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New Policies for Morocco

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Policy Analysis: the patience to understand and effect meaningful change

by Niccolo Milanese, Lead Trainer

The work of the policy analyst is patient, meticulous, evidence-based and often slow. In an accelerating world it can sometimes seem as if there is simply not enough time for such endeavors, that demands are too urgent or pressing, or that change must inevitably come from other forces. The Young Arab Analyst Network International (YAANI) program in public policy analysis starts from the opposite view: firstly, that meticulous attention to detail and rational argumentation are skills that need to be practiced and mastered which can actually 'save' time and bring intelligibility to a complex world, and secondly that if change is to be worthwhile, not haphazard nor unjust, public policy needs evidence-based analysis, evaluation and debate. Through training weekends, public events, ongoing mentorships and delivering trainings themselves to others, the participants in the YAANI program in Morocco have not only started to learn many of the skills of policy analysis, but are contributing to a larger effort to emphasize the importance of informed, rational policy debate not only in Morocco, but more globally.

Now in its third year, YAANI is an ongoing program of the British Council, with the support of the British Embassy in Morocco. It has accompanied participants through several stages from first contact with policy analysis, to learning some of the basic concepts and tools, to applying those tools in individual and group research, giving public presentations and meeting other policy researchers and organisations both in Morocco and the UK. The MENA Policy Hub association established by some of the first YAANI alumni in 2012 has accompanied the program throughout and has grown considerably in its membership, in its capacities for training and analysis and in its contacts and reputation throughout Morocco and more widely over the year. A wide range of other partners and supporters have been involved in the program and activities over the year, including guest speakers, mentors and advice-givers and partner institutions which have hosted and contributed to events. Among those who should be thanked are Adnane Addioui, the co-trainer on the project; Amal Haddouche, the former Director General of the Centre for the Development of Renewable Enegry; Fouad Chafiqui, a Director of the Curriculum in the Ministry of National Education and Hassan Tariq, the parliamentarian, professor of political science and director of La Revue Marocaine des Politiques Publiques (REMAPP).

Informed policy debate is a public good at all levels of society, from those who are making policy decisions to those who are affected by them. The skills required to interpret evidence, understand and evaluate arguments, take other points of view and other interests into consideration, understand trade-offs and anticipate risks and potential problems are important skills for living in modern societies. The participants in the YAANI program are acting as intermediaries between other young people of their generation, elders with policy experience or responsibilities and wider society.

The participants themselves come from different parts of the country, different socio-economic and linguistic backgrounds and different spheres of activity including academia, journalism, civil society, industry, trade unionism, agricultural production, teaching, digital media and communications and the civil service. The training itself was multi-lingual and designed to be as inclusive as possible, with no particular prior experience or knowledge required. The work done by the participants in training sessions, in their own research and in the events they organized independently, reflect a clear priority amongst the participants to diversify the points of view

present in the Moroccan public sphere and policy debate. For societies transitioning through political and cultural changes like Morocco, experiencing different speeds and trajectories of change in different parts of the country, such dialogue is clearly essential. In teaching themselves whilst acting as teachers and trainers of others and wider public, the YAANI participants are pursuing education in its best and etymological sense (from ex-ducere), of 'bringing forth' capacities, skills, experience and richness latent in each individual and in society in general.

This publication features six of the best policy papers of the 2013 intake of participants to the program. Originally written in Arabic, French or English, they are all presented here in English translation. They represent first steps in exploring complex topics, some of which are highly discussed in Morocco today, but for which quality research and reliable statistics are often lacking. They cover the rights of Sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco, language issues in education and research, access to schooling in rural areas, sex-education in schools, the education of handicapped teachers and job-insertion of the blind. Education, diversity, access to the public sphere, the right to participate and be an active citizens are overriding themes and key-words, which reflect the YAANI program and its objectives, as well as speak to the priorities of a generation shared well beyond the borders of Morocco. We anticipate that they will be of interest to decision-makers and researchers, those working on similar issues in different contexts, and those interested in the ways the modern conceptions of access and rights are being appropriated and reinvested with critical potential by a new generation of political analysts.

Policy analysis as thinking and acting for the future

by Claire Spencer
Head, Middle East and North Africa Programme, Chatham House, London

Morocco has undergone considerable change in recent years, despite not having played a frontline role in the Arab Spring of 2011. The same year saw a number of significant constitutional amendments proposed, then presented to the electorate in a referendum held in the summer of 2011, which approved by 98.49% of the vote a formal redistribution of central powers along with the promise of more devolved political authority to Morocco's regions.

Three years on, and the full implementation of the constitutional changes is still being examined and debated in a society which often sees itself as preferring well-considered and slow-paced change within continuity to the breakdown of law and order and violent conflict now characterising Morocco's North African neighbour Libya, along with Syria and Iraq further east. For the youth of Morocco, however, along with older critics of the still-deep cleavages between rich and poor, and the uneven opportunities open to different strata of urban and rural society in Morocco, change is not only urgently required, but needs to take place beyond the debates in parliament and the royal commissions set up to examine the detail of the reforms currently being tabled.

Now in its third year, the Young Arab Analysts Network International (YAANI) has sought to channel the insights and energies of the generation aged between 25 and 35 years into productive and workable policy solutions to the kind of challenges they themselves face daily, or which they observe to have been overlooked in debates going on elsewhere. The initiation of this network by the British Council and its continuing financial and material support has been critical to encouraging a younger generation to think and act differently, and to equip themselves to reflect more deeply on their own collective future. The result of their endeavours may not bear all its fruit for some time to come, but continuing to support them through this process is essential for that future ever to materialise.

As an offshoot of the initially-regionally focused YAANI programme, the MENA Policy Hub has established itself as a point of reference for fine-tuning and exploring new ideas, even though, as many who participate in its discussions are aware, the readiness of Morocco's decision-makers to absorb and act on what emerges is still subject to much older and established ways of doing business in the public policy sphere.

From small beginnings, however, often surprising things result, and understanding how the networks of local and national policy-making actually function is part of an apprenticeship that seeks to establish the legitimacy of a wider civic participation in public life in addition to influencing its focus and outcomes. Outsiders should be aware just how novel it is for a younger generation to play any role in proposing alternatives to an embedded and often unaccountable way of doing things: Morocco remains a society where hierarchical relationships, received wisdoms and inertia are still extremely entrenched in many institutions. However, if information is power, the act of learning how, and through what means, policy choices are made in Morocco, and of seeking best practice alternatives in comparative or even unusually different circumstances, are also necessary steps towards realising how many elements need to come together to make even a small difference in public life.

Participants in the YAANI process have embarked on the path of marshalling their facts and arguments in favour of evidence-based policy change; some have chosen to do so in addition to participating in public protests and demonstrations that make their voices heard, but ultimately put the onus on others to change things on their behalf. Assuming responsibility for the contradictions inherent in their own proposals and actions, as well as understanding the trade-offs that social and political progress often require, are both valuable lessons to be learnt in responding to situations which initially appear to be negative, unfair or highly prejudicial to the interests of those most directly affected.

The recent debate over the boycott announced by a number of prominent Moroccan human rights organisations of the officially sanctioned Global Human Rights Forum held in November 2014 in Marrakesh in southern Morocco illustrates the dilemma. Citing the regression in the policing of

human rights activists and their decreasing ability to speak out against official abuses, with many being detained or prevented from defending individuals and communities at risk, the case for boycotting a highly publicised international event apparently designed to provide an official whitewash of Morocco's own human rights record might seem irrefutable at first sight. The response of the head of the state-funded National Council on Human Rights in charge of hosting the Global Forum, the first of its kind in Africa as well as Morocco, is nevertheless also worth reflecting on. For Driss Yazami, a former political detainee himself, no human rights discussion can start from the premise that things are perfect, nor can Morocco hide its own failings in this regard. Rather, as a process more than a measurable outcome, a free and frank exchange of views and the sharing of international experience are critical to increasing public awareness of the scope and dimensions of human rights, including into new areas of concern, along with the actions needed to identify, promote and protect them where currently neglected.

This second approach to human rights pervades the policy briefs included in this volume. Only by breaking taboos, for example, in addressing the shortcomings of sex education, can a neglected area of public education hope to engage a wider audience to challenge its underlying assumptions. In educating the educators of the blind to prepare them for the workplace, a whole series of assumptions about the basic rights of the handicapped are likewise challenged, along with the practical and financial consequences for public services and national productivity levels of the continued exclusion of a significant section of the population. Foreign migrants' rights are also considered in the context of the costs and benefits to a recipient society for which the challenge of accommodating and integrating outsiders is new. In the briefs on educational language reform and access to education in often deprived or distant rural communities, the analysis and recommendations engage one of the most heated debates currently taking place in Morocco. Designing and implementing an education system that is inclusive as well as respectful of linguistic and cultural diversity, whilst equipping all Moroccans to access a rapidly changing employment market, goes to the heart of the wider debate about Morocco's future identity and its direction as a unitary, yet (eventually) politically devolved state.

This debate, in other words, is not that much different from similar debates taking place on the future of Europe and European societies. Many members of YAANI have understood this through their own exposure to European languages and cultures. Beyond its relevance to the future of Morocco itself, this volume might well serve as a timely reminder to European readers that the policy dilemmas facing the post-Arab Spring world are, in practice, not so far away from their own.

Regularizing the status of irregular migrants in Morocco: program design and policy benefits

by Mohammed Yachoulti

According to the Moroccan ministry of interior, between 25 000 and 40 000 irregular migrants live on the Moroccan territory [1]. These irregular migrants are foreigners who have entered the country illegally without detection or the documents stipulated by law which allow the person to enter the country legally. They also include asylum seekers who are waiting for the recognition of their status by the Moroccan state. Indeed, under the Moroccan 2003 migration law n°02-03, foreigners who wish to enter Morocco should present themselves to the border checkpoints. The entry can be denied on the basis of the following:

- If they do not submit a passport or any other document approved by the Moroccan state.
- If they are unable to submit proof that they have sufficient means of support
- If they are unable to present adequate guarantees for their return to their country of origin.
- If the authorities find that their presence will pose a threat to the system,
- If they had been previously deported or refused entry.

In the event of entry refusal, the law enables migrants to contact the person who had invited them, to notify him by any means, notify their country's consulate or notify a lawyer of their choice. In case of the inability to fulfill any of these conditions, the foreigner can be jailed or fined if he or she attempts to enter the country in an illegal way[2].

[1] ALI, Siham. November14,2013. "Morocco enacts migration reform". Magharebia, http://magharebia.com/en_GB/articles/awi/features/2013/11/14/feature-02

[2] MELLIANI, Mohammed and El CHIGUEUR, Mohammed (May, 2009) "Irregular migration in Morocco". Oujda: Partners in Development for Research, Consulting and Training

Irregular immigrants in Morocco are scattered all over the major cities and are living in difficult circumstances. Nearly all of them originate from sub-Saharan African countries. The numbers provided by the ministry of interior are very small in comparison with the existing numbers in the neighboring European countries like Spain or France. However, the fact that Morocco is a developing country and thus a sending country makes the existence of these irregular migrants on its territory an unusual phenomenon. Added to this, the absence of a clear migration policy has subjected it to sharp criticism for its ill-treatment of these migrants and its inability to address their daily tribulations within its territory. Actually, despite its potential costs, Morocco is required more than any time before to establish a policy of migration that focuses mainly on regularizing the status of these migrants. Any other alternatives such as providing incentive schemes to these migrants to go back home or returning them to their home countries forcibly are unlikely to solve the issue because of the political instability and the deteriorating economies of the counties of origin. In this regard, this policy brief aims to assess the new Sub-Saharan Moroccan migration policy and its potential outcomes. This will be achieved through comparing the new migration policy with the 2003 Law n°02-03[3] on the entry and stay of foreign nationals into Morocco.

[3] Law n°02-03 strengthens legal penalties against people who facilitate or organize irregular entry into or exit from the country. It also penalizes irregular immigrants or emigrants, should they be foreign or national citizens. It has also doubled the number of permanent border guards and created the Direction of Migrants and Borders Surveillance (DMBS). On the other hand, it protects some foreign national categories from deportation namely pregnant women or minors.

Why does Morocco need a migration policy?

Currently, the need for a new migration policy in Morocco is turning into a necessity. The reasons can be traced to the social needs of the irregular migrants living on the territory of the country, the international and domestic legal obligations, the strategic choices of the state and the historical and moral obligations of Morocco.

a) Social needs of the irregular migrants in Morocco

Irregular migrants, in particular those in provenance from Sub-Saharan countries, have long been in Morocco and their numbers are multiplying day after day especially with the political instability in the countries hit by the Arab spring. In other words, willingly or unwillingly, Morocco is increasingly becoming a safe-haven for Sub-Saharan emigrants seeking a stable environment to flee poverty and live peacefully. Also, many of these irregular migrants are parents. Thus, they are calling for the regularization of their status and residence in Morocco to have access to necessities such as health-care and an education for their children.

b) International and domestic legal obligations of Morocco

Both the changing of migration policies of European countries since the early years of 2000[4], and the political instability some North African countries are experiencing, make Morocco the best alternative destination of a large number of Sub-Saharan irregular migrants. Added to this, Morocco has ratified a number of international conventions and protocols as well as regional and bilateral agreements on the respect of human rights including the rights of migrants along with family members, and has now adopted a new 'democratic' constitution that has an enormous focus on human rights including the rights of migrants. This comes after the adoption of a very advanced family code that safeguards the right of women and their children.

c) Strategic choices of the state

Katharine Natter argues that "occupied with its southern enlargement and eastern neighborhood, the EU downgraded North-African countries to secondary partners, herewith pushing Morocco into relative geo-political isolation"[5]. Given this context, and in the light of the EU's eagerness to cooperate with third-world countries on the issue of the control of irregular migrants, Morocco should use the diplomacy of migration as a strategic instrument to regain visibility on the international scene, recover its political weight in the region and its role as a pivotal partner[6]. Added to this, because of the security threat irregular migrants pose, a policy of migration

[4]In fact, through the 2005 EU-Morocco bilateral agreement, "Europe has sought to stem irregular migration flows into the region by extending the monitoring and exclusion of its borders to Morocco and other countries of the Maghreb, repositioning them as the 'new frontiers' of Europe". For more details see CHERTI, Myriam and GRANT, Peter (10 June 2013) The myth of transit: Sub-Saharan migration in Morocco. A report by the Institute for Public Policy Research. http://www.ippr.org/publication/55/11051/the-myth-of-transit-sub-saharan-migration-in-morocco.

[5]Natter, Katherine. 'the formation of Morocco's Policy Towards Irregular Migration (2000-2007)': Political Rational and Policy Processes .

[6]Ibid.

will undoubtedly ensure security in the region, a fact which will enhance Morocco's international visibility and position.

d) Historical and moral obligations of Morocco

Last but not least, Melliani Mohammed and El Chigueur Mohammed argue that "Idris 1st, the first king of Morocco who founded the Idrisi State, was a refugee chosen by the Northern Berber tribes as the king of the land in 788H. Likewise, Morocco was a safe haven for Jewish and Moslem migrants who were expelled from Europe and Andalusia in the fourteenth century. Again, throughout the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a major influx of Algerian nationals as a result of the French colonization of Algeria; as well as Spanish nationals who came fleeing the tyranny of the Franco regime. The same applies to the numerous Europeans who fled the domination of communist regimes founded in Eastern Europe from the beginning of the twentieth century. In addition to the flow of Europeans, Algerians and Arabs, there was an influx of Sub-Saharan African nationals over periods of time in the history of that country. The Moroccans blended with the foreign settlers during those periods in its history, giving that country a special kind of roots, language, mores and customs"[7]. Having this fact in mind, establishing a regularization programme to legalize the status of irregular Sub-Saharan migrants is both a historical and moral imperative.

[7]MELLIANI, Mohammed and El CHIGUEUR, Mohammed (May, 2009). Op,cit.

Regularizing programs: what parameters?

'Regularization' is a term usually used to describe programmes that give irregular immigrants already residing in a country the ability to gain a legal status on permanent or on temporary basis. Americans use the term 'legalization' to refer to the same process. 'Amnesty' is also a term used interchangeably with the previous term but is hardly used by the governments as it may seem to imply the inability of a state to control illegal entries[8].

Regularization programmes are of many types; they include exceptional humanitarian programmes (residence permits to refugees, asylum seekers or individuals with serious health problems), family reunification programmes (allow a family member to reunite with his or her spouse and children living abroad), permanent or continuous programmes (offering a permanent residence status for an individual migrant who proves to live in the county for a number of years), one-off or one-shot programmes (provide temporary living and working permits to applicants that expire after a certain period of time) and earned regularization programmes (temporary residence and working permit that turns into a permanent one after completing certain criteria of integration: language, community activities, payment of taxes and a stable employment)[9].

Despite their diversity, all regularization programmes set some criteria for illegal migrants when they apply for a legal residence permit. These criteria sometimes include:

[8]GLOBAL COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION. (May 2005). "Regularization programmes : an effective instrument of migration policy?" Global Migration Perspectives, No. 33. http://www.refworld.org/docid/42ce542a4.html [accessed 5 February 2014]

[9]GREENWAY, John.(July 6, 2007). "Regularization programmes for irregular migrants". A Report http://assembly.coe.int

- *Employment:* The potential applicant must have a labour contract that proves his or her regular employment or in some cases a job offer
- *Family ties:* Once a migrant settles in the host country to live and work, he or she can send for his or her spouses and children to join him or her.
- *Length of residence:* The potential applicant must prove that he or she has resided in the host country for a specific amount of time, a fact which is hard or sometimes impossible to prove.
- *Evidence of integration efforts and payment of contributions to a social insurance fund:* the potential applicant must prove that he or she has paid taxes or contributed to a community service.
- *Ethnic ties or nationality-based quotas:* In some countries of immigration, a specified number of permits are granted to migrants originating from specific countries

Lawmakers often specify certain grounds for exclusion or disqualifications. These elements of exclusion include a record of criminal behavior, appearance on security-watching lists or types of previous migration violations[10].

Migration in Morocco: Between the past and present

Immediately after its independence, Morocco joined the international community by ratifying a number of international conventions and protocols as well as regional and bilateral agreements on the respect of human rights including the rights of migrants along with their family members. The best example that should be referred to in this regard is the international agreement no. 158/45 on the rights of all migrant workers and their family members. It was ratified by Morocco on June 21st, 1993 after it had been adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 18th, 1990 but its instruments were not implemented by Morocco until July 1st, 2003[11]. The main goals of the covenant include:

- The respect of the human rights of the migrants
- Equal treatment of migrants and citizens of the host country
- Widening the qualification of migrants workers, namely seasonal laborers, marine workers and workers accepted for specific jobs

In the context of the significant flows of irregular sub-Saharan migrants arriving daily at the Eastern boarders of Morocco and settling on its territory, as well as the fear of terrorism related problems, the Moroccan government issued a new immigration law specifying the terms of entry, residence and deportation. On November 11th, 2003, the Moroccan government issued the Decree n˚. 196.03.1 implementing the law n˚.02.03 that concerns the entry and residence of foreigners in the kingdom including irregular immigrants[12]. A brief review of the articles of the laws shows that the goals are:

- "Introducing legal provisions penalizing violations re-

[10]ROSENBLUM, Marc R. (December 2010). "Immigration Legalization in the United States and Europe: Policy Goals and Program Design". Policy brief. Migration policy institute. http://assembly.coe.int/ASP/Doc/XrefViewHTML.asp?FileID=11614&Language=EN

[11]see MELLIANI, Mohammed and El CHIGUEUR, Mohammed. (May, 2009). Op, cit.

[12]MELLIANI, Mohammed and El CHIGUEUR, Mohammed. (May, 2009). Op, cit. See the third footnote in this policy brief for details on law No.02.03

lated to clandestine migration.

- Adapting the penalties for entry and residence of foreign nationals to the provisions of the Moroccan criminal law.
- Taking great pains to ensure that Moroccan laws are in conformity with the principles of international agreements regarding the rights of migrants"[13].

The law n° 02.03 was promulgated to serve as the legal framework to curb the flows of irregular Sub-Saharan immigrants by subjecting them to deportation and severe penalties. Regrettably, the vastness of the Eastern boarders of the country and therefore the difficulty of controlling single entries has made deportation an attractive option for the state.

In 2013, the National Human Rights Council (CNDH) submitted a report on foreigners and their rights in Morocco (Foreigners & Human Rights in Morocco: For a Radically New Asylum & Migration Policy) and the Moroccan King chaired a working meeting on September 10th 2013 to discuss various aspects of immigration with the aim to develop a new national migration policy. The meeting was attended by the prime minister, several ministers and senior officials. Based on the recommendations of CNDH, the King insisted on the need to adopt a humanitarian approach to the migrants residing in Morocco. He also stressed the need to tackle networks that traffic and trade in human beings. He urged the government to devise and implement without delay an appropriate strategy and action plan in partnership with CNDH and the various stakeholders in order to shape an overarching immigration policy.

On Monday, November 11th, 2013, the Moroccan government announced the programme to regularize the status of up to 40,000 irregular immigrants as part of a new migration policy initiated in September to comply with international agreements. The programme, which starts on January 1st, and lasts till December 31st 2014 targets:

- 850 immigrants considered as asylum-seekers by the UNHCR
- Foreign spouses of Moroccan citizens who can prove they have resided with their partners for at least two years,
- Immigrant couples who have lived together in Morocco consistently for at least four years
- Children of both the above categories will also benefit from the measure.
- Immigrants in possession of a valid work permit of at least two years' duration,
- Immigrants who can prove five years' continuous residence in Morocco
- Immigrants affected by a serious illness and who have been on Moroccan soil prior to 31 December 2013

To implement the programme, a bureau is set up in each prefecture and province across Morocco to receive and approve regularization requests. Also, a national appeal committee will be created, with the involvement of the National Human Rights Advisory Council (CNDH). Further, in order for the action to take place, a new legal and institutional framework will be developed to improve the legislation on migration, asylum and human trafficking. Finally, applicants whose files are turned down will have the possibility to re-apply at a national appeal commission. Applicants who receive a positive reply will be delivered one-year registration cards.

A brief assessment of this legalization programme shows that it does not cover the entire requirements necessary for

[13]MELLIANI, Mohammed and El CHIGUEUR, Mohammed. (May, 2009). Op, cit.

the success of any regularization programme[14]. Specifically, it lacks the following:

- ***Inclusiveness:*** That is, the programme should include as many irregular migrants as possible. In the Moroccan case, priority is given to asylum seekers, married couples and their children and immigrants affected by serious diseases. In other words, the regularization programme is reduced to the process of legalizing the residency status of only a specific category of migrants, which includes a very small percentage of illegal migrants awaiting the normalization of their residence status
- ***Fairness:*** In the Moroccan legalization programme, no practical measures to alleviate the daily problems the migrants suffer are mentioned or made reference to.
- ***Cost effectiveness:*** A look at the regularization programme adopted by Morocco shows the absence of exact or clear data concerning the costs and benefits of the programme
- ***Self-enforcement:*** Is the programme likely to solve the issue of irregular migration and discourage any future illegal migrants? In fact, despite the penalties specified in the Moroccan migration law n°.02.03 that concerns the entry and residence of foreigners in the kingdom, it is difficult if not impossible to control every single illegal entry because of the vastness of Moroccan-Algerian border.

[14]For further in formation see ROSENBLUM, Marc R. (December 2010). "Immigration Legalization in the United States and Europe: Policy Goals and Program Design" Migration policy institute

Policy benefits : a step in the right direction

Despite the limitations discussed above and its vagueness (lack of inclusiveness, fairness …etc), Morocco nevertheless is required to go ahead in its new migration policy that focuses on regularizing the status of irregular immigrants since the 2003 Law n° 02-03 on the entry and stay of foreign nationals into Morocco did not help in reducing the phenomenon of irregular immigrants (and specifically Sub-Saharan ones) in the country. Adopting this policy would be a step in the right direction. It would

- Contribute to a more coherent migration policy that would overcome the abovementioned imitations
- Correct the human rights image of the country abroad, something which would encourage more foreign investments
- Reduce the number of irregular migrants at a reasonable cost. Instead of interior enforcement which requires expenditures on the identification, detainment and the removal of these migrants, regularization usually tempts migrants to identify themselves voluntarily[15].
- Provide a larger and cheaper labour force particularly in the sectors no longer of interest to Moroccans
- Establish a social cohesion by educating Moroccans to believe in difference and accept the other.
- Prevent and control the spread of transmitted diseases. The procedures of the regularization programmes will definitely help in detecting HIV, AIDS and other disease-holders and getting them treatment.
- By moving immigrants from the informal economy to the formal one, regularization may result in wage in-

[15]ROSENBLUM, Marc R. (December 2010). Op,ct.

creases and greater tax-payments, giving a boost to the economy and benefiting both native and foreign workers. Also, reducing the informal economy eliminates unfair advantages for those who hire unauthorized immigrants.

- By regularizing their status, irregular immigrants will not be able to use fake identity documents; the regularization procedure will oblige them to register with the state's agencies and provide law enforcement and intelligence services with reliable information. This will help in enhancing security and reducing crimes[16].
- Deter or reduce the rates of some growing social phenomena including violence, crime and begging.

The First Progress Report

Six months after launching the regularizing programme and distributing the first Residence Permits, the Moroccan state released the first progress report on June 27th, 2014. The report notes that some 14,510 applications were made, with nearly 3,000 applications already granted[17]. The report also notes that irregular migrants Morocco hosts originate from 96 countries but most applications were made by nationals from Senegal, Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Congo, Mali and Mauritania[18].

Despite the progress made so far, a number of questions

[16]ROSENBLUM, Marc R. (December 2010). Op,cit.

[17]Benmehdi, Hassan. (July 2nd, 2014). "Morocco checks immigration reform progress". Magharebia. Retrieved from http://maghrebia.com/en_GB/articles/awi/features/2014/07/02/feature-03

[18]Ibid

still need to be settled. Will the regularization programme be transformed into a permanent one? Will the state establish new laws to facilitate regular access to Moroccan residence and therefore minimize the increase of undocumented migrants and workers in Morocco?

Conclusion: Policy suggestions to go further

Being the first to pioneer this regularization programme in the African and developing world, the Moroccan government may benefit from the following policy suggestions to boost its new migration policy and therefore assure its efficiency:

- Morocco is required to look at and benefit from some countries of immigration that have already implemented regularization programmes so as to go ahead with new migration policy of normalization. The Greek experience is a useful example in this regard, both in its positive and negative results.
- It is a necessity to establish a clear and global policy that engages all stakeholders to stop the influx of irregular Sub-Saharan migrants and the same time respect their rights.
- It is necessary to partner and include the European countries and avoid reducing their role to a mere financial help. Also, the neighboring countries should be engaged in this new policy so as to contain irregular migration-related problems like terrorism, crimes, drug-peddling and smuggling.
- As a practical measure to reduce the number of irregular migrants, Morocco could introduce visa programmes through which migrants can be allowed to

enter the country legally. This could be done through implementing a quota system for jobs which the native or citizen population does not want to take up (seasonal agriculture or farming, maid services… etc). In parallel, Morocco is required to strengthen border security systems and enforce the migration law to sharply reduce additional irregular immigration.

- Given the complexity of the issue, establishing a ministry or national institution that takes charge of the issue of migration in general and these migrants in particular is becoming a necessity.
- Provide practical solutions to facilitate the integration of these migrants in the Moroccan society namely after legalizing their residency status.

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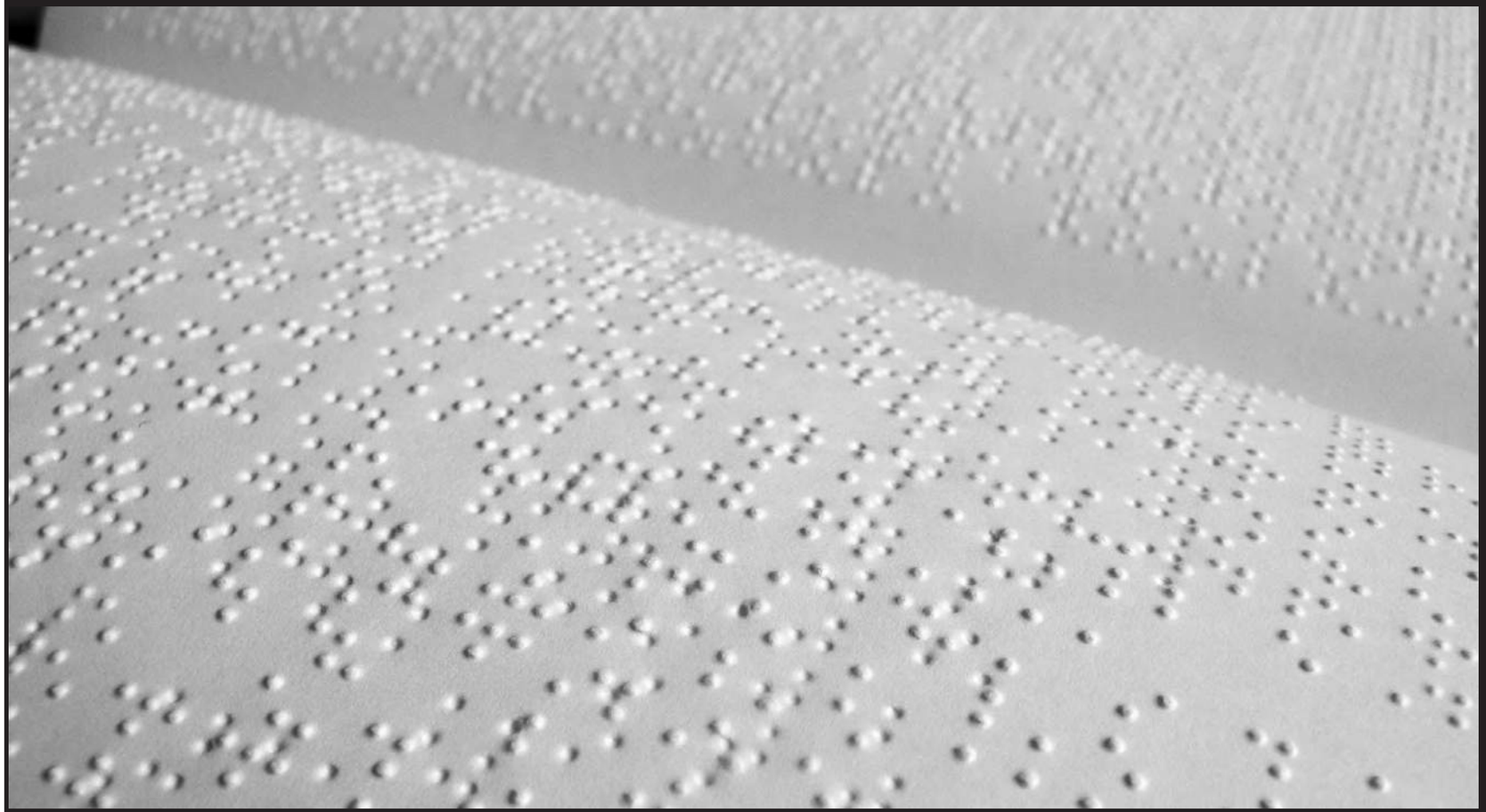
Professional Insertion of Blind Teachers in Morocco

by Mounir Kheirallah



In spite of its efforts to promote youth employment and professional training, the Moroccan Government currently gives insufficient importance to the employability of disabled people. Neither in the public nor private sectors are disabled people adequately employed, even though they represent 5.12% of the Moroccan population: 1.530.000 people according to the 2004 National Survey on Disability (NSD). To promote employment, Morocco creates each year new job opportunities in the public administration and allocates significant funds to implement professional training programmes in order to make new employees more acquainted with administrative procedures and processes. In such a dynamic market, the private sector is also urged to recruit new workers with outstanding profiles and to improve their productivity via a number of in-service training curricula. However, the employability of people with disabilities does not gain the attention of decision-makers and employers in these initiatives. On the contrary, Morocco has yet fully to respect its international commitments, having ratified in April 2008 the UN Convention on the Rights of Disabled People and its Optional Protocol (UNCRPD).

The unemployment rate for disabled people in Morocco is 5 times the equivalent for people without disabilities, according to a report released in 2011 by the Economic and Social Council. The National Survey on Disability of 2004 estimates that more than 55.2% of people with disability were unemployed, while in 2003, the level of unemployment did not exceed 11.9% of those without disabilities.

In addition, disabled people who have managed to secure a job, particularly in the public sector, are subject to different forms of exclusion and discrimination throughout their professional lives. People who are blind or visually impaired experience the most acute forms of discrimination due to the nature of their deficiency which deprives them from working with printed papers and restricts their contribution to the development of the public administration. In this context, this paper will examine what initiatives are taken by the authorities to promote the professional inclusion of blind employees, focusing specifically on the case of the Ministry of National Education and Professional Training.

Why focus on this issue?

This subject is important because of the lack of interest that has characterized for many decades governmental action towards people with disability as a social category in Morocco. For a long time, handicap has been tackled through traditional approaches in public policy-making. Disability is considered as a health deficiency or a corporal dysfunction reducing the participation of the individual and preventing him or her from accomplishing a number of tasks. The limits of this approach are that it does not take into account the environmental barriers or the socio-cultural attitudes restraining the movement and the participation of people in their communities. Instead of taking responsibility for addressing this problem in different ways, the public authorities create philanthropic organizations to look after those seen as helpless, rather than active members of society, whenever is possible.

Due to the lack of statistics and scientific studies relating to this issue, the inclusion of disabled people requires a change in perception as well as approach. This paper aims to help promote an understanding of the reality of employees who are blind or visually impaired and bring about positive change

in giving them a better chance to contribute to the development of their country. According to a study conducted by the Collective for the Promotion of the Rights of Disabled People in 2008, Morocco loses more than 9.2 million MAD each year due to excluding people with disabilities from the job market. This amount is equal to 2 percentage points of the Gross Domestic Product of the country.

After 2008, more than 540 blind persons were recruited to the public sector, 100 of whom were placed in the Ministry of National Education. Since that time, no official follow-up has been conducted to assess the professional evolution of these people, as well as the facilities introduced in their place of work to improve their productivity and their personal satisfaction on equal footing with their colleagues.

More light now needs to be shed on different aspects of disabled people's lives and their societal participation. This issue should be of importance to any researcher interested in the future of Morocco, not only those with disabilities.

Key Stakeholders

The key partner in this issue is the Moroccan government, and in particular two ministries:

The first is the Ministry of Solidarity, Family and Social Development as it has to put a national plan in place to promote the professional training for people with different disabilities in all sectors in order to improve their social participation and well-being.

The second is the Ministry of National Education & Professional Training as it should implement a comprehensive strategy not only to respond to the needs of disabled teachers and professionals but also to adapt schools and professionals to pupils and students with disabilities. More particularly, the training centres have to be adapted to the specific needs of teachers with different types of disability including visual impairment.

There are several non-governmental stakeholders that are important. One of the key stakeholders is The Alaouit Organization for the Promotion of Blind in Morocco (OAPAM); OAPAM is also concerned with this problem because it is the only school recruiting almost all blind teachers in Morocco.

Equally important are professional unions working in the field of education, which should advocate for the right professional insertion of blind teachers.

Legislation relating to disabled people in Morocco

One year after the declaration of 1981 as the International Year of Disabled People by the United Nations, the Moroccan parliament promulgated the first law in favour of people with disabilities, the law 05-81. Concerning only people who are blind or visually impaired, the scope of this law was very restricted, only outlining some rights for those in this social category but not guaranteeing them.

On the 13th of September 1993, the Moroccan parliament passed a new law in favour of people with disability, law 07-92, which went further than the previous law in making no distinction between people of different disabilities. However, as previously, this law was ambiguous in its statement of a set of general rights without precision. For instance, in article 19,

this law defines a limited set of occupations which are judged to be suitable for disabled people. Such a restriction in fact contributes to discrimination against people with disabilities. According to this law for example, regardless of his or her professional skills and ambitions, a person who is blind or visually impaired can only work as phone operator.

Furthermore, article 20 provides for a proportion of jobs in the public and semi public administrations, and the private sector be reserved for disabled persons via a decree. Accordingly a prime ministerial decree specifies the proportion of 7% of jobs to be allocated to disabled people. Nevertheless, the way this proportion is to be calculated is totally unclear, making the enforcement of this law extremely difficult to gage.

In 2003, Morocco adopted the law 10-03 of 12 May 2003 relating to accessibilities for disabled people. This law admits that handicap is an issue that concerns the society as a whole. Different societal forces have to collaborate to eradicate all barriers preventing the inclusion of disabled people be they environmental, social, cultural, physical or economic. Accordingly, the public authorities have to take all necessary measures to make buildings and facilities accessible for disabled persons. The law also introduced regulations governing construction and the provision of facilities in favour of disabled people. However, in Article 29, the law excluded public buildings built before the year 2003. The biggest deficiency of the law is that it did not include any penalties for those who violate these stipulations.

The constitution of 2011 and People with Disabilities

The year 2011 was a turning point in the history of people with disabilities in Morocco. In the wake of the Moroccan version of the democratic spring and taking into account the participation of people with disabilities in the up-risings and protests through the movement of MADOUZCHBLABINA which means literally 'it can't work without us', Morocco was offered a new constitution presented as being advanced and unique in the region. For the first time in its history, the supreme law of the country consolidates the rights of people with disabilities. In its preamble, this constitution forbids any kind of discrimination linked to handicap; moreover, it calls on the authorities to harmonize Moroccan legislation with all the international conventions ratified by the country including the convention on the rights of disabled people.

In its article 34, the constitution stipulates that the public authorities should elaborate new public policies relating to people with disabilities. However, 3 years on, no public policy has been implemented relating to this social category, and nor have existing laws been amended to match the spirit of the UN convention(s).

General recommendations

With regard to how to proceed to promote the full participation of people with disabilities, the issue has to be seen in the light of providing an opportunity for the development of Morocco at several levels, over and above the issue of people with disabilities themselves.

On the economic level, the provision of professional training for blind/disabled employees will undoubtedly benefit Morocco in terms of making the most of already recruited personnel to develop the public administration, but will also save the state as much as the 9.2 million MAD it currently costs to exclude disabled people from the job market.

On the social level, integrating well-trained disabled employees in the workplace would alter social perceptions about these people and reduce social barriers between disabled and non-disabled citizens.

Furthermore, if Morocco were to follow through on its constitutional obligations, through the promulgation of a law and a rights-backed national strategy relating to disabled people, it would improve the reputation of Morocco in this sphere at the international level, above all with international institutes and funders like the World Bank. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that before 2008, the Moroccan government, working with civil society organisations, deployed great efforts in drafting the law 09.62, relating to the rights of people with disabilities. Therefore, to promulgate and implement this law would be a cost-effective way to implement one of the 2011 constitution's provisions, namely to harmonize national legislations with the UN conventions ratified by Morocco.

Professional training is the main building block for promoting the rights of disabled persons, since once recruited, employers expect the employee (disabled or not) to be capable of assuming his or her responsibilities immediately, and to contribute to productivity especially in an era of recession. Different public administrations should also involve disabled/blind employees in all in-service training or provide tailored programmes for them.

Specific recommendations

As far as education is concerned, a focused attempt to address professional training for blind teachers would in fact be a first step towards the larger goal of providing an appropriate education for blind students so that they can get the same quality of education offered to their sighted peers.

The first step toward this goal would be for the Ministry of Education to take charge of the promotion of all special institutes for disabled/blind persons, and for these institutions to be fully-registered educational establishments instead of charitable NGOs as they are now. To this end, the Ministry should provide professional and specially-trained teachers with the facilities they need, including relevant and freely provided software. Civil society organizations representing the disabled and blind could contribute to list of all the different computer software currently designed for people with visual impairment.

Next, in order to reduce the illiteracy rate for people with disabilities, especially women in mountains and rural areas, there is an urgent need to prepare district mainstream schools for receiving blind/disabled pupils, including blind Sub-Saharan

migrants and those belonging to different ethnic minorities. With this objective in mind, public schools should be provided with teachers trained in special educational needs and assistive materials derived from free screen readers like Non Visual Device Access (NVDA).

Teacher training centres could also contribute to this process by including in their curriculums special educational needs modules in order to initiate all teachers and educational professionals in some of the techniques and best practices on teaching disabled people. At the same time, the Ministry should take all the necessary measures to allow disabled/blind graduate students to enrol in these centres for all subjects by arranging suitable conditions for them to take exams and to pursue their professional training.

In order to increase the number of professionals in this field, the Ministry of Higher Education could also introduce Masters and postgraduate degrees in special educational needs at the public universities, together with the necessary adapted facilities in order to be accessible for students with disabilities. For instance, in 2013, the university of Makeni in Sierra-Leone started a course in special educational needs. The aim of the course is to raise the achievement and promote the inclusion of children and young people with visual impairment in Sierra Leone. This aim will be achieved by providing qualified teachers with basic knowledge, understanding and skills to enable them to provide effective teaching and support to these children. It would be beneficial to adopt the approach of Sierra-Leone, as well as other comparative examples, as a pilot in some Moroccan universities, such as the Faculty of Science of Education in Mohammed V University in Rabat.

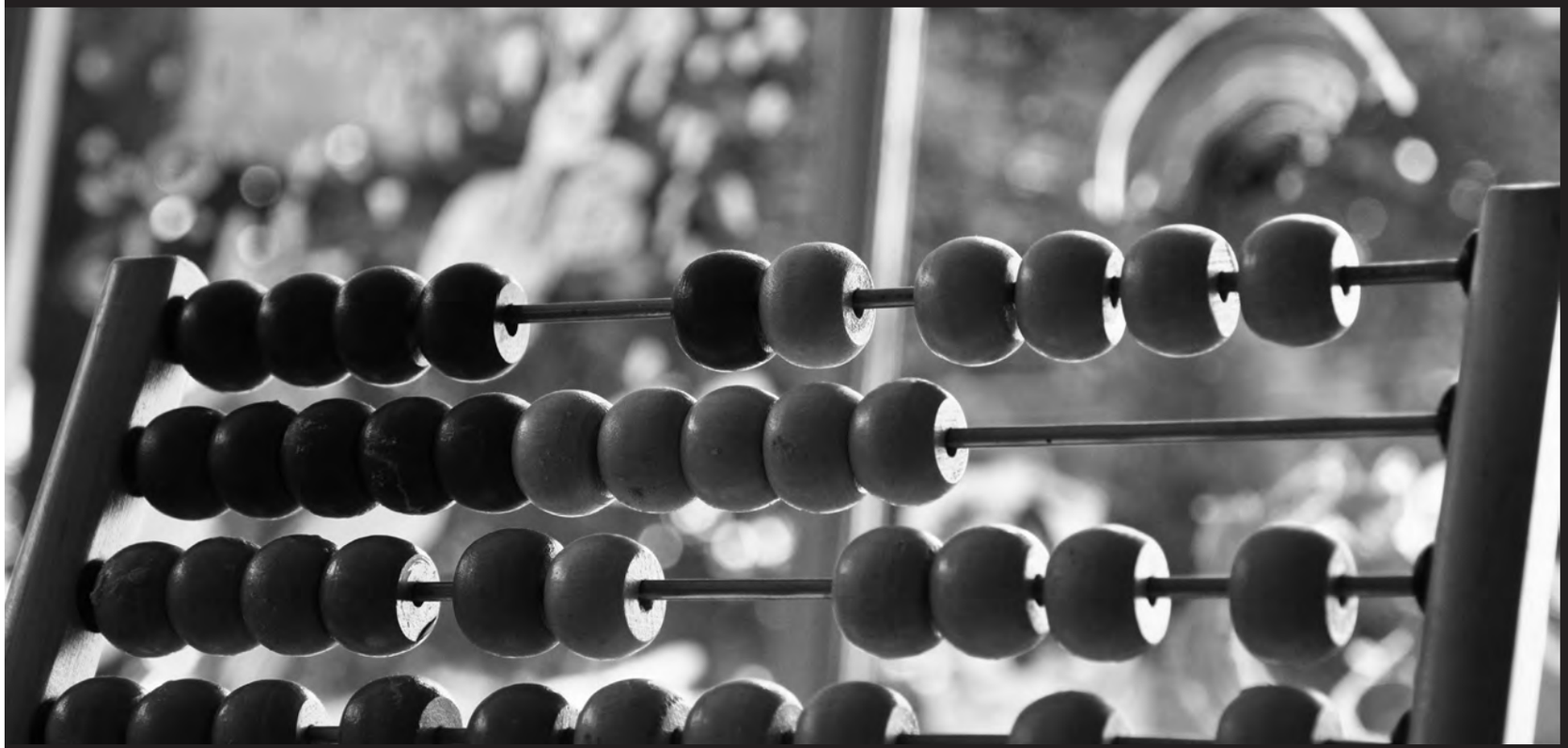
Concerning the professional insertion of blind teachers, our focus in this paper, the Ministry of National Education and OAPAM decision-makers can deal with it on several levels:

First, the Ministry should start in-service training programs to build up skills for blind teachers through a series of workshops about basic teaching techniques and approaches and best practices. In order to reduce the economic cost of these actions, teacher-training centres can support such training sessions by the provision of resources and professionals, especially in cities where these centres and OAPAM institutes are both located.

Likewise, it will be useful to encourage the OAPAM institutions to host some of these training sessions in order to enhance communication between OAPAM schools and their entourage. It is worth mentioning that the Moroccan British Society (MBS) is conducting a project to develop "education and training for the benefit of blind and visually impaired students in Morocco". The long-term aim of the project is to support the overall development of education and training for blind and visually impaired students in Morocco so that they can achieve the same level and range of educational and training opportunities as their sighted peers and go on to gain and retain employment. In Shoof project, the MBS chooses to focus on the short term goal which is to start series of training sessions for blind teachers in different OAPAM institutes. It would be a good start to collaborate with the MBS in Shoof project as a pilot experience in order to support special education in Morocco.

How to improve the performance of the educational system by changing the reception language?

by Mazigh Chakir



It is commonly known that language is one of the basic sources of human development, for there can be no cultural or intellectual development without a language which can carry and convey knowledge in its environment, on its territory, and among its users. With it, human experience can be handed down from generation to generation.

Throughout the modern history of Morocco, the linguistic policy in the education system has attracted the attention of researchers and politicians, given its importance in the definition and shaping of the nation's future. As of 1958, Morocco proceeded with the adoption of a linguistic policy based on the gradual Arabization of the taught courses to cover all primary education levels. From the early years of the implementation of this linguistic policy, educational professionals noticed a clear regression in the level of the pupils' school performance – a remark to be, later on, backed-up by the studies conducted by researchers. However, for political and ideological reasons, the governments that took office in the country maintained the Arabization policy without having any clear view or vision[1].

Fifty years later, the limitation of this linguistic policy is being admitted. In fact this confession was manifested on Aug. 20, 2014 by the Head of State in his address, when he declared that "The education sector is facing many problems and difficulties, especially due to the disruptions resulting from the change of the teaching language of scientific subjects from Arabic, in the primary and secondary levels, to some foreign languages in which some technical and scientific courses are taught in tertiary education."

[1]Conclusion drawn by Salah Dine Hammoud, Arabizing Education and Linguistic Policies between the Past and the Present, in The Book of Language and Education, (Le comité libanais pour les sciences de l'éducation, Avril 2000) Chap. III, p. 102.

What is a linguistic policy?

A linguistic policy is a policy followed by a state or an international organization regarding one or several languages spoken on the territories that are under its authority in order for this language to be reformed, set with a purpose to support its use, sometimes to limit its expansion or even work to eliminate it. In the Moroccan case, the taught languages are Arabic and French. In some model schools the Amazigh language is added.

The teaching languages: these are the languages that have been chosen to make communication possible between the two parties involved in the educational process, namely the teacher and the student. The simple communication operation which consists of questions and answers is the channel through which the transmission of knowledge takes place. From the country's independence onwards, the linguistic situation has been characterized by the choice of Arabic as the vehicular language in which subjects are being taught at the primary level in public schools nationwide. This situation has constituted a hindrance for the learning process, for the pu-

pil moves suddenly from a surrounding where knowledge is acquired in his or her mother tongue to a surrounding that uses a language which is foreign to him or her. The further one gets from the urban space, the worse the situation gets. The human factor further widens the gap: the appointment policy which consists in sending some inexperienced new graduate teachers to regions of which they do not master the language makes the matter worse. This leads to their linguistic isolation and renders the simplest communication next to impossible.

This situation accounts particularly for the regression witnessed in the performance of scientific subjects. To that effect, two studies (namely TIMSS 2003[2] and PIRLS 2006[3]) have shown Moroccan pupils' weak performance in scientific subjects and reading. Thus, the TIMSS field survey conducted in 2003 revealed that 61% of the pupils at the fourth grade level were lacking in the minimal level of knowledge relating to mathematics. Within the same grade, the rate reaches 66% in scientific subjects. As for the PIRLS study conducted in 2006 on the fourth grade students in primary education, it turned out that 74% of these pupils were lacking in the minimal level of reading and comprehension. This result, which coincided with development of the Emergency Educational Programme

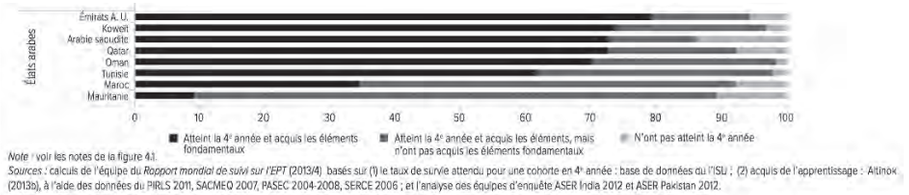
[2]Trends in International Mathematics and Sciences Study

[3]Progress in International Reading and Literacy Study

2009-2012, was later confirmed by the 2009 national field study and the subsequent ones which followed, particularly the 2011 PIRLS and TIMSS studies. In the field of sciences, in the TIMSS study Morocco had a score of 264 points, which ranks Morocco at the penultimate position before Yemen (209 points). In the same study, Morocco's scores in knowledge acquisition and logic were respectively 264 and 209 points, which – again – ranks the country in the next-to-last position[4].

Concerning reading, a UNESCO study published in 2014 demonstrated that the level of pupils in the fourth grade who are lacking the minimal prerequisites in terms of reading has reached 65%.

The cost of illiteracy



Note : voir les notes de la figure 4.1.
Sources : calculs de l'équipe du *Rapport mondial de suivi sur l'EPT* (2013/4) basés sur (1) le taux de survie attendu pour une cohorte en 4e année : base de données du l'ISU ; (2) acquis de l'apprentissage : Altinok (2013b), à l'aide des données du PIRLS 2011, SACMEQ 2007, PASEC 2004-2008, SERCE 2006 ; et l'analyse des équipes d'enquête ASER India 2012 et ASER Pakistan 2012.

[4]Azzeddine Aqesby ,Reforming Education: A royal Project, A Disastrous Output and an Absence of Accountability, published in the Lacom site October, 28th , 2013

UNESCO defines the objectives of education as being " the commensurable benefit of appropriate programs which aim at the acquisition of necessary knowledge and skills for daily life." The present linguistic policy meets neither the aforementioned requirements nor the Education for All program objectives, set by UNESCO for the year 2015. The first four years at school, supposedly dedicated to "the acquisition of knowledge and skills necessary for daily life", are wasted in the acquisition of the teaching language, which explains the results of the aforementioned studies. When we know that the Arabic language is not used in the scientific and technical branches, given its limitation in transmitting modern sciences[5], then all the funds spent on its teaching turn out to be but a pure waste.

Adopted by the State in the Training and Education Charter, one of the 2015 UNESCO objectives is to stop school dropout. In this respect too, the present linguistic policy is only making the situation worse, as demonstrated by a field study that shows a rupture between the school and its environment due to the difference between the languages used inside and outside the class room[6].

[5]A conclusion reached by Salah Dine Hammoud through his study entitled The Arabization of Education and the Linguistic Policies between the Past and the Present, in Language and Education, op. cit. Ch. III, p. 105.

[6]the phenomenon of school dropout in the rural world, the case of Ghris laaliyi, Guelmima, Morocco, A field Study conducted by Saïd Belaadich, a postgraduate from Meknes University

Timeline of linguistic policies in Morocco since Independence

The linguistic policies implemented by the successive governments since independence can be summed up in six phases:

- 1958 – 1972 the implementation of Arabic at the primary level while giving precedence to foreign languages,
- 1973 – 1977 the gradual Arabization of social sciences in high schools and the linking of Morocconization to Arabization,
- 1978 -1980 the multiplication of Arabization efforts at the secondary level, with a focus on the level consolidation of foreign language as secondary languages,
- 1980 – 1999 the reconfirmation of the decision to Arabize the scientific subjects in the secondary level,
- 2000 – 2013 raising the perfection level of Arabic language learners with a minimum of two foreign languages, while making room for a gradual openness to the Amazigh language,

- 2013 after the end of the period specified by the Charter, the Head of State comes back to set the broad lines of the Country's linguistic policy, and appoints a new delegate chair of the Supreme Education Council instead of the late Mezziane Belefqih. This paves the way for the launch of the Education System and Linguistic Policy project which coincides with an openness of the political and cultural circles to less radical models, especially after the officialization of the Amazigh language, and given also the experiences accumulated by these circles with the Arabization models.

The Hindrances faced by the Reform

The main hindrance takes expression in the ideology adopted by the general opinion and the decision makers. These latter see in Arabization a guarantor of Morocco's identity and belonging to its surrounding although all the studies and considerations confirm that Arabization has become a hindrance to the education system and the community as a whole.

Salah Dine Hammoud comes to the conclusion that "with all due respect the Moroccans have for Arabic and for its place, there is still a dissatisfaction and a clear lack of trust towards the numerous attempts at Arabizing the scientific subjects in education." The study also shows some contradictions in the results where most of the interviewees accept the Arabization of education, while preferring to study at schools where Arabic is not the vehicular language[7].

[7]Salah Dine Hammoud, ibid., Ch. III, p. 104

Suggested measures to adress the problem

Based on the preceding analysis of the problem, we can suggest three policy measures which may help to address the situation:

- The gradual rehabilitation and integration of the two mother languages, Darija and Tamazight, in the linguistic policy. Any language apart from these shall be considered as foreign by the receivers, which will make it difficult for them to learn, especially in the first primary education level. The level of mastery of the mother tongue has a direct effect on the pupil's capacities for acquiring another language.
- Adapting the linguistic policy with the local and regional needs and circumstances, given the fact that Morocco has an important language diversity which necessitates a specific linguistic policy for each region that should suit its local native language and local culture.
- Adopting a rationalized employment policy in the education sector based on regionalization in a way that makes possible the hiring of teachers who can speak the local language spoken by the natives of the region.

The teaching language problem for scientific subjects in the training and education system, and the challenges of language mastery

by Amina Ikli

Figuring among several difficulties and challenges which the training and education sector is faced with, the language issue is still pending without a clear answer, especially in the sphere of scientific subjects. In fact, and on the occasion of the Anniversary of the King and the People's Revolution in 2013, the Royal address was a correct and accurate diagnosis of the various problems which the education system has been suffering from. Actually, His Majesty pinpointed the system's troubles when he said that "the education sector is facing many difficulties and problems, which are particularly due to the adoption of some education programs and curricula that are not commensurate with the requirements of the job market, in addition to the incoherence engendered by the shift of the vehicular language in the teaching of the scientific subjects from Arabic in primary and secondary education to some foreign languages used in some technical specialties, and in tertiary education. This requires the linguistic re-habilitation of the pupil or the student in order to facilitate the latter's ability to follow – and therefore assimilate – the education which he or she should receive".

The linguistic re-habilitation of the student is indeed the core of the matter to solve this issue. Still, the question at stake is as follows: how can the student be linguistically re-habilitated to facilitate his or her scientific education? Expressed in a different way, what are the 'best' linguistic choices that have to be made for the education system within the Moroccan school? Which pedagogical goals and objectives must be used to decide our language options? And how can the level of the quality and efficiency of the selected language learning be successfully and profitably raised within the Moroccan school?

Background to the problem

The problem of the teaching language for the scientific subjects in the training and education system is not something new; it has roots back to the post-independence era. Morocco, since its independence, has pursued an Arabization policy after the colonial period during which all subjects used to be taught in French. The Arabization process that concerned the scientific subjects was, at a gradual pace, launched from 1982 to 1989 and used to cover only primary and secondary education. As for tertiary education, Arabization did not take place, and French was maintained as the vehicular language in the schools of medicine, engineering, technology, business and management. Thus knowledge acquisition and entry to several professions has, ever since, become conditional upon learning the French language. As a consequence, anyone who does not master it finds him or herself excluded from exercising professions which require an advanced level of knowledge of sciences, technology, economics and management. This, in turn, has led some students to shun scientific training and shift either to the study of law or to drop out of university altogether. For those that do try to follow courses in French without mastering the language, there is a risk of poor scientific training resulting from the amount of extra effort required by the student to understand the language.

Often, higher education teachers find difficulties to communicate with their students in the scientific subjects. In these, over half of the student population in the first year at the faculty of sciences fail to fully understand the French-taught scientific subjects. Addressing this problem at this late stage would require the dedication of an average of two additional years

in order for first year students to overcome this linguistic hindrance. This would, consequently, constitute a minimal cost required to curb this difficulty. In fact, many students simply resort to the translation of the courses before revising them for exams[1].

On the whole, the public school pupils' level of language proves to be weaker than that of those students in private schools. Private schools usually double the number of foreign language sessions, use French foreign books in basic education, and appoint specialized French language teachers. All these measures, on the one hand, give rise to conditions which help in the mastery of this language; and, on the other hand, create a gap between public and private basic educations. Added to this is the fact that the vehicular language for scientific subjects in higher education is French. Accordingly, the more fluent the students are in French, the easier their higher education will be. Also, the more masterful they are of this language the greater the chances they will stand to pass the entrance exams for the highly selective faculties and institutes, and the better job they will be offered whether in the public or the private sector.

Even some low or limited income households sometimes choose to enrol their children at private schools. These families consider that they are compelled to do this as the sole guarantee for a maximum of education opportunities, which would, in turn, increase their chances to integrate the job market.

Focus group research shows that the language barrier is significant: in a number of focus group meetings held in Rabat and Meknes, many medicine students talked about their academic difficulties, during their first undergraduate years, especially when it comes to the scientific terminology in French - a matter which is far from being a difficulty for their peers whose French linguistic capacity is higher.

[1] According to a study conducted by the Ministry of Higher Education, entitled Regards sur l'Enseignement Supérieur au Maroc (Views on Higher Education in Morocco)

The present policies

In its 114th article, the National Charter of Training and Education stipulates the necessity for the diversification of the learning languages through the opening of some optional branches for the scientific, technical and pedagogical education in the Arabic language at university level. Accordingly, the building of strong bridges between secondary and tertiary education would have to be on the basis of an efficient and strong educational orientation. In order to provide the best chances for academic and vocational successes, the most specialized scientific and technical modules and units at secondary level will have to be taught in the language used in the branches and specialties at tertiary level.

The 114th article of the Charter has not been implemented, even though the Charter was adopted as a guiding frame work for the public policies in the field of training and education in 2000 and, as of August 20th 2013, the Royal Address has attributed the problem with education to the language used for the teaching of scientific subjects.

Prospects and the analysis of alternatives

Through what has been said, it has become both necessary and urgent to find solutions for the linguistic policies and choices in public school, for the choice of the teaching language must be based on its functional pertinence within the community. Below is a series of five possible orientations in this field:

1. ***Maintain the status quo while improving the French learning conditions during all the study cycles, and reinforcing the students' mastery of this language side by side with Arabic***

In this way, students could understand more easily the courses at tertiary level without any difficulty or loss of energy and time for translation. More hours would need to be dedicated for translation at the secondary level, along with modules to be devoted for language and communication at the higher education level, in addition to the integration of lexicons within the secondary education books.

Though not in itself a considerable innovation, this alternative would require the rewriting and re-setting the schoolbooks and curricula for the sake of teaching the French language. It would also necessitate the training of the French language teachers, and the adoption of a more communicative approach to teaching. Finally, the results of this policy will be seen in no less than ten years from now, quite besides the fact that it will call upon the dedication a sufficient period of time for the preparation of the curricula.

2. ***Teaching the scientific subjects in the most spoken foreign language in secondary education (French) as of junior high school level while keeping primary and secondary education Arabized***

In fact, Morocco has known some success stories with respect to this, especially in the teaching of economic and other technical subjects which is undertaken in French as of the secondary level. In these branches at the high school level, French is used as a vehicular language in the teaching of engineering sciences, economics, accountancy, business administration, computing sciences, electricity techniques, and mechanics, while mathematics, physics, and natural sciences are taught in Arabic. All of these subjects could be taught in French, without being harmful to the students' capacities of Arabic learning, as long as some other subjects are taught in Arabic (typically including history and geography, Islamic studies, and civic education). A large proportion of the higher education students who studied economics in French at high school declared that they had had no difficulty relating to the French language, especially in their passage from secondary to tertiary education at universities or higher institutes. The time span to implement this policy proves to be short and could lead to concrete results within only 3 to 4 years from now.

3. ***Teaching sciences in all cycles in the most commonly used scientific language in higher education starting with the primary level***

This might prove to be costly both for teachers' re-education and the re-setting of curricula or the time the whole process should take. Still, the students would be able to master the vehicular language. This would spare them not only the extra effort and time they would, otherwise, spend in translation, but also spare them the trouble of dealing with terminology and, therefore, allow them to invest this spared time in assimilation and scientific learning and research, and in consolidating their linguistic capacities in the scientific field from the outset.

4. ***Arabizing some optional scientific branches at the higher educational level, as stipulated by the National Charter of Training and Education, which will help some students with a poor mastery of French to pursue their academic studies in the scientific field***

The feasibility of this policy and its present cost do not seem to be totally clear as long as the Arabic Language Academy stipulated in the Charter has not been established. In the meantime, the State may resort to employing foreign Arabic teachers in Sciences at the higher education level. For its implementation, however, this policy does remain costly, considering the writing and publication of the scientific books, let

alone the training of university teachers in order for them to teach the scientific subjects in Arabic. Next to the high cost of publication and training comes the time required for the translation and the updating of the Arabic scientific lexicon. This can only serve as an alternative that can lead to a gradual Arabization of some scientific branches, or the Arabization of only a few subjects in higher education.

5. Without doubt, English is the language of science par excellence[2]. Today, a great proportion of articles and scientific research are published in English, hence the necessity to set, at the higher education level, scientific and technical classes in English, particularly at the Master and PhD degree levels

"From now on, researchers in Moroccan universities, particularly those reading for a PhD degree, should forget that French is the language of science as was the case in the past decades. Those who missed in the past the opportunity to learn it (English) should do their uttermost to start learning it lest they should have all the doors closed before them. The reason for this is that French is no longer the language of scientific research." Such was the message addressed by the Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research, Lahcen Daoudi, to some PhD Center students at the National Institute of Post and Telecommunication in Rabat. In this context, the Ministry of Higher Education could dedicate some English course programs which may vary – time wise – between six and twelve months in aid of Master and PhD degree students of science.

[2]see the figures for publication in this article, which show that over 95% of referenced scientific articles are publilshed in English http://www.adawis.de/admin/upload/navigation/data/English%20as%20a%20single%20language%20of%20Science%20-%20A%20Spanish%20view.pdf

This can be secured through some intensive courses of communicative and scientific English courses, which will increase the level of scientific research in Morocco.

Conclusion and recommendations

When acceding to higher education, Moroccan students of science face a disproportionate educational system, where language works as a barrier to entry and success. The issue has to be rationally tackled, away from any ideological, ethnic, political or identity considerations. In the pedagogical system, languages must be taught according to their topical and natural functions as a means of communication and expression. They must be at the service of individual and collective development, and be used as a means for individual qualification. This would lead to this individual's integration at the local regional or international levels. Language learning should also be a tool, through which culture can be acquired and useful scientific and technical capacities built.

Through what has previously been said, the second and fifth alternatives remain by far the most rational ones, considering their feasibility, their cost and the efficiency of their results in the short run. The results of the Ministry of National Education's experience with aligning the language of instruction at secondary level with the language of instruction at tertiary level in specific subjects has been very positive, therefore providing important evidence in favour of the second option above. Regarding the fifth option of teaching in English, it does seem that access to latest research is going to remain dependent on mastery of English for the foreseeable future, and therefore Master and PhD students should have the opportunities to reinforce their competences in this language.

Improving the teachers' working conditions in order to promote the teaching quality and reduce school dropout in the rural world

by Brahim Chakir

This paper deals with the quality of education in the rural world, particularly the working conditions of the school teachers. It is addressed to the Ministry of Education and will deal with the problems which primary school teachers in the rural areas suffer from, namely the lack of decent housing and means of transport, low salaries, the lack of incentive compensations, and poor infrastructure. All these factors make quality education provision in the countryside difficult.

How can the improvement of the teachers' working conditions reduce school dropout?

The teachers' poor working conditions reduce the quality of teaching and contributes to the school dropout phenomenon. In the National Charter for Education and Training from 1999, completed by the Education Emergency Program, there are axes which emphasize the issues of the improvement of the quality of teaching, the modernization of governance and the strategic management of human resources. Among the objectives of this charter and of this emergency program is the generalization of primary education for the 6-11 year age group. The 2012-2013 statistics, provided by the Department of Strategic Planning and Statistics, indicate that the schooling rate within the 6-11 year age group is 97.9% for males and 97.7% for females. These figures are quite positive, but still do not meet the State's ambition to generalize education, nor do they reach the objectives of the Emergency Education Program, which sets the percentage of pupils' school failure at 2% and school dropout at 2.5 %. These rates have not been reached, given the fact that the failure and dropout rates at the 05 – 06 grade are respectively 5.7% and 12.7 %.

Education is the most important factor for progress: it provides skills and basic acquired knowledge which, when put together, make of education an effective and active factor within the community. When they lack good working conditions, teachers cannot deliver these skills to students, and this leads students to drop-out because they (or their parents) feel like they cannot understand what is being taught, or are not benefitting from school. These problems are particularly serious in rural areas.

The adopted policies

The Moroccan State has adopted many development policies for the promotion of education quality which deal with the improvement of the teachers' conditions in the rural world. Among these, I shall discuss one policy that has been carried out for decades, and one that has been adopted during the last five years. The first policy relates to schooling infrastructure which comprises a main central school – usually close to the commune or the central market – and several sub-schools which are located in surrounding areas. In 2012 – 2013, some 13057 sub-schools were listed. The second policy – more recent – consists in setting up 'communal' schools or 'écoles communautaires', which provide residential facilities for students and canteens. By 2012-13 some 43 communal schools had been established.

Possible alternatives

The policy alternatives regarding the construction of schools can be limited within three options:

1. Keeping the same main and sub-school system without any modifications;
2. Proceeding with the building of communal schools, and abandoning gradually the remote sub-schools, in addition to motivating the school teachers;
3. Maintaining the main and sub-school system while introducing some modifications to it.

1. Keeping the main and sub-school system

The advantages of sub-schools can be summed up in two main points. Firstly, such a system allows the school's relative proximity to the village, and this ensures, secondly, the possibility for the pupils to attend these schools in normal weather conditions – whilst in poor weather conditions this may remain impossible because of poor transport infrastructure.

The disadvantages of the sub-school system are that these schools are remote and detached, leading to frequently absent teachers and a difficulty in finding appropriate accommodation for teachers. The remoteness of the sub-schools often leads to the buildings themselves falling into disrepair and a feeling of insecurity in the schools. A further disadvantage of the sub-school system is that typically several ages of school children at different levels are in the same classroom, meaning that teaching cannot always be adapted to the appropriate level for the students.

2. The Communal School

The advantages of the communal school include that it has sufficient students and teachers to allow students to be taught in level specific classes, and not mixed with other students in classes of several ages and levels. The communal schools address many of the main reasons for school-drop out: the pupils can benefit from dedicated catering, housing and transport services and free school materials, so these are no longer such an issue or barrier for school attendance. In addition, the residential school system allows for a more rationalised human resources strategy for the teachers, allowing them to be accommodated in urban or semi-urban centres and thereby addressing the problem of understaffing in the countryside and overstaffing the in the cities. Moreover, the teachers can be more easily monitored and supervised if they are centered in communal schools rather than many sub-schools, and this could lead to higher quality teaching.

There are several disadvantages to the communal school system, the most important of which relate to their distance from village communities, or what are called the "douars and dshars"[1]. This distance from their families can lead to suffering of the children, and also a strong reluctance of parents to send their children to the school, especially when they are used to having a sub-school much closer to home.

3. Improving the sub-school system

Concerning the third alternative (which consists in keeping the sub-schools while providing them with decent living and working conditions both for the pupils and the teachers), one can say that it does not treat the problem in its totality. In fact, the problem of the teacher's isolation, and the gathering of pupils from different levels in the same classroom will persist. This, in turn, will not contribute to the reduction of school dropouts and failures.

[1]This can be roughly translated into "village communities and counties"

Cost and Benefit analysis of the alternatives

The sub-school system

According to the 2012-2013 statistics there are 1,923,466 pupils in the country's rural areas out of 3,475,190 primary school pupils at the national level. What can be noticed is that over half of this pupil population is in the rural areas. The failure rate within this population represents 12.25% with a total number of 235,536 pupils. Concerning the annual cost for every pupil, it is estimated at 5000 Dh. If we multiply the annual cost for every pupil by the number of pupils failing, we find that the total loss per year is 1,177,680,000 Dh. The loss of this considerable amount within the Ministry's budget can be partly attributed to the school teachers' poor working conditions. In addition to this, building and maintaining a network of remote sub-schools is expensive.

The Communal schools

I shall take the example of the communal school of Letrarid from the Bouarfa delegation which, after its construction, will accommodate eighty pupils on a collective piece of land[2]. Built on a 900^2 meter covered surface area, the school will include a block of six classrooms, a multipurpose room, a headmaster office, sanitary facilities, a 600^2 meter boarding block with an office, a kitchen, a warehouse, a dormitory with an accommodation capacity of 80 beds divided into twenty bedrooms with four beds for each bedroom, in addition to sanitary facilities (showers and restrooms). Next to this there will be rooms for the school teachers. The school's building cost is estimated at Dh 4.5 million.

This is the cost for the building of a communal school which gives priority to providing not only the teacher but also the pupils with decent working conditions. Some experiences, like that of the Figuig delegation have proven to be very popular to the extent that some school pupils are reported to refuse to go back home during the holidays, preferring to stay with their roommates and classmates due to the harsher living conditions in their villages. On the other hand, however, one should not disregard the special needs of some pupils from first to third grade, far from their parents, or the school teachers who complain both of the narrow spaces in which they are lodged and of their being away from their agglomerations, and their living in a community which is exclusively made of fellow workmates, away from their respective families and relatives.

Policy Recommendations

By comparing the two systems one can deduce that the communal schools have some very important assets for the improvement of the teachers' working conditions, although there still are some teachers who are not completely satisfied with this system.

Accordingly, I suggest to take advantage of the success stories relating to this model, while gradually abandoning the sub-

[2]By "collective land", (pronounced in Arabic as 'aradi al jomuaa') we mean a land which is collectively owned by the village inhabitants and which cannot be sold, and the ownership cannot be individually transferred.

school systems and making a sounder use of all the funds lost on the failing pupils (estimated annually at Dh.1,177,680,000).

Ideas for using this saved budget include the setting of an annual financial incentive system for the teachers; means of transport and class-room heating systems could also be improved. Financial compensations (presently fixed at Dh 700) could not only be implemented but also reconsidered on the basis the teachers' distance from the village center and from their hometowns and also on the basis of their performance. Due consideration is also to be made for the building of houses with more comfortable and decent living conditions. For married teachers particularly, it should be possible for their family members to join them. Water and electricity supply (through power generators and drinkable water tanks) must also be provided.

Regarding the appointments of teachers, new graduate teachers should preferably be appointed to schools existing in their home-towns or in their provinces of origin. A time limit must be set for the teaching period to be spent in the rural area, while all the new graduate teachers originating from rural areas must be appointed to the schools of their respective villages and hometowns. This allows them to acquire a basic experience in the field of teaching. This measure will also relieve pressure on the school teachers who have spent many years teaching in the rural areas. School-teachers who would like to pursue their postgraduate studies must be given opportunities to do so, just as they must be informed about the latest developments in the field of educational sciences.

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Sex Education in the Moroccan Educational System

by Yassine Souidi

Sex education provokes debate in Morocco every time it is brought up among educators and decision makers. Nowadays, the term "sexual " suggests its reduction to the acquisition of a given sexual know-how, which is independent from age and marital status. Both restrictive and permissive, this definition of sex education turns the latter into a disquieting issue within a social context which, despite itself, is entering into the era of sex dis-institutionalisation. In this sense, it is both the transmission of a bio-medical and psychological knowledge, and an ethic based on the valuation of self-gratification and equality between the sexes. As such, sex education is not automatically accepted, for – in the name of a mystified Arabo-Islamic specificity – the tendency is to always link sexuality to marriage. Accordingly, sex education is far from being an obvious notion. To that effect, three main questions arise:

- The first is that of the evolution of relations between generations within the Moroccan family.
- The second concerns the evolution of relations between the two sexes. If the principle of the equality of the sexes is contested, sex education remains inconceivable: it is not possible to teach the superiority of men over women starting from the biological, preventative and other contents of sex education.
- The third question it is that of convergence between the different agents of sex education. Obviously, a coherent sex education cannot be secured by educators who themselves have not been well-trained or do not agree with the principles of sex education.

According to the national consultations led by the Ministry of Youth and Sports, 6% of the youth population put health at the top of their priorities[1]. Also, the 2006-2007 National survey on Multiple Indicators and the Health of Youth (ENIMSJ)[2] revealed that:

- 53% of girls declared having been shocked by their first menstruations;
- 15% of young persons (boys= 19%, girls = 11%) have no knowledge of any means of contraception,
- 85% of young persons know nothing about Sexually Transmitted Infections (STI). This percentage culminates to 95.6% when it comes to the youth put together with the 20% of the socio-economically poorest category.
- 20 % of the youth have never heard of A.I.D.S. Out of those who have heard of this epidemic, only 61% reported knowing a means of prevention against it.

The paradigm adopted by the public authority

As of 1966, the state's management of the interest of public authority in sexuality has been located within family planning. This took the form of programs of education on population matters (including female and family educations). The present movement to a more general paradigm of reproductive and sexual health goes along with a passage to health education and, surreptitiously, to sex education.

[1]National Consultations of the Ministry of Youth and Sport [MYS], the National Integrated Youth Strategy [NIYS] 2009 Fr. Consultation nationale du MJS-SNIJ, 2009 = Ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports –Stratégie Nationale Intégrée de la Jeunesse, 2009

[2]Fr. ENIMSJ = l'Enquête Nationale à Indicateurs Multiples et Santé des Jeunes

In 1972, the World Health Organization (WHO) conference defined sexual health as being the capacity to control sexual and reproductive behavior in accordance with social and personal ethics, and as a deliverance from fear, shame and guilt. Sexual health is the liberation from false beliefs which may inhibit sexual response, and interfere with sexual relations. It is the integration of a sexed person's somatic, affective, intellectual and social dimension, the ultimate goal being his or her personality development.

Despite the presence of the notion of sexual health in the WHO's archives, it was not until the 1994 Cairo International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) that it was promoted into an international policy. Sexual health is the auto-determination of sexual behavior by itself without the interference of any constraining non-sexual factor in the sexual exchange. In its 11th Chapter, the ICPD's action plan calls for the promotion of a "responsible sexual behavior", based on willful consent, and on the prevention and treatment of both genital tract-related diseases and STIs. It is within this educational paradigm, which is geared to education, that the notion of sex education reappears in an attempt to establish a universally recognized model.

The content of Sex Education

On the basis of a literature review of the key Moroccan publications, sex education has five main components:

- **A biological content** which consists in transmitting scientific knowledge of sexual and physiological anatomy.
- **A preventive content** which is founded on the distinction between the healthy and the detrimental by exposing STIs and their dangers.
- **A contraceptive content** which, by relying on the distinction between the useful and the useless, consists in exposing contraceptive techniques.
- **A normative content** which puts a dividing line between the permissible and the forbidden and which, in sexual matters, imposes a line of conduct on a society which perceives itself as being Islamic.
- **An erotic content** which caters for desire, pleasure, anomalies and malfunctioning of sexual behavior.

Prior to being faced with the necessity for a comprehensive sex education, as has been formerly defined, the different national policies in Morocco reduced sex education to its contraceptive content exclusively through the policies of family planning and population education before enlarging today to include its preventive content. The Islamic States that attended the ICPD adversely reacted to Chapters 4 and 7 of its Action Program: for the official spokespersons of these States, all the notions relating to sex and reproductive education must be treated in compliance with the chari'â.

Elementary and first-cycle basic education seeks to integrate some notions of sex education in a transversal program linked to education in population matters. The objective here is to sensitize the youth about national and international demographic phenomena and their relationship with economic, social, cultural and environmental data. Behind this stands the purpose of rationalizing the youth's behavior in compliance with the civilizational and religious foundations of Moroccan society.

At the level of school curricula, sex education is not instituted as a specific and autonomous course. It has been integrated in different, already existing, courses, namely Arabic, history and geography, Islamic education, natural sciences,

and female-family education. According to the Ministry of National Education, the reasons for integrating sex education in the existing courses is to avoid the overloading of pupils and students with an additional course, especially given that several notions of sex education are already embedded in the courses that are being taught.

Female – Family Education

Taught in arabic since the 1985 – 86 school year, feminine education is a course which, until 1996, was taught only to junior high-school girls.

A first step in the leveling process between the two sexes had been fulfilled in 1996. The Minister for National Education Rachid Belmokhtar said in December 1997: "It has been decided that both girls and boys should take advantage of this course, given the fact that it concerns the family. It deserves to be labeled 'family' – instead of 'feminine' – education."

It is reported that this course finds its place among the non-generalized courses such as industrial technology, plastic education, and farming technology. The course is taught at the 9th grade at the rate of 18 lessons with a time span of two hours per lesson. The manual, however, has remains unchanged. Young boys are very embarrassed to use a course book called *Female Education*.

Natural sciences

Basically, this course is dominated by the reproduction paradigm, and excludes any conveyance of knowledge about desire or pleasure.

At the second grade level of the literary section, the program seeks to consolidate the students' acquisitions concerning the body's immune reactions in order to sensitize them to the importance of prevention and the limits of therapy. In this scope, historical data on AIDS are analyzed, AIDS transmission modes and prevention methods identified, and HIV screening (through the Elisa and Westerne Blot tests) presented.

At the third grade level of the experimental science, agricultural science, and literary sections, human reproduction is studied through the following items: anatomy and physiology, the male and female genital tracts, fecundation, fetus development, contraceptive techniques STI prevention (gonorrhea, syphilis, hepatitis B and AIDS). Immunology is dealt with through the AIDS example.

Conclusion

As can be seen, sex education in school education teaches, on the one hand, a biological course content which is strongly linked to reproduction and demography. On the other hand, the course content is preventive and is linked to STIs and AIDS, the normative reference being that of Islamic education. These contents are acquired by means of pedagogical participatory methods which are characterized by course facilitation, file preparation, free discussion and using audio-visual course materials. Thanks to these methods, these activities make it possible to engage an open relationship between the teacher and the student, which, in turn, will break the sex-related taboos and make possible the discussion of any sensitive topic. What is at stake in sex education is not the vertical transmission of objective knowledge, but rather encouraging responsible behavior and attitudes while addressing the issues of sexuality. As a secondary socialization, sex-education in mixed classes also contributes to a rupture with sexist and segregationist family primary socialization.

The evaluation studies which have been conducted by the Ministry of National Education show that school education

has little effect on demographic behavior, especially in rural areas. The insufficiency of teachers' training in population matters, the break between the school and its rural environment do account for the small impact of these courses. Besides, the integration of sex education in the courses which are already taught blocks the emergence of a new approach to the issue. This has been confirmed by the two surveys : "STDs in Morocco: Social Construction and therapeutic behaviors"[3] and "Youth, Aids and Islam in Morocco"[4].

In the field of eroticism, informing the youth is no longer the monopoly of traditional educators, parents or teachers. Informative and educational verbal exchange on sexual issues continues to be made between peers in informal milieus, either amongst boys or amongst girls.

Finally, a true dialogue between scientists and religious scholars is necessary in order to come up with a coherent policy.

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Authors' Biographies

Yassine Souidi is a young Moroccan aged 27. He has a Phd in biology specialty Public Health. For the moment he holds the position as researcher at the Center of Studies and Research on Values in Rabita Mohammadia of Ulama. He held several positions of responsibility in various national and international NGOs with different topics such as youth health, dialogue of civilizations, intercultural exchange, entrepreneurship and leadership. During a decade of volunteerism he has managed several innovative projects at national and international level that have a direct impact on populations. As he has participated in activities in several countries (USA, Germany, Turkey, France, Latvia...) that allowed him to develop skills and benefit from exchanging best practices and successful experiences with people from different cultures and fields. For now he is focusing on training and development skills of young people in disadvantaged areas to prepare future leaders and citizens committed in voluntarism and political life. He was presented as a candidate for the 2011 parliamentary elections at the Youth list of the Authenticity Modernity party. He is deeply interested in astronomy and photography.

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