts the femininity of women and deprives her from her softness and cuteness whereas smoking men for me are doing something normal that fits their power and virility”. • “Well to be a female smoker in Morocco is not as easy as to be a male smoker, as when people see a female smoker they say that this is the deed of prostitutes and not polite girls, they got insulted with harsh words, but while seeing a male smoking all they can do is to say poor boy or poor man and they make even pray God to forgive him and help him to get rid of smoking”. • “People mostly do not care when they see a male smoking even if he is a young boy they do not blame him just because he is a male”. • “I am a man that’s the answer...full stop”. • “People cannot insult him because his gender gives him the quality of doing all he wants in front of everybody without caring of what the others may say”. • “I have been smoking for 10 years and I have never got insulted or criticized even when I was young...people do not worry because I am a man and I have the freedom to behave as I want”. • “I do not see a vice with smoking women just as a man has the right to light a cigarette on the street and anywhere he goes, the woman has the right to do so, I hear and I see a lot of criticism because I am a woman who smokes [...] this bothers me so much but I do not care most of the time”. • “Nobody cares about me when smoking because I am the man and all I do is acceptable”. • “Smoking for men is something normal it is a habit seen everywhere and anytime”. • “Morocco is a male dominated society thus men cannot be criticized because only them who can decide what is good and what is bad for them”. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ These quotes and witnesses demonstrate how people look and react to female smokers. ➤ Women smoking is considered totally unethical and reckless. ➤ Women smokers are associated with every degrading trait and are looked at as prostitutes and sexual objects. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ These interviews demonstrate the reaction of people when seeing men smoking. ➤ There is almost a full agreement that men smoking isn’t a problem to the society. ➤ It is normal for man to smoke and not many would judge him as they do for women.

ii. Code List and Category

Code List	Category
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The identification of modernity as a western invention, coming with different values. ➤ Moroccans are affected by modernity and change in their manners of life takes place. ➤ Customs and traditions still persist. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ There is a dichotomy between modernity and tradition in the mode of life of Moroccans.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Smoking could be an aspect of modernity ➤ Smoking is adopted mostly for craving and desire or prestige and showing modern. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Modernity could engender youth behaviors like gender smoking.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ These interviews show how the society treats and deals with youth smokers. ➤ Usually, the society judges youths as immature and immoral and disrespect of the values of grandfathers. ➤ The society can tolerate male's smokers but doesn't accept female smokers. 	A conservative society, where religion and traditions prevail, doesn't accept female smoking and expects women to be decent and respectful according to the criteria set by a patriarchal community.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Women's smoking is considered totally unethical and reckless. ➤ Women smokers are associated with every degrading trait and are looked at as prostitutes and sexual objects. 	Morocco as a patriarchal society doesn't expect women to imitate men's privileged gestures and behaviors like smoking and reacts in a despising outlook to these women.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ There is almost a full agreement that men's smoking isn't a problem to the society. ➤ It is normal for man to smoke and not many would judge him as they do for women 	Unlike reacting to women, being a man inside a patriarchal society, behaviors like smoking are accepted.

iv. Implied Themes

- a. The influence of modernity of the daily life of the Moroccans.
- b. The dichotomy between modernity and traditions.
- c. Modernity can introduce new sub youth cultural patterns and behaviors such as Gender Smoking.
- d. The intolerance of gender smoking, females' notably, because of the patriarchal nature of the society.

The interviews stress what has been concluded in the questionnaires and their data analysis. On one hand, many interviewees consider modernity as a lived reality. That is a fact that can't be rejected or pushed away in the light of globalization and western economic and cultural expansion worldwide. On the other hand, the interviewees are aware of the contrast persisting between modernity's material and symbolic dimensions and society's conservatism which has been rooted for long periods in Moroccan socio-cultural structure. However, modernism influence is perpetual and continuing. Moreover, it impacts mostly, in a direct or indirect way, the youth category of the society. The latter welcomes the comfort that modernity affords and moves to adopt various cultural patterns and behaviors in due correspondence. Gender smoking, the focus of the present study, is demonstrated to be a direct aspect of modernity.

All in all, we have seen that men and women start smoking because of various reasons, like showing prestige, curiosity and peer influence. Yet the perception of smokers depends on gender. Despite the fact that smoking remains an experience for women and men, data showed that there is a gap between how males and females are perceived in Moroccan society. Actually, the findings showed that Morocco is not yet ripe to accept women's behaviors without referring to gender differences which reinforce the power of the patriarchal culture as well as the rooted traditions in resisting all the changes that may result women to be equal to men. One cannot deny the fact that smoking can be a bad habit that may affect both women and men differently. Yet when it comes to social acceptance, findings show that there is a tendency to tolerate men's smoking more than women's. Moroccan culture is a male centered culture par excellence. As a result, there is always a tendency to give excuses to men since, in Morocco a man is a man and nothing can blemish his virility; whereas, a woman is always followed by the others' gazes that criticize her every tiny fault, meaning that smoking women are rejected by society and seen as loose and immoral. Yet it is worth mentioning that smoking is no longer confined only to men, as with the openness to other cultures through technology and media, and the freedoms women enjoy by civil rights. Women's smoking has become widespread in Moroccan society and

has become a personal business. Nowadays, the enhancement of gender freedoms, like the freedom of expression, aid women to act as they will and sit in alluring coffee shops for smoking cigarettes.

5 Conclusion

Many points are covered in the present research paper. The focus of the present study is how Modernism as an external movement could influence internal modes and manners of life and engender different aspects such as rap music, Emo culture and gender smoking. Such aspects apply in the first rank to the youth category of society, as this hypothesis is supported by the findings. The youth welcomes the benefits and comforts of modernity and integrates it within one's life. However, such influence creates what is called a generation gap. In other words, modernism and its embodiment in cultural and material patterns of life can't go on smoothly without leaving behind conflicts and clashes between generations. Obviously, the opponent of modernism in Morocco is the old generation that grew up in conservative and traditional manners. This old generation's major support is religion. Added to this different rearing up, religion as a text and as an interpretation is at odds the younger generation. Therefore, quarrels between the modern aspects and traditional modes of life that rooted a conservative country for centuries continue partially insolubly. Religious conservative people consider modern ways of life and its adoption as an attack on the morals of society. Given the above-mentioned factors, modernity's aspects such as raping and gender smoking amongst the youth aren't tolerated in society, especially for women. The findings support this conclusion and demonstrate how the society, under the pretext of conservatism and religion, stands against many youth subculture innovations, mainly in what concerns female smoking.

Gender and smoking as a youth subculture has caused different reactions from society, including the very few who consider it a personal business and those who see it as something shameful that goes against the local traditions and norms. Moreover, smoking has acquired a negative connotation with regard to women in contrast to men, who do not suffer such negative judgments. Firstly, smoking as a risky habit has long term effects on both men and women, but socially, women are more exposed to being denounced by society than male smokers for all the reasons cited above. Despite the small change in peoples' perception towards female smoking, smoking remains a phenomenon attributed only to men because they are the ones who dominate and put restrictions on females. Female smokers in Morocco are vulnerable to being considered loose and disrespectful because they have chosen a habit that socially fits only men. Smoking in Morocco is still a gender issue par excellence. Actually, one may think that Morocco is on the way to modernity and personal freedom especially because of the changes that occur on a large scale, be it culturally and socially. Yet sometimes these changes are not sufficient to change people's attitudes towards some issues like gender Smoking. Female smokers in Morocco are still stigmatized and misjudged due to the predominant patriarchal and traditional mindset. As the results show, when a man is seen smoking, often nobody cares; whereas, if a female is seen smoking, people may insult and attack her. Nonetheless, change takes place, albeit slowly. Actually, modernity has brought many changes to empower women and to insist on everybody's personal freedom. Gender smoking is becoming a wide-spread phenomenon due to economic, social and cultural changes that occur in Moroccan society. Thus, male cultural dominance has started, especially the youth generation, tolerating women's social freedoms such as the choice to smoke.

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