



مركز دراسات الدكتوراه: "اللغات والتراث والتهيئة المجالية"
تكوين الدكتوراه: اللغات والتراث
محور: الدراسات الإنجليزية
مختبر: الخطاب والإبداع والمجتمع: الإدراك والمتضمن

أطروحة لنيل الدكتوراه في الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية

في موضوع:

A Sociological Deconstruction of Neoliberal Paradigms Inherent in the Moroccan Educational Discourse

اسم الأستاذ(ة) المشرف(ة): د. يحيى ياشوتي

إعداد الطالب(ة) الباحث (ة): ادريس العيادي

تاريخ المناقشة: 23 أكتوبر 2020

لجنة المناقشة:

رئيسا	(جامعة الأخوين افران)	- الدكتور(ة) عبد الرحمان أزنود
عضوا	(المدرسة الوطنية للتجارة والتسيير فاس)	- الدكتور (ة) يوسف بنعبد الرزيق
عضوا	(كلية الآداب سايس فاس)	- الدكتور(ة) عبد الحميد انغيسي
مشرفا ومقررا	(كلية الآداب سايس فاس)	- الدكتور (ة) يحيى ياشوتي

السنة الجامعية: 2020-2021

Title: A Sociological Deconstruction of Neoliberal Paradigms Inherent in the Moroccan Educational Discourse.

Laayadi _ 2020

Table of Contents

Table of contents:	ii
Abstract:	vi
List of Tables:	viii
List of Figures:	ix
List of Abbreviations:	xi
Acknowledgement:	xiii
Introduction:	1
i. The Institution of a New World Order:	2
ii. Background of the Study :	4
iii. Research Problem :	4
iv. Research Questions and Objectives :	5
v. Proposed Conceptual Framework :	6
vi. Scope and Significance of the Study:	6
vii. Hypotheses, Research Questions, and Methods of Analyses:	7
viii. Major Areas of Contribution and Thesis Outline:	9
Part I: Theoretical and Contextual Orientations	14
Chapter One: Review of Literature	15
1. Sociological Perspectives on Knowledge and Education:	15
1.1 Karl Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge:	15
1.2 Emile Durkheim's sociology of education:	20
1.3 Marxian and Neo-Marxian Perspectives on Education:	23
1.4 Louis Althusser's Ideological State Apparatuses:	24
1.5 Althusser's Concept of Ideology:	26
1.6 The Position of Critical Theory in the Neo-Marxian Tradition:	27
1.7 Jacques Derrida's Concept of Deconstruction:	29
1.8 State, Discourse, and Power dialectics:	32
1.9 Bourdieu's Concepts and Theory of Reproduction:	32
1.9.1 Roles and Functions of The State in Bourdieu's theories:	34
1.9.2 Bourdieu's <i>Habitus</i> , <i>Capital</i> , and <i>Field</i> :	38
1.9.3 Definition of Habitus:	39
1.9.4 Habitus is Tacit Knowledge:	39
1.9.5 Habitus is class-specific:	40

1. 9. 6 Habitus is a Lifelong Process of Social Internalization:	40
1. 9. 7 Habitus is Transposable and Transferable:	40
1. 9. 8 Habitus is both Structured and Structuring:	41
1. 10 Bourdieu's Notions of Field, Capital, and Symbolic Violence:	41
1. 10. 1 Field and Capital:	41
1. 10. 2 Economic Capital:	43
1. 10. 3 Social Capital:	44
1. 10. 4 Cultural Capital:	45
1. 11 Bourdieu on Elite's Nostalgia to resurrect the 'Ancien Régime':	46
1. 12 Neoliberalism, the "Mother of all Evil":	49
1. 12. 1 Neoliberalisation or the Privatization of Everything:	53
1. 12. 2 International Financial Institutions and Structural Adjustment Plans:	58
1. 13 The Privatization of Education, a Global Epidemic:	59
1. 13. 1 "Selling the House to Pay the Mortgage":	59
1. 13. 2 The Multiple Forms of Privatization:	60
1. 13. 3 Neoliberal Schooling, Apple's Ideology and Curriculum:	64
Chapter Two:	71
2. 1 The MENA context:	71
2. 2 The Moroccan Education system :	77
2. 2. 1 Georges Hardy and Paul Marty's Views on Education:	78
2. 2. 2 Imposing French as a Language of Instruction:	81
2. 2. 3 Education Reforms in Post-independence Morocco:	82
2. 3 Initial Reform Initiatives:	83
2. 4 Reflections on the Stages of Educational Reforms:	100
2. 5 WB and IMF's Reports and the Conception of Public Policies:	105
2. 6 Morocco's Integration into the Global Economy:	117
2. 7 Morocco 2040 - Emerging by Investing in Intangible Capital:	119
Part II : Discourse, Quantitative and Qualitative Analyses :	125
Chapter Three :	125
3. Critical Discourse Analysis:	125
3. 1 A CDA Examination of the National Charter and the Strategic Vision:	125
3. 1. 1 Definition and methods of CDA:	125
3. 1. 2 Reproduction Theorists in Favor of a Faircloughian CDA Model:	127
3. 1. 3. Textual Analysis:	128
3. 1. 4. From a Behaviorist Teaching Model to a Constructivist One:	129

3. 1. 5 The National Charter for Education and Training:	131
3. 1. 6. Alternate Training and Instruction:	137
3. 1. 7 Continuous Training :	139
3. 2 The Emergency Plan 2009 - 2012:.....	141
3. 3 The Strategic Vision Reform Project 2015 - 2030:.....	142
3. 4 Comparing Reform Grounds of the National Charter and the Strategic Vision:	146
3. 5 Adapting Curriculum Content to the Needs of the Economy:	147
3. 6 The National Charter: The Official Analytical Report 2000 - 2013:	150
3. 6. 1 Education and Training Budget Annual Growth 2000 - 2013:	153
3. 7 The Framework Law 51.17 Structuring the Education system:.....	157
3. 8 The Employment of Languages as Indicators of Identity and Social Status:.....	160
3. 8. 1 The Protectorate Regime Structuring of the Moroccan Society:	160
3. 9 The Moroccan Social Structure:	162
3. 9. 1 The Business Elite:.....	163
3. 9. 2. The Technocratic Elite:	164
3. 9. 3 The Political Elite:	166
Chapter Four:	170
4. Textbook Analysis:	170
4. 1. Politics of Official Knowledge and the Hidden Curriculum:.....	170
4. 2 Education under the Protectorate Regime 1923 – 1956:.....	172
4. 2. 1 Teaching of Arabic at Schools of French Morocco:	173
4. 2. 2 The teaching of French at primary school levels (Muslim schools):	181
4. 2. 3 Examples of Textbooks of Independent Morocco 1964 - 1983:	190
4. 2. 4. Ahmed Boukmakh's popular series of "Let us Read":	190
4. 2. 5 Henri Tranchart's 'Bien Lire et Comprendre' (1961 - 1978):	203
4. 3 Samples from Moroccan Textbooks Approved for Use (2000-2015):	207
4. 3. 1 The Teaching of Arabic (1 st grade):	208
4. 3. 2 Sample Lessons from Updated French textbooks (1 st grade):.....	213
4. 3. 3 Sample Lessons from Updated Arabic textbooks (2 nd grade):.....	217
Chapter Five:.....	231
5. Methodology and Research Design (An overview):.....	231
5. 1 Research Design (Quantitative Data Analysis):.....	232
5. 1. 1 Population and Sample of the Study:.....	233
5. 2 Data Collection Procedure and Scope of Research:.....	234
5. 3 Data Analysis and findings:	241

5. 4 Qualitative Data Analysis:	250
5. 4. 1 Qualitative Data Collection Procedure:	250
5. 5 Qualitative Data Collection and Sample:	271
5. 5. 1 Protocol for Qualitative Interviews:	272
5. 5. 2 Categories of Informants and In-depth Interviews:	274
Conclusion:	290
Summary and Implications:	290
Limitations and Future Research Directions:	295
REFERENCES:	299
APPENDIX.....	309

Abstract

A well-structured and efficient system of education remains an indispensable prerequisite for the establishment of a knowledge-based and meritocratic society. Besides functioning as an essential agent of socialization, the school constitutes a pivotal political instrument through which state authorities acquire the capacity of formulating strategic visions and enforcing reform policies subsequently. Unquestionably, the correspondence between the system of education and the construction of social structure has been at the core of sociological debate for decades. The centrality of this correspondence lies in the interactive discursive character distinct to each of these two institutions: The school as a *state* institution and *society* as a subject of state policies. The present study aspires to explore the functions of schools, and by the same token, the sociopolitical and economic roles of the state in post-independence Morocco. An objective that is hopefully accomplished through the employment of a multi-faceted research approach that looks into the conditions underlying the chronic failure of a long list of reform initiatives. Therefore, a particular emphasis is placed on the incongruent character of the state's discourse of reform on the one hand, and implemented policies, on the other. In other words, on the contrary to ideals of equity, quality, and equal accessibility to an efficient educational offer, the reality on the ground evinces a dissonant reality between what state officials 'preach' in terms of how the education system should be structured, what policies to design and 'perform' on the ground, and how these policies repercuss on the constitution of the Moroccan social structure.

Key words:

Educational Sociology, Discourse Deconstruction, Roles of the State, Ideological State Apparatuses, Reproduction of Social Structures, The Hidden Curriculum, Neoliberalism.

مقتضب

يعد الحرص على تأسيس نظام تعليمي ناجع ومهيكل إحدى الركائز الجوهرية لإقامة مجتمع المعرفة والاستحقاق. فإضافة إلى اعتبارها أحد أهم قنوات الاندماج الاجتماعي، تشكل المدرسة آلية محورية يتأتى لمؤسسات الدولة من خلالها إمكانية سوغ رؤى استشرافية إضافة إلى التنزيل الأمثل لمختلف السياسات العمومية. وقد شكل الارتباط الوثيق بين كل من النظام التعليمي من جهة وأثره على التحولات البنيوية للمجتمع من جهة أخرى محور دراسات سوسيولوجية متعددة لعقود طويلة. وتبرز محورية هذه الدراسات في الطابع الخطابي التفاعلي المميز لكل المؤسستين: مؤسسة/المدرسة باعتبارها إحدى مؤسسات الدولة، و/المجتمع كونه المتلقي المباشر لمختلف سياسات الدولة. يتطلع موضوع هذه الدراسة البحثية إلى سبر أغوار وظائف مؤسسة المدرسة، ومن خلالها الأدوار السياسية والسوسيواقتصادية لمؤسسات الدولة بمغرب ما بعد الاستقلال. ولتحقيق هذا المسعى، عمدت الدراسة إلى توظيف مقاربة بحثية متعددة المسالك. مقاربة تتوخى البحث في الظروف الموضوعية التي أدت إلى فشل مزمن أضحى رديفا لمبادرات الإصلاح المتوالية. وعليه، تسلط الدراسة الضوء على طابع "التنافر" المميز لكل من الخطاب الإصلاحي للدولة، والسياسات الإصلاحية المعتمدة من جانب آخر. بعبارات أخرى، خلافا لمثل وقيم المساواة، والجودة، وتكافؤ الفرص، والولوج إلى عرض تربوي وتعليمي ناجع، يبرز الواقع حقيقة مخالفة لما "يبشر" به مسؤولو الدولة من جهة، وكل من طبيعة النظام التعليمي وسياسات الإصلاح المعتمدة والمنزلة على أرض الواقع وأثار هذه السياسات على بنية المجتمع المغربي على صعيد آخر.

الكلمات المفتاحية:

سوسيولوجيا التربية، تفكيك الخطاب، وظائف مؤسسات الدولة، أجهزة الدولة الإيديولوجية، إعادة إنتاج بنيات المجتمع، المنهاج الخفي، النيوليبرالية.

List of tables

Table.....	Page
Table 1 : Gender of Respondents, N=350.....	p : 242
Table 2 : Correlation between Private Schooling and Integration into Lim-Access Institutions, n :150.....	p : 243
Table 3 : Social Categories Constituting the Basis of Students Enrolled in Private Schools.....	p : 244
Table 4 : Public and Private School Students' Views on the Efficiency of the Private Schooling System Compared to the Public Schooling System.....	p : 246
Table 5 : Public and Private School Students' Level of Satisfaction with their Programs of Instruction and Extra-Curricular Activities.....	p : 247
Table 6 : Students' Views on the Correlation Between the Efficiency of Private School Instruction and Access to Economic Opportunity.....	p : 249

List of Figures

Figure.....	Page
Figure 1.1. Percentage of Enrollment in Primary Education in Private Institutions According to Countries' Level of Income, 1990-2012	p : 63
Figure 1.2. Percentage of Enrollment in Primary Education in Private Institutions According to World Regions, 1990-2012	p : 64
Figure 2.1. Private Enrollment Share in Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Education as a Percentage of Total Enrollment, 1980 – 2003.....	p: 73
Figure 2.2: Scientific and Technological Capacities in World Regions (Percent of World Total, 1995).....	p : 75
Figure 2. 3: Quality of MENA's Education systems.....	p: 76
Figure 3.1. Annual Budget Reserved for the Education and Training (Million MAD). p:	153
Figure 3.2 Progression of the Private Education sector according to the three levels (Primary-Preparatory - Secondary).....	p : 154
Figure 3.3 Rates of Students in Higher Education Institutions Prior and Post National Charter Reforms.....	p : 155
Figure 3.4. Progression of Forms of Vocational Instruction (Hundreds Thousands)...p :	156
Figure 4.1. Apprenons L'Arabe, 1942. (Bensrhir's).....	p : 175
Figure 4.2. Yallahou (Cover Page) - Manuel d'Arabe Dialectal des Classes Primaires. (Bensrhir's).....	p : 176
Figure 4.3. Yallahou (1) - Manuel d'Arabe Dialectal des Classes Primaires. (Bensrhir's).....	p : 177
Figure 4.4. Yallahou (2) - Manuel d'Arabe Dialectal des Classes Primaires. (Bensrhir's).....	p: 179
Figure 4.5. Yallahou (3) - Manuel d'Arabe Dialectal des Classes Primaires. (Bensrhir's).....	p : 180
Figure 4.7. Tous à L'école. Méthode de Lecture. L, Bousson. J, Lahitte : (Cover Page).....	p : 183

Figure 4.8. Tous à L'école. Méthode de Lecture. L, Bousson. J, Lahitte : (Sample Lesson 1).....	p : 185
Figure 4.9. Tous à L'école. Méthode de Lecture. L, Bousson. J, Lahitte : (Sample Lesson 2).....	p : 186
Figure 4.10. Tous à L'école. Méthode de Lecture. L, Bousson. J, Lahitte : (Sample Lesson 3).....	p : 188
Figure 4.11. Let us Read. A, Boukmakh. 1956 (Sample cover page).....	p : 192
Figure 4.11. Let us Read. A, Boukmakh. 1956 (Sample Lesson 1).....	p : 193
Figure 4.12. Let us Read. A, Boukmakh. 1956 (Sample Lesson 2).....	p : 196
Figure 4.13. Let us Read. A, Boukmakh. 1956 (Sample Lesson 3).....	p : 197
Figure 4.14. Let us Read. A, Boukmakh. 1956 (Sample Lesson 4).....	p : 201
Figure 4.15. Let us Read. A, Boukmakh. 1956 (Sample Lesson 5).....	p : 202
Figure 4.18. Bien Lire et Comprendre. 1960's-1980's (Cover page).....	p : 204
Figure 4.19. Bien Lire et Comprendre. 1960's-1980's (Sample Lesson 1).....	p : 205
Figure 4.20. My stories. 1 st grade. 2018 (Sample Lesson).....	p : 210-212
Figure 4.21. L'archipèle. 2 nd grade. 2018 (Sample Lesson).....	p : 216
Figure 4.22. My stories - Arabic. 2 nd grade. 2018 (Sample Lesson).....	p : 219-220
Figure 4.23. Insight into English. 2 nd Bac (Sample Lesson 1).....	p : 223
Figure 4.24. Insight into English. 2nd Bac (Sample Lesson 2).....	p : 226
Figure 4.25. Insight into English. 2nd Bac (Sample Lesson 3).....	p : 229

List of Abbreviations:

RSA – Repressive State Apparatuses

ISA – Ideological State Apparatuses

CP – Cultural Capital

IFI – International Financial Institutions

IMF – International Monetary Fund

WB – The World Bank

WTO – World Trade Organization

SAP – Structural Adjustment Program/Plan

STATEMENT OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institutions.

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the project contains no materials previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The completion of this research project could not have been effected if it had not been for the valuable guidance and the unconditional support of my thesis supervisor, Pr. Yahya YACHOUTI. His active co-operation, insightful remarks, and constant encouragement have greatly benefited me through the various stages of this research program, and for that I wish to express my deepest feeling of debt and gratitude.

My gratitude goes to a number of individuals and institutions whose valuable contribution in providing resources and making available necessary data greatly facilitated subsequent research procedures. Special thanks go to Pr. Youssef BENABDERRAZIK, Pr. Abdellah ELGHIZAL, the INFO HOUSE administration, and principals of various high schools both public and private located in Fez. Special thanks also go to all students who have been generous enough to dedicate moments from their time to either respond to the given questionnaires or to participate in the research structured interviews.

Finally, I wish to express my love and appreciation to my dearest parents, my beloved wife, my two precious daughters, and my dear siblings. Their love, affection and prayers provided me with solace and much-needed support throughout this rough, yet exquisite journey of academic exploration.

Introduction:

On a typical busy day in the year of 1975, Margaret Thatcher, attending a conference at a conservative research department, cast the audience into confusion following a remarkable response to a question addressed to her regarding her political philosophy. When asked about the ideological premises underlying her political visions, she unhesitatingly dragged a book out of her handbag, and she reportedly declared: ‘This is what we believe!’ (Dale and Tucker, 2012). The book was entitled *The Constitution of Liberty* and it was published by the Anglo-Austrian philosopher and economist Frederich Von Hayek in 1960.

Almost three decades before this incident, a group of classical liberal thinkers among whom figured Frederich Hayek, Milton Friedman, and George Stigler, formed the Mont Pelerin society in 1947. Not only did members of this society oppose any types of roles that governments could play in structuring national economies, but they also rejected all possible functions that could grant state institutions access into, or allow them some form of control over the economy in general, and market transactions, in particular. These rejectionist attitudes were articulated in the form of values and principles underpinning an alternative socio-economic model in the academic encounters held by members of the Mont Pelerin society.

The alternative socio-economic model the Mont Pelerin society advances is a neoliberal model where state institutions should fully retreat from the management and the administration of economic affairs by refraining from any forms of economic regulations. Compared to 19th-century classical liberalism, which celebrates civil liberties and cherishes ideals of freedom, equality, and justice, neoliberalism hinges upon principles of economic liberalization, competition, and the full deregulation of business transactions.

i. The Institution of a New World Order:

In both *The Road to Serfdom* and *The Fatal Conceit*, the prolific Frederick Hayek enumerates the countless flaws, or mistakes as he calls them, underpinning the dogma of socialism. Using philosophical, historical, and economic narratives, he strives to demystify and discredit ideals of socialism deeming them as deterrents to the natural evolution of human historical and economic interactions. For Hayek, the capitalist model of the free-market economy represents the only rational ‘extended order’ that could ensure stability and prosperity, and that any other forms of socialism, - be them social democracy in its mildest sense, or the one-party communist rule in its extreme form- is simply impossible.

In Thatcher’s favorite treat *The Constitution of Liberty*, Hayek lays out his visions of how a free-market economy should be structured, and which principles should guide various economic activities. The word ‘constitution’ itself is a pun which denotes two meanings: -a. The institution of a body or an organism, and - b. A set of fundamental articles that underlie the functioning of an organization or a government. Similarly, while the concept of ‘liberty’ evokes meanings of freedom, emancipation, and self-determination, Hayek limits the concept’s connotations to exclusively cover free acts of economic transactions. The concept of ‘freedom’ developed in Hayek’s vision implies a full refrain on the part of state institutions from interfering in any forms in market-related transactions.

Under the above neoliberal precepts, the roles of present-day universities, mostly financed by corporations and other private entities, have been reconfigured in such a way that very few of these academic institutions still bear resemblance to the classical model of the university. This classical model, which has been considered for centuries to be an intellectual space centered on principles of ideation and scientific research, is being reshaped following models of vocational institutions and training centers. The idea that schools and universities

ought to adapt their structures and pedagogical content to meet local and national needs of the job market has gained momentum in world countries many of which resolved to introduce drastic reforms into their systems of education as a way of rehabilitating their ailing economies, and Morocco was no exception.

In November 1989, the Moroccan sociologist Mohammed Guessous gave a presentation at the fourth national conference of the Ittihad students, a university socialist faction, titled: ‘They are willing to produce New Generations of Hyenas (jackasses)’. Guessous’s lengthy presentation was published in *Al-ittihad Al-ichtiraki* (The Socialist Union) paper on November 12th, 1989.

Through his presentation (or printed article) Guessous levelled a wave of criticisms against the Moroccan state policies vis-a-vis its approach to the country’s youth, its handling of the educational sector, and its alliance with a bourgeois elite which was allegedly bent on eroding the National Liberation Movement’s project to institute a modern democratic state model. Within such envisioned model, all citizens could benefit from decent social services and the country’s wealth would be equally and fairly distributed.

According to Guessous, state authorities’ will to deliberately hollow out and incapacitate universities stems from their conviction and consideration of the country’s ‘politicized youth’, and by the same token the country’s intellectuals, as a liability rather than a valuable asset and a driving force of change. On another level, Guessous warned against the state’s plans to cede over its control of public sectors to private entities.

Guessous’ presentation was delivered during a politically troubled period in Moroccan modern history known as the ‘Les années de plomb/ The Years of Lead’. His bold claims resonated within the highest state circles and could not go unnoticed. As a result, immediate directives were issued to the then minister of education Tayeb Chkili to publish a rebuttal statement aiming to disprove Guessous’ ‘demagogue’ claims, and so it was. On November

23rd, 1989, that same paper, The Socialist Union, printed a statement issued by the ministry of education seeking to clarify “fallacies” advanced by Guessous in his presentation.

ii. Background of the Study :

The study at hand comes in the wake of politically turbulent times in Morocco and in many other Arab countries in what has been referred to as the Arab Spring. Outcries to introduce reforms into the political system in general, and the system of education in particular, have grown persistent and widespread. On its part, the Moroccan state did not show any reluctance to launch reform programs in all sociopolitical and economic sectors.

Reform plans in fields of education, health, judicial, legislative, subsidies’ programs, public and civil service, and fiscal systems have been initiated since mid-1990’s. The logic underlying these reform plans supposed that an efficient frame of institutions could bring about sociopolitical stability and economic growth. However, the crucial question regarding these reforms remains: Reform plans in favor of which party? In other words, who are the main beneficiaries of these reform plans?

Another critical issue that the study will attempt to address concerns the essence or the substance of these political reforms in the wake of the adoption of new constitutional amendments in 2011. Put differently, do these reforms constitute a new wave of reform plans that come as responses to national sociopolitical protests and demands? Or is it merely a matter of an acceleration of reform plans that had been launched years before? Last but not least, have implemented reforms paved the way and helped accelerate the establishment of an education system based on free-market principles?

iii. Research Problem :

Approaching the education field from a sociological perspective required that I should have, as a novice researcher, a bare minimum command of sociological research instruments to be able to critically determine, analyze, synthesize, verify the outcomes, and objectively evaluate the sociological phenomenon in question. Therefore, I devoted my first and second years of this doctorate program to studying sociological research methods and techniques and gaining as many insights into the topic research areas as possible on the one hand, and to formulating hypotheses and generating as many research questions tapping different study areas as possible on the other.

The research in hand takes on an investigative mode as it seeks to disentangle the discursive inconsistencies characterizing the Moroccan political discourse vis-a-vis its reform approach to the education system. The research ambitions to highlight the genuine factors underlying the successive failures that have marked a long series of educational reform programs since 1984. Broadly speaking, the public discourse often attributes these failures to two factors: a. the lack of a political will to bring about efficient reforms on the part of the ruling classes, b. the exploitation of the education sector by polarized political forces to either reinforce their presence on the political scene, or to settle accounts with their political adversaries.

iv. Research Questions and Objectives :

The above-listed arguments often figure in casual and academic analyses discussing reforms in education as the principal lead factors of education reform failures. We contend that the failure of these reforms were not exclusive to the field of education but extended over to other social sectors such as: healthcare, public transportation, water and electricity supply, and mass communication. This research will attempt to contribute to the ongoing debate on

educational reform by placing more emphasis on a third dimension which is that of the global political and economic shifts that all world countries have been leaping into.

In a nutshell, the present study aspires to achieve three main objectives: 1. Bringing into debate a third dimension that is often overlooked whenever questions about reform failure factors are posed. By this third dimension we mean the constitution of an alternative socioeconomic model on a global scale, 2. Demonstrating the discursual inconsistencies present in educational reform texts. In other words, highlighting how reform visions based on values of equity, equality, and social justice have failed to overlap with implemented policies on the ground, 3. Demonstrating how the Moroccan system of education contributes to the reproduction of the current socioeconomic structure in place.

v. Proposed Conceptual Framework :

Producing an informed sociological analysis of the research phenomenon in question required the diligent designing of a conceptual framework that should constitute a sort of ‘launching pad’ for all envisioned analyses and examinations. Therefore, the initial chapter of this study will expound on a variety of socioeconomic concepts that non-specialists oftentimes tend to use in simplistic manners, overlooking their depth and complexity. Examples of these concepts include: Luckmann’s ‘construction of knowledge and reality’, Althusser’s ‘state apparatuses’, Derrida’s ‘deconstruction’, Foucault’s ‘power relations’, Bourdieu’s ‘social and educational reproduction’ theory, and Hayek and Friedman’s conceptions of ‘neoliberalism’, to mention a few.

vi. Scope and Significance of the Study:

The only Moroccan documented study that I could lay my hands on, and the content of which more or less fits within the scope of the project in hand was a study conducted by

the Moroccan researcher Larbi Ibaaquil in 1983. The study was carried out in French, and it was titled as follows: *L'école Marocaine: une machine de rêve*.

Ibaaquil demonstrates in his study how influential the culture of the Moroccan French-speaking bourgeois families is in Moroccan pedagogical discourse, and to which extent this bourgeois culture is manifest within a variety of programs of instruction. The dominance of the bourgeois class throughout the content of these textbooks, the researcher argues, is eventually projected on the socioeconomic structure in such a way that individuals belonging to the bourgeois class continue to rule over and dominate economic and administrative spheres, while other less fortunate social classes are bowed to regain and fill in those same socioeconomic positions that their parents had previously occupied.

As contentious as the findings of Ibaaquil's study were back then, I felt a dire need to approach the education system from a similar yet broader academic perspective, and in light of recent sociological and cultural trends and theories. In particular, our research efforts will be geared towards the examination of the economic role and the socio-pedagogical functions that the Moroccan system of education is expected to fulfill. We hypothesize that a re-structuring of the economic space based on principles of the free-market as well as a re-arrangement of the society have been the new norm that state institutions, and the education system in particular, have endorsed as a strategy to come to terms with popping episodes of political unrest, the globalization of cultures, exacerbating economic recessions, and sweeping digital revolutions.

vii. Hypotheses, Research Questions, and Methods of Analyses:

The present study bases its research examinations on three definite hypotheses. Hypotheses which the research analyses and the eventual findings should either support or

refute, especially as we proceed through the last three analytical chapters of this study. The three research hypotheses can be articulated as follows:

- a. The official policies of the Moroccan state implemented in the educational sector are not congruent with the principles of equality, social justice, and equity, and the celebration of universal values underpinning the pedagogical discourse of reform promoted by academics, pedagogues and educators.
- b. The current Moroccan system of education is the sum of a variety of educational subsystems that cater for students in correspondence with their socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, one could hypothesize that the presence of multiple educational subsystems leads up to the structuring of the Moroccan society into definite social classes and the systematic reproduction of this social structure.
- c. The structure of the education system, its pedagogical orientations, and curricular offers contribute to the establishment and the perpetuation of a socioeconomic model of a society expected to live by ideals of individualism, competitiveness, vocational intelligence, and professional aptitudes. On a broader level, individuals are expected to buy into neoliberal principles of privatization, economic deregulation, free-market rule and the necessity to reduce state control over socioeconomic sectors.

The above three hypotheses form starting points from which a host of research questions will be addressed and developed. Given the nature of the present sociological study, the outlined questions will undoubtedly open up new research venues as well as allow for the employment of descriptive and analytical approaches as a way of exploring research questions and testing out hypotheses from different angles. Although such analyses have determined specific research questions that research project starts off with, it is worth noting that other equally crucial questions emerge as the study progresses. Examples of these initial research questions include:

- a. In what ways do the Moroccan social structure and the Moroccan system of education interact and influence each other?
- b. How congruent is the Moroccan socio-pedagogical discourse on educational reform (articulated in reports, charters, and visions) with the official state policies implemented in the education sector?
- c. Is the Moroccan education system a class-based system meaning to privilege certain social categories over others? In other words, do present day educational institutions, along with the pedagogic content they offer, contribute to the maintaining and preserving of socioeconomic statuses of individuals? Does it contribute to the reproduction of a specific model of society?
- d. Do formal educational programs, in both public and private institutions, still promote a discourse that cherishes values of global citizenship, sociocultural growth of individuals, ecological awareness, economic prosperity, and the celebration of universal values of equality, freedom, equity, and justice? Or has it grown more aligned with the neoliberal visions and principles?

The complex character and the breadth of some of the above questions compelled us to vary our methods of analysis in an attempt to ensure the validity of the research findings, and to generate a systematic research narrative. As the study proceeds to its practical parts, an array of methods of analysis ranging from critical discourse analysis, curricular content analysis, to quantitative and qualitative research analyses will be employed in such a way as to present a multitude of perspectives on the multiple socioeconomic variants that might have had an impact on the course of educational reform policies.

viii. Major Areas of Contribution and Thesis Outline:

The employed research methods along with the sociological character of the present study will hopefully render the generated findings applicable to a number of research areas or fields of study. These include domains of critical pedagogy, educational sociology, cognitive constructivism, reproduction theory, identity politics, theories of reproduction and the Marxian socio-political theory to mention a few.

PART ONE

Chapter One:

The first chapter serves as a theoretical preamble paving the way for the development of a conceptual framework within which examinations of research questions will be analyzed. The chapter will expound on a variety of concepts and notions key to our analysis such as : ‘deconstruction’, ‘state’, ‘power relations’, ‘ideology’, ‘reproduction’ and ‘neoliberalism’. Moreover, the chapter endeavors to determine grounds where the above concepts and theories intersect and converge.

On another level, chapter one plans on offering elaborate analyses of the impact that policies of privatization have had on the Moroccan education system. Furthermore, it shall attempt to demonstrate how school curricula have been the subject of relentless ideological tensions and competing power relations.

Chapter Two:

While the first chapter aspires to set up a coherent conceptual frame of analysis employing for this matter an array of concepts derived from critical theories of reproduction, the second chapter shifts the course of discussion to address contentious aspects distinct to the education reform discourse. Initially, the chapter draws on reform plans introduced into systems of education in countries belonging to the GCC Gulf countries, it then lays out a

comparison between the course of reform action in these countries and reform plans implemented in Morocco.

The chapter starts off with a brief examination of statistical indicators of educational efficiency (TIMSS, PIRLS, and PISA) in Arab and North African education systems, and it gradually narrows its focus to address the Moroccan system of education. However, and as much accurate as the statistical approach may be in highlighting structural flaws and systemic lacunae impeding reform of education systems, we reckoned that it would be necessary if not crucial to address our research questions from multi-disciplinary vantage points.

Put differently, getting a full grasp of the dynamics blocking, or at least, slowing down reform initiatives in Morocco required a historical synthesis of the sociopolitical conditions that led up to the adoption of these reform projects. Therefore, the second chapter offers glimpses into these conditions as well as a chronological progression of these projects.

Once again, the study takes on a more focused turn as the second part of this chapter draws on a series of documents and reports issued by International organizations. Arguably, such reports have had a substantial leverage on Moroccan educational reform policies since 1979. . These reports aimed at highlighting factors of failure, and suggesting recommendations to better manage the educational sector to achieve better performance indexes.

PART TWO

Chapter Three:

The last three chapters of this study take a practical turn as they attempt to look into implemented educational reform policies, and to demonstrate how the economic and political dimensions become indispensable forces to reckon with in any educational visions of reform.

The third chapter employs a discourse analysis approach that places emphasis on referential texts. In more concrete terms, the chapter examines examples of clauses and dispositions pointed in *The National Charter of Education and Training* (2000-2009) as well as in *The Strategic Vision 2015-2030*. In particular, the chapter shall place emphasis on the principle of ‘alternate language education’ as well as the integration of ‘vocational instruction’ into the system of education.

The second part of chapter three offers a sketchy analysis of the Moroccan society based on local literature. This analysis, based on findings drawn from American and Moroccan studies, is meant to introduce and identify the different social classes constituting the Moroccan social fabric. The objective of chapter three is twofold: Firstly, to determine the compatibility of state educational policies with referential reform texts. Secondly, to detect the degree to which the Moroccan education system contributes to the shaping and reproduction of the Moroccan structure.

Chapter Four:

Chapter four carries on its investigation of patterns of reproduction inherent in the Moroccan educational discourse. Whereas chapter three examines perceptions of educational reforms in referential texts and endeavors to demonstrate how the education system is being restructured and reconfigured following the enterprise model, chapter four employs a theme-based or content-based discourse analysis of textbook samples that dates back to 1923 onwards.

By studying samples of lessons selected from a variety of textbooks used in Moroccan schools at different periods of pre and post-independence Morocco, chapter four seeks to capture and identify the socio-educational properties forming the dominant pedagogical discourse during these periods. In more explicit terms, the chapter will attempt to demonstrate how textbook textual properties often concurred with the political visions of

state institutions and at later stages, with the economic agendas of international financial institutions.

Chapter Five:

Chapter five represents the final practical part of this study. It differs from its two preceding chapters in that while chapter three and four appear to be more focused on the textual and the thematic properties of educational discourse in Morocco, chapter five takes on an on-site approach to the study of the impact of educational reform policies on Moroccan students. In more explicit terms, a fieldwork study using quantitative and qualitative research methods is carried out in order to measure Moroccan students' receptivity of, and their level of adaptability to the implemented reform policies.

The quantitative and qualitative research procedures aim to examine the perceptions of students from high school and higher institutions. The explored fields in the quantitative part of this chapter involve aspects related to school performance, fluency in foreign languages, curriculum content and institutional organization. As for the qualitative part, the research elicits and analyzes impressions and views of students about the system of education as a whole. The issues raised look into questions of equality, academic meritocracy, social equity and curricular efficiency.

Part I: Theoretical and Contextual Orientations

Chapter One: Review of Literature

1. Sociological Perspectives on Knowledge and Education:

1.1 Karl Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge:

The ultimate objective that sociological studies aspire to achieve involve delineating and attempting to disentangle the socio-cultural, economic, and political subtleties that are characteristic of a social phenomenon through empirical investigation (LPU, 2014, p. 11). Sociology subsumes several trends or sub-disciplines which, though they may differ in their underlying rationales and systematic methodologies, they remain congruent with the fundamental tenets of the discipline in general¹. Therefore, delimiting the scope of study avers to be an indispensable measure that would maintain the course of research action on track, and avoid running the risk of going off-course of our line of research. At this point, it should be noted that this study's initial hypotheses will be examined within a framework the constituents of which are derived from two sociological sub-disciplines: sociology of knowledge and sociology of education.

Offering brief insights into the contexts of emergence and evolution of these two sub-disciplines is a necessary step stipulated by the need to define and demarcate the research range on the one hand, and to identify the major academic authorities that have contributed to the conception of these sub-disciplines as well as the dissertation's theoretical foundations, on the other. Sociology of knowledge, as its title suggests, concerns itself with processes through which knowledge, in all its generic senses, constructs itself within specific social settings, and how this knowledge subsequently mutates into taken-for-granted forms of

¹ Auguste Comte's division of Sociology into the study of Social Statics and Social Dynamics. See *Encyclopedia Lovely Publication University* for further details.

reality. Reflecting on the development of sociology of knowledge, Luckmann points out at the introduction of his book that:

A discipline calling itself by this name will have to concern itself with the general ways by which “realities” are taken as “known” in human societies. In other words, a “sociology of knowledge” will have to deal not only with the empirical variety of “knowledge” in human societies, but also with the processes by which anybody of “knowledge” comes to be socially established as “reality”[...] In other words, we contend that the sociology of knowledge is concerned with the analysis of the social construction of reality. (Luckmann and Berger, 1967, p. 28)

Sociology of knowledge first appeared within German philosophy during the 1920’s. This is an exceptional phase in the German history and the evolution of its philosophical thought (Pooley, 2016, p. 12). The appellation “sociology of knowledge” was initially coined by the German philosopher Max Scheler in one of his series of essays published in 1924 entitled *Probleme einer Soziologie des Wissens*². In this essay, Scheler sets the discipline’s objectives, rationale and focal interests. However, the introduction of *sociology of knowledge* into English-speaking intellectual circles, and into the USA in particular, was deferred. This delay was largely attributed to the fact that American sociologists deemed the discipline’s concerns and interests were not common as far as the American sociological circles was concerned. Luckmann (1967) makes explicit this point when he maintains that:

The sociology of knowledge originated in a particular situation of German intellectual history and in a philosophical context. While the new discipline

² ibid

was subsequently introduced into the sociological context proper, particularly in the English-speaking world, it continued to be marked by the problems of the particular intellectual situation from which it arose. As a result the sociology of knowledge remained a peripheral concern among sociologists at large, who did not share the particular problems that troubled German thinkers in the 1920s. This was especially true of American sociologists, who have in the main looked upon the discipline as a marginal specialty with a persistent European flavor. (p. 28)

The evolution of sociology of knowledge into a full-fledged discipline is largely credited to the substantial academic output produced by Marxian thinkers. In more concrete terms, key notions such as ‘ideology’, ‘false consciousness’, ‘the superstructure’ (ideological discourse), and ‘the substructure’ (economic base) paved the way for the establishment of dialectical frames of analyses juxtaposing human intellectual and perceptual faculties on the one hand, and the socio-cultural environments and how they approach and relate to them on the other. The objective is to try to comprehend how these processes of interactions function, and how they affect the socioeconomic contexts within which they operate.

Therefore, investigating phenomena such as how ideologies were constructed and what socioeconomic conditions impacted them were and still are core principles key to the nature and conception of the discipline. These concepts have been studied and derived for the most part from the Marxian frame of references. To end off, the disciplinary correspondence involving Marxian philosophy and sociology of knowledge are evidenced by Marx himself when he states that “Man’s consciousness is determined by his social being” (Marx, 1932. p. 225).

However, the discipline will undergo a tremendous upheaval following the emergence of another German thinker whom most sociologists and other researchers regard as the founding father of sociology of knowledge, Karl Mannheim (Mannheim, 1952). This German thinker believes that social phenomena, which constitute elements of the socio-cultural reality, must not be approached from one single isolated perspective; rather, and in order to obtain a relatively objective examination of the social phenomenon under study, various analytical angles are necessary to lessen the impact of dominant discourses and ideologizing influences. In this respect, Luckmann adds that:

Mannheim believed that ideologizing influences, while they could not be eradicated completely, could be mitigated by the systematic analysis of as many as possible of the varying socially grounded positions. In other words, the object of thought becomes progressively clearer with this accumulation of different perspectives on it. This is to be the task of the sociology of knowledge, which thus is to become an important aid in the quest for any correct understanding of human events. (Luckmann, 1967, p. 22)

Luckmann's citation clearly demonstrates Mannheim's perception of the objective of the discipline. Accordingly, sociology of knowledge seeks to produce further approaches and insights into what he terms 'the object of thought'. Various outlooks and analyses of the subject matter from different perspectives can guarantee, to a certain extent, an objective and constructive comprehension of human affairs and events:

Mannheim distinguished between the particular, the total, and the general concepts of ideology: ideology as constituting only a segment of an opponent's thought; ideology as constituting the whole of an opponent's thought (similar to Marx's "false consciousness"); and ideology as

characteristic not only of an opponent's but of one's own thought as well [...]

By this expansion of the theory of ideology, Mannheim sought to abstract its central problem from the context of political usage, and to treat it as a general problem of epistemology and historical sociology. (Luckmann, 1967, p. 27)

To achieve his ambitious objectives, Mannheim focused his attention on the concept of ideology. Founding his arguments on Marx's philosophical concepts, he introduced a series of distinctions and taxonomies which form a theoretical paradigm. The basic ends of this paradigm include: a. Looking into 'ideology' as a shared human product which people may either assimilate or discard willingly, b. Broadening the subject matter's scope to include epistemological and socio-historical approaches, rather than being content with politically-based examinations:

The sociology of knowledge must first of all concern itself with what people 'know' as 'reality' in their everyday, non- or pre-theoretical lives. In other words, commonsense 'knowledge' rather than 'ideas' must be the central focus for the sociology of knowledge. It is precisely this 'knowledge' that constitutes the fabric of meanings without which no society could exist. The sociology of knowledge, therefore, must concern itself with the social construction of reality. (ibid, p. 27)

The incessant interplay and intertwined character of concepts of 'knowledge' and 'reality' compel us to examine the socio-historical conceptualizations relevant to each of these two concepts. While 'reality' refers to the perception of a specific human vision of the various existing sociocultural, political, and economic conditions, 'knowledge', in its abstract epistemological sense, refers to the structuring and the articulation of this reality. Hence springs forth the necessity to approach both concepts of knowledge and reality from multiple

perspectives. In clearer terms, the use of these two concepts will not be expounded in such a way as to cover all sociocultural and economic sides of human life:

The theoretical formulations of reality, whether they be scientific or philosophical or even mythological, do not exhaust what is “real” for the members of a society. Since this is so, the sociology of knowledge must first of all concern itself with what people “know” as “reality” in their everyday, non- or pre-theoretical lives. In other words, commonsense “knowledge” rather than “ideas” must be the central focus for the sociology of knowledge. It is precisely this “knowledge” that constitutes the fabric of meanings without which no society could exist. (ibid, p. 27)

Mannheim believed in the establishment of a practical and a rational society, and that this could be achieved through what he calls ‘social planning’ and ‘social reconstruction’. Accordingly, notions of ‘ideology’ and ‘reality’ and how they interplay, and how they are systemically constructed and maintained are some of the main issues that will be emphasized and detailed within a sociological framework throughout the ensuing chapters.

Reference to main sociological theories and authoritative works such as Althusser’s ‘ideological apparatuses’ (1971), Luckmann’s ‘construction of reality’ (1967), Bourdieu’s ‘reproduction theory’ (1970), Apple’s ‘curriculum theory’ (2009), and Giroux’s ‘critical pedagogy’ (2005) will hopefully allow us a fair understanding of the interactive character of these concepts, and how these feed into the overall structuring of societies at their socio-cultural, economic, political levels.

1. 2 Emile Durkheim’s sociology of education:

Developing a critical sense of how ‘knowledge’ is constructed and how it interplays with ‘reality’ impels us to consider another key sociological trend: ‘sociology of education’. Considering education to be an essential part of the process of knowledge construction has generated a multitude of interpretations most of which have been derived from popular social discourse. However, from a sociological perspective, education is treated as an instrument of socialization and social formation. Put differently, defining the concept of education from a sociological perspective entails that it is treated as a social phenomenon and that emphasis be placed on social conditions.

This dependence on contextual conditions is demonstrated by the French sociologist and pedagogue Emile Durkheim throughout his works in general, and within *Education et sociologie* in particular. In this latter book, Durkheim (1922) introduces a definition of education which conveys the entirety of the views laid out in his book:

L’éducation est l’action exercée par les générations adultes sur celles qui ne sont pas encore mures pour la vie sociale. Elle a pour objet de susciter et de développer chez l’enfant un certain nombre d’états physiques, intellectuels et moraux que réclament de lui et la société politique dans son ensemble et le milieu spécial auquel il est particulièrement destiné. (Durkheim, 1922, p. 47)

The dialectic character of these two concepts is explained in a systematic manner all the way through the different parts of the book. Durkheim starts off in the first chapters with an examination of the roles and functions of both ‘education’ and ‘pedagogy’ in relation to ‘sociology’, he then proceeds to project his examinations and findings on the situation of French secondary education, only to wrap up his analyses with a series of recommendations for French policy-makers to consider in subsequent reform programs.

Durkheim emphasizes the roles of educators in class and qualifies them as innovating agents and a driving force of change. As for role of state officials, he precises that authority supervisors should monitor the entire education system including school-based pedagogical processes, Durkheim argues:

Du moment que l'éducation est une fonction essentiellement sociale, l'état ne peut s'en désintéresser. Au contraire, tout ce qui est éducation doit être, en quelque mesure, soumis à son action [...] On peut croire que les progrès scolaires sont plus faciles et plus prompts là où une certaine marge est laissée aux initiatives individuelles ; car l'individu est plus volontiers novateur que l'état. Mais de ce que l'état doive, dans l'intérêt public, laisser s'ouvrir d'autres écoles que celles dont il a plus directement la responsabilité, il ne suit pas qu'il doive rester étranger à ce qui s'y passe. Au contraire, l'éducation qui s'y donne doit rester soumise à son contrôle. (Durkheim, 1922, p. 59)

One issue that oftentimes becomes the subject of divide among sociologists is the lack of a consensus over what sociology of Education should concern itself with. The conflict becomes evident between those who rank it as an independent branch of sociology, and others who regard it as a sociological mode of interpretation. For this second category of researchers, such a mode of interpretation could be of a great assistance to politicians and educators when devising policies and suggesting recommendation.

The former camp of researchers which advocates the use of scientific approaches and methods in their studies resolved to name the discipline sociology of education. The second camp of scholars, most prominent of whom we can offer the example of the American Sociological Association Specialists (ASAS), opts for more interpretive and functional

methods of research. To distinguish the former camp of researchers they decided to label the subject matter as educational sociology³.

In a nutshell, Mannheim and Durkheim's philosophical approaches may be situated on both extremes of the sociological spectrum, yet their perspectives seem to converge vis-a-vis the function of education as a crucial force of change. Mannheim's interest in ideology, reality construction, and social transformation overlap with the underlying tenets of sociology of education. Durkheim's views, on another account, are more functional and aim to attune the general functioning of socio-political institutions.

1.3 Marxian and Neo-Marxian Perspectives on Education:

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels' theory of social classes and economic (re)production paved the way for the emergence and evolution of other theories. Marxian concepts of substructure, superstructure, and means of production ushered in a new wave of systematic analyses and studies. In addition to re-examining the Marxian thought, neo-Marxian thinkers have sought to offset and elaborate on sociopolitical aspects that might have been overlooked by early Marxian theorists.

Neo-Marxian scholars such as Henry Giroux, Pierre Bourdieu, Louis Althusser, Michael Apple, to mention a few, founded their intellectual projects on ideas and concepts mostly derived from the Marxist tradition as it will be shown in the few upcoming pages. Switching to a more concrete action, we wish to start off our examination by drawing on Louis Althusser's legacy, particularly his examinations of the notion of ideology and ideological state apparatuses.

³ Dworkin, A. Ballantine, J (2013). The sociology of education. Sociopedia.

1. 4 Louis Althusser's Ideological State Apparatuses:

Louis Pierre Althusser is a renowned French sociologist and a philosophy scholar. His academic contributions centering on the economic conditions in France during the 1960's led him to produce a series of sociological studies that inspired action amidst working classes to breaking-free from capitalist dominance, and to effect a transition into a more just communist system. In this respect, Wolff (2005) notes that: "Althusser, like Gramsci in his *Prison Notebooks* sought to explain and thereby to help overcome the organized working class's inability to transform the recurring crises of capitalism into successful transitions to communism." (Wolff and Richard, 2005, p. 74).

Scholars view Althusser's contributions (Althusser, 1971) as a follow-up segment to Karl Marx's analyses of sociopolitical institutions. Althusser took up the concept of "repressive state apparatuses" coined by Marx and employed by subsequent Marxian theorists, and expanded the concept's general use to include other "soft" institutions overlooked by previous thinkers. Zizek (1989) enumerates the reasons that sparked his interest in Althusser's essay entitled "Ideological State Apparatuses":

The reason for having chosen Althusser's work "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" from among the other essays in his book *Lenin and Philosophy* is the profundity of the core argument and its relevance to other theories in general and Marxist theories in particular. It assists in understanding the basic premise of the equation of power operation, class struggle, of how people are becoming a construct in the hands of society, how they lose their identity, and misidentify themselves with the image projected about them by the dominating group in the power equation. (Zizek, 1986, p. 16)

‘Repressive State Apparatuses’ (RSA’s) refer to authoritative institutions and powers which the state exercises to maintain and uphold order and the rule of law. Examples of these institutions include: forces of law and order, the judicial system, penitentiary institutions...etc. These institutions serve as a deterrent to potential social strife as well as a guarantor of social stability and economic prosperity.

Althusser classified a second set of state institutions / instruments that states employ, and which are unquestionably more effective in upholding and guaranteeing sociopolitical and economic stability than those formerly identified as RSA’s. Althusser labels this second category of instruments as ‘Ideological state apparatuses’ (ISA’s). These involve a large body of institutions such as: family, mass media, schools, and religious institutions.

‘Ideological state apparatuses’ operate on a tacit and subconscious level (Althusser, 1971). ISA’s refers to a second range of state-run institutions (the first range being Marx’s RSA’s) aimed to define and to shape people’s cognitive and perceptual processes as well as to construct their educational and sociocultural acquired / learned knowledge. ISA’s encompass institutions of formal and informal education, religious establishments (churches, mosques, and synagogues), mass communication outlets, social networking spaces, and any other institutions capable of disseminating and reinforcing societal values, individual principles, perceptions of the world, local culture customs.

Controlling the educational content and the information flow channeled through state institutions definitely yields better outcomes in terms of maintaining the socioeconomic and political. ISA’s are expected to generate ideals and values that people are expected to consistently grapple with, negotiate, and eventually internalize and hold as facts:

Given the Marxian tradition’s considerable work (and especially Lenin’s) on how the “state apparatus” reproduces the legal and political conditions for

capitalist exploitation, Althusser took up the term but refocused it instead on how ideological conditions were reproduced. He thus distinguished between two sets of apparatuses [...] Althusser included among state ideological apparatuses the schools, the family, religions and religious institutions, and the mass media. They worked less by power and politics (as did the RSAs) and more by ideology. They inculcated children and adults in specific ways of imagining - thinking about and thus understanding – their places within and relationships to the societies within which they lived. (Althusser, 1971, p. 5)

While making sure the social order is maintained through the employment of RSA's, modern states make sure that a body of knowledge that justifies their presence, guarantees their firm control over their subjects, and ensures a reproduction of the socioeconomic and political structure is provided through ISA's.

1.5 Althusser's Concept of Ideology:

The concept of 'ideology' from an Althusserian perspective differs from the casual definition of the word used in popular discourse. In laymen terms, ideology refers to ideas or views people express. Ideas which oftentimes align a cultural or political mindset. For Althusser, however, ideology means: "A representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence (Althusser, 1971, p. 241).

Althusser distinguishes in his essay between ideology (with a lower case initial), as a system of ideas and values such as a moderate or extremist ideology, and Ideology (with an upper case initial) defined as being a structure or a logic framing different forms of social interactions both horizontally (individual-individual) and vertically (individual, state institutions) by means of what he calls interpellation (Klages, 2006):

ideologies are specific, historical, and differing; we can talk about various ideologies, such as Christian ideology, democratic ideology, feminist ideology, Marxist ideology, etc. Ideology, however, is structural. [...] He derives this idea of ideology as a structure from the Marxist idea that ideology is part of the superstructure, but he links the structure of ideology to the idea of the unconscious, from Freud and from Lacan [...] ideology works "unconsciously." Like language, ideology is a structure/system which we inhabit, which speaks us, but which gives us the illusion that we're in charge, that we freely chose to believe the things we believe, and that we can find lots of reasons why we believe those things. (Klages, 2006, p. 132)

Althusser insists that one of the objectives underlying his intellectual project is to enlighten people by stimulating their perception faculties to better understand how realities are constructed through processes of 'mind decolonization' (Etherington, 2016). A project to which he invites people, in general, and thinkers, specifically, to adhere to.

The idea of mind decolonization or intellectual emancipation simply means that understanding how economic modes of reproduction function as well as the means by which they are governed should subsequently allow a transition into a more cooperative, just and less exploitative socioeconomic and political order.

1. 6 The Position of Critical Theory in the Neo-Marxian Tradition:

The principles guiding neo-Marxian disciplines intersect in their logic and modes of analysis with those employed within the discipline of critical theory⁴. Generally speaking, critical theory aspires through its sociological research methods and fields of interests to

⁴ Critical Theory employs research methods and approaches similar to those made use of by disciplines such as: philosophy, sociology, linguistics, and cultural studies.

bring visibility to covert power dynamics, and to uncover existing practices of capitalist hegemony and other prevalent forms of economic monopoly and domination.

Critical theory owes both its popularity and existence since the 1930's to the Frankfurt school in Germany. The school thinkers then moved during 1950's to New York where they produced an abundant corpus of sociological studies. The school's popularity is often credited and attributed to the works of Adorno and Horkheimer; in particular, to their conception of the notion of 'culture industry' articulated in their *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1972). Frankfurt School scholars based their social theory on the contention that the Marxist concept of 'historical materialism' had to be reviewed, and went on to suggest an appropriate course of action that would allow the establishment of fair, less-exploitative, and democratic socio-economic orders.

For critical theorists, the field of education represents promising grounds for enquiry and investigation. Countless sociological studies have laid focus on educational as well as pedagogical fields as a way of identifying forms of influence, and measuring impacts political and economic institutions may leave on the functioning of education systems.

Examples of areas of investigation we intend to delve into include: The hidden curriculum, syllabus designing, the conception of pedagogical orientations, and educational policy-making. More specifically, concepts and theories of Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, Henri Giroux, and Michael Apple will be engendered in the next upcoming parts in an attempt to build a conceptual narrative that would allow us to generate informed analyses of the research questions at hand.

In what follows, a succinct overview of the concept of 'deconstruction' is provided. Discussed ideas are mostly derived from Saul Newman's book *Derrida's Deconstruction of Authority* (Newman, 2001, p. 1-20).

1. 7 Jacques Derrida's Concept of Deconstruction:

The excessive use of the word deconstruction in different socio-cultural contexts has transformed it into a hackneyed sociological concept. As a result of this overuse, 'deconstruction' has acquired several meanings that often confuse researchers and non-specialists alike. For academic researchers, deconstruction involves practices of segmenting broad research phenomena into more precise objects of study. The objective is to analyze the nature, the function, and the impact(s) they may leave within particular fields of study.

The notion of 'deconstruction' was the subject of multiple conceptual redefinitions by researchers in fields of philosophy and sociology. However, the concept rose to prominence in the wake of the in-depth analyses of the French philosopher Jacques Derrida. A French leading figure of the postmodern movement, Derrida developed a theoretical framework where he examined and questioned the inherent logic linking meanings to their corresponding structures. Through the use of a specific range of concepts, Derrida sought to construct a new frame of criticism and analysis of philosophical as well as sociological phenomena. Critical approaches that he based his analyses on include concepts of: inversion / subversion, difference / deference, and justice among others.

One of the objectives underlying Derrida's intellectual project was to identify and study the logical and the conceptual grounds on which entire philosophical schools and systems of thought have been founded since Plato. To put it differently, Derrida sought out a reversal and a restructuring of human perception of different socio-cultural and political concepts. Hence the necessity to deconstruct the existing thought systems and processes, and to reconstruct ones that are sociologically informed and bias-free.

On a second level, one of Derrida's epistemological objectives was to reveal and bring to the fore conceptual features that might have been overlooked within supposedly

‘unquestionable’ concepts. Therefore, deconstruction should be regarded as a close examination of the inner logic of a system or an institution, be it socio-cultural, political, or economic. Derrida offers a concise insight into the character of his deconstruction theory in his *Of Grammatology* (Derrida and Spivak, 1976) when he states:

To locate the promising marginal text, to disclose the undecidable moment, to pry it loose with the positive lever of the signifier; to reverse the resident hierarchy, only to displace it; to dismantle in order to reconstitute what is always already inscribed [...] But take away the assurance of the text’s authority, the critic’s control, and the primacy of meaning, and the possession of this formula does not guarantee much. (Derrida and Spivak, p. 65)

Derrida’s initial analyses were applied on textual discourse. He publicly declared in his lectures (Bruns and Gerald, 1984) that a constant revision of structuralism remains a requirement. In this respect, he placed particular emphasis on the Dessausurian dichotomy of the signified / signifier and their arbitrary character as well as the human tendency to ‘unquestionably consume’ whatever ideological (political) discourses they are presented with.

Derrida’s concern with le non-dit, or the tacit features textual discourse, justifies his focus on the inexplicit and impactful aspects of the context. This concern with discursal properties (Newman, 2001) extended the scope of use of his deconstruction theory to cover research issues in other fields of study such as sociology, philosophy, pedagogical and political sciences:

Derrida occupies a number of crucial terrains in the radical imaginary and has capital consequences for anti-authoritarian politics. Through the unmasking and deconstruction of the textual authority of *logocentrism*, Derrida allows us

to develop a critique, using the same logic, of the contemporary political institutions and discourses based on this authority. (Newman, 2001, p. 20)

Derrida's critique was directed towards the quasi-dominance of Saussurian ideals privileging the 'oral' act (Logocentrism) over the 'written' one. Throughout this debate, Derrida criticized the notion of logocentrism privileging the centrality of 'logos' (Language and Logic) over the writing act. Here, the written act being itself a signified (speech) of another transcendental signified (thought) through what he called the 'metaphysics of the presence'. In his writings, Saul Newman captures this discursal analysis when he explains how philosophy may be subjected to an act of deconstruction (Newman, 2001). Derrida (1972) himself defines this act of deconstruction in his *Positions*:

To 'deconstruct' philosophy, thus, would be to think - in a most faithful, interior way - the structured genealogy of philosophy's concepts, but at the same time to determine - from a certain exterior that (which) is unqualifiable or unnamable by philosophy - what this history has been able to dissimulate or forbid, making itself into a history by means of this somewhere motivated repression. (Derrida, 1972, p. 15)

Derrida's theory of deconstruction, as Newman concludes in his *Derrida's Deconstruction of authority*, can serve as an academic frame of analysis and examination of different socio-cultural, economic, and political issues. In political sciences, the concept of 'deconstruction' grants researchers access to potentially undetected or, to use Derrida's words, marginal aspects of explored research phenomena. Accordingly, and bearing in mind the necessity to carefully study existing forms discourse (textual and contextual), socio-political concepts of power, authority, ideology, and state will be studied all in correspondence to socioeconomic and cultural policies of education.

1. 8 State, Discourse, and Power dialectics:

Addressing issues of socio-political or economic nature compels us to highlight the concept of the state. This latter being the overarching institution structuring other subordinate political, sociocultural, and economic spheres, it represents the space in relation to which analyses will be conducted and concepts will be studied. Both Miliband (1973) and Althusser (1971) deconstructed the concept of the state from an institutional perspective. The two researchers approached the state as a functional institution in charge of determining functions of the government, the administration, the judicial system, law and order forces, unions, political parties, and civic associations. Another perspective on the state is provided by the American sociologist David Harvey for whom the state represents a “relation or a process for the exercise of power through certain institutional arrangements” (Harvey, 2001, p. 280).

1. 9 Bourdieu's Concepts and Theory of Reproduction:

Max Weber's definition of the state is perhaps the most widely cited definition within the field of political sociology. Weber views the state as being “a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory” (Weber, 1948, p: 78). However, restricting the role of the state to the use of force or coercion has won the German thinker many critics and skeptics who questioned the logic and the rationale on which he had constructed his ‘sociology of the state’.

Weber highlighted the coercive and repressive side of the state by emphasizing the function of two key institutions: The judicial and the administrative systems. These two substantial structures are what define and constitute both ‘the soul and mind of the state’ as well as the means through which the state owns the capacity to justify and legitimize its use

of force and coercion⁵. Weber lists a set of characteristics that define the modern state, he contends that:

Since the concept of the state has only in modern times reached its full development, it is best to define it in terms appropriate to the modern type of state, but at the same time, in terms which abstract from the values of the present day, since these are particularly subject to change. The primary formal characteristics of the modern state are as follows: it possesses an administrative and legal order subject to change by legislation, to which the organized corporate activity of the administrative staff, which is also regulated by legislation, is oriented [...] Furthermore, today, the use of force is regarded as legitimate only so far as it is either permitted by the state or prescribed by it. (Weber, 1947, p. 156)

Compared to his early definitions of state, Weber seems convinced of the necessity for states to resort to the use of force through institutions of the administration and the judicial system to manage public life (ibid, p. 156). However, many other scholars criticized Weber for maintaining the “legitimate” use of force as a central feature in his definition of the state. Unlike Weber, most sociologists hold skeptical views with regard to what functions should state institutions be in charge of particularly in terms of judicial powers and the administrative management of economic and political spheres.

Franz Oppenheimer is another German sociologist often cited by conservative and neoliberal thinkers to substantiate their arguments with regards to the necessity of shrinking the dominant character the state. For Franz Oppenheimer (1926), the state is a ‘foe’ whose

⁵ Next chapters will detail Bourdieu’s concept of ‘Symbolic Violence’ and Luckmann’s views on the ‘Construction of Reality’.

coercive authority is employed for only one purpose: exploiting and robbing people through the use of “political means”:

There are two fundamentally opposed means whereby man, requiring sustenance, is impelled to obtain the necessary means for satisfying his desires. These are work and robbery, one’s own labor and the forcible appropriation of the labor of others [...] propose in the following discussion to call one’s own labor and the equivalent exchange of one’s own labor for the labor of others, the “economic means” for the satisfaction of need while the unrequited appropriation of the labor of others will be called the *political means*. [...] The State is an organization of the political means. No State, therefore, can come into being until the economic means has created a definite number of objects for the satisfaction of needs, which objects may be taken away or appropriated by warlike robbery. (Oppenheimer, 1926, p. 24-27)

Notions of ‘coercion’ or ‘the legitimate use of force’ are constant features implied in state discourse and they are present at all levels of political and economic interaction. To form a deeper understanding of the ways state institutions interact with social and economic spaces, emphasis will be placed in the next few pages on the works and theories of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Particular attention will be directed towards his concepts of ‘symbolic violence’ vis-a-vis processes of reproduction of culture and society with the education system at the core of these processes.

1. 9. 1 Roles and Functions of The State in Bourdieu’s theories:

Pierre Bourdieu, a French thinker, was born in 1930 in a village in the SW Pyrenees area of Béarn, in France. His sociological theories have ushered in a new wave of academic

researches addressing questions of reproduction of socioeconomic structures. The reproduction of these structures come as the intended result of political and economic arrangement by state institutions. Most of Bourdieu's works were based on his observations of policy-making acts in France during the 1960's and 1970's. His focus on political action in France during this period led him to develop concepts that cast light on the way policies in the educational sector were meant to maintain a certain socioeconomic order. Such an order was meant to privilege or at least advantage certain social groups over others.

Bourdieu's works built on the critical theories of post WWII thinkers. Most of these thinkers produced theories which arguably fed the same critical poststructuralist discourse⁶. His academic position as a professor of social sciences at Collège de France presented allowed with an ideal space where he could carry out extensive analyses and further develop his theories. In *Pierre Bourdieu: The Last Musketeer of the French Revolution*, Gad Yair succinctly summarizes Bourdieu's philosophy as follows:

Similar to his critique of other state instruments of domination, Bourdieu's agenda was to expose and deconstruct the trappings of the French system of higher education. Like Zola before him, he criticized the state – the regulator of the system and the benefactor from its treason- for failing to demand that the system embody the republican ideals of the French revolution. Actually he argued that the state allows The Grandes Ecoles – the breeding grounds of the state nobility- to reproduce the ancien regime. (Yair, 2009, p. 35)

Bourdieu was a prolific writer. His long list of works⁷ is a testimonial to his brilliance and resolution to present a new mode of sociological analysis. One of his remarkable works

⁶ E. Durkheim, J. Derrida, J. Lacan, M. Foucault, A. Gramsci, L. Althusser, P. Freire, H. Giroux, and M. Apple.

⁷ Bourdieu wrote more 25 books and published around 600 articles

*Distinction*⁸ has been voted as one of the ten best sociological writings of the 20th century. Furthermore, his cultural reproduction theory, along with various other concepts that he conceived, constitute a valuable frame of reference within circles of social science researchers in general, and culture reproduction theorists in particular:

Much of the current work of culture reproduction theorists (CRT's) has been based on the model of cultural reproduction proposed by Pierre Bourdieu. Perhaps CRT's have identified with Bourdieu's model due to his efforts to uncover the hegemonic structures in society limiting the success of students from non-dominant groups, his description of these structures (cultural and social capital), the fact that his model offers pathways for the operationalization of these structures, and that his model provides space for human agency, and thus, a foundation for change. (Jaeger and Breen, 2013).

One of many research objectives that culture reproduction theorists seek to accomplish is 'exposing' the roles state institutions play to construct and maintain specific socioeconomic conditions. Conditions that allowed specific social groups to preserve their socio-economic privileges, unlike other less advantaged groups who are expected to remain within the socioeconomic circles they were born into. Bourdieu identified and developed a series of concepts that can help bring to the fore these subtleties inherent in state policies.

A further reason that impelled us to employ Bourdieu's 'theory of reproduction' as a frame of reference is our wish to generate an academically-informed analysis of the socio-educational discourse in Morocco since 1956.

⁸ *La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement* 1979 Translated into English by Richard Nice as *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (1984).

It is our conviction that an analysis that is imbued with concepts developed by Bourdieu throughout his seminal works⁹ will allow us at a later point a better understanding of the Moroccan State discourse on reform. Examples of these concepts include: cultural capital, habitus, and symbolic violence.

In both *The Inheritors* (1964) and the *State Nobility* (1989) Bourdieu examines how education systems serve as a molding mechanism that systematically produces and reproduces existing dominant / dominated culture(s). Cultures that serve to regenerate the social fabric through passing on specific cultural values and perceptions, and maintaining one particular model of economic structure. In other words, reinforcing an economic reality wherein a dominant elite has the upper hand over economic means of production, and lower working classes which promote the economic interests of the former elite groups (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1964, p. 71).

The Inheritors highlights the degree to which students from higher social classes are exposed to ‘artistic chef d’oeuvres, and how deep their knowledge of fine arts is. Such frequent artistic exposures include excursions to museums, attending plays in theaters, enrolling in music conservatories, sport clubs, and entertainment centers. In *The Inheritors*, Bourdieu discusses at length the impact which the exposition of children belonging to higher social classes to arts and athletics centers has on their school performances. Bourdieu juxtaposes the accessibility of children from higher social classes to these facilities with the socioeconomic conditions of students coming from underprivileged social groups, whose information pools are often circumscribed to the knowledge they acquire in formal school institutions.

⁹ Particularly the following three works: *The Inheritors*, *The State Nobility*, and *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*.

The State Nobility book follows the same course of analysis as Bourdieu tries to demystify the practice of conferring academic titles on newly-graduate students. Bourdieu deems this practice (conferring diplomas) as one of many manifestations of power exercise that the state noble elite uses to justify and assert its social and economic privileges. Bourdieu criticizes the ceremonial practice of conferring academic degrees and likens it to the religious act of consecration¹⁰.

In *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture* (cf. Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970), Bourdieu distinguishes between two processes of reproduction: -a- ‘Cultural reproduction’, a reproduction of what he refers to as ‘the cultural arbitrary’ or ‘Habitus’, and -b- ‘social reproduction’, or the reproduction of a particular social order. He defines the former as “transmission from one generation to the other of the culture inherited from the past” (ibid, p: 10), and the latter as “reproduction of the structure of the relations of force between classes” (Reed, 2004, p. 46-47).

1. 9. 2 Bourdieu’s *Habitus, Capital, and Field*:

Concepts that Bourdieu conceived and which many modern sociologists have based their researches on include notions of: ‘habitus’, ‘capital’, and ‘field’. Because of their significance to our subsequent analyses of the Moroccan education system, a moderately detailed discussion of these three concepts will be provided. Our conviction is that a coverage of these concepts will hopefully allow a better grasp of the dynamics through which social structure are reproduced. Researcher Malcom Richardson offers a succinct list of definitions and characteristics of Bourdieusian notions of habitus, field, and capital:

¹⁰ In the Catholic Church, Consecration is a religious ceremony whereby an individual is granted the title of bishop.

1. 9.3 Definition of Habitus:

Habitus is a Latin word that has been used by thinkers and philosophers such as Hegel and Durkheim, and which literally means habit, mindset, and disposition. Bourdieu employed it as a concept to refer to the way in which the particular culture of a social group manifests itself. Bourdieu provides a definition of this concept and elaborates on it in his book entitled *In Other Words* (Bourdieu, 1990). He defines habitus as: “a system of acquired dispositions functioning on the practical level as categories of perception and assessment or as classificatory principles as well as being the organizing principles of action.” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 12-13)

Individuals’ mode of life, culture, and sense of belonging form what Bourdieu calls habitus. Habitus or cultural arbitrary is passed on to the rest of the population by influential social groups that are known to have a command and a control over economic and political structures, “Habitus is essentially the way in which the culture of a particular social group is embodied (internalized) in the individual, during the socialization process beginning in early childhood. Habitus is society written into the body, into the biological individual” (ibid, p. 63). Descriptors of habitus include the following:

1. 9.4 Habitus is Tacit Knowledge:

While habitus forms the basis of every choice we make and every cultural behavior we exhibit, it should not be simply understood as cultural dispositions or values that an individual acquires over certain periods of time. More than that, habitus acts as a human second nature. Put in other words, habitus functions on a deep subconscious level and it allows us to manage our daily life situations in predictable ways without being consciously aware of those management strategies.

1. 9. 5 Habitus is class-specific:

A second characteristic of habitus is that it is class-based and class specific. It means that people belonging to a particular social class are more likely to go through the same social experiences, share the same values, militate for the same objectives, and face the same challenges and issues. A middle-class individual is more likely to identify with the socio-economic problems of another middle-class individual belonging to another country than with issues of an individual belonging to the bourgeois elite in his own country. Therefore, it could be assumed that habitus is the outcome of endless episodes of human interactions within specific socio-cultural spaces. (Richardson)

1. 9. 6 Habitus is a Lifelong Process of Social Internalization:

Habitus formation starts from early childhood and its development continues through the ensuing stages of life (Richardson, Bourdieu *et al* 1990). Bourdieu insists that during each period of life, people develop more than one personality. A combination or the sum of these personalities constitute what we presently conceive of as our apparent ‘natural character’. Habitus is our history encoded on a deep unconscious level. Although our actions and reactions may seem to us as natural, voluntary, and logical acts, they are in reality a manifestation and an embodiment of lifelong processes of socialization and cultural internalization (ibid).

1. 9. 7 Habitus is Transposable and Transferable:

Members of a particular social group are likely to behave in similar ways under similar socio-cultural conditions. People belonging to the middle class exhibit character traits, behavior patterns, concerns, tastes, and cultural variations that are similar to other individuals belonging to the same social class. Habitus is passed on to individuals of the same group

through processes of socialization. It is what defines people's logic and common sense, and any reaction that does not fit in that built-in logic is considered to be an odd behavioral or cultural pattern (ibid).

1. 9. 8 Habitus is both Structured and Structuring:

Habitus is what gives shape to one's identity and social position. It is the mould within which culture takes form. This same culture represents for habitus the frame of reference from which it derives its existence. Habitus affects and is affected by human identity through ascribing new meanings and overriding obsolete ones. Therefore habitus is both "the product of structure, producer of practice, and the reproducer of structure" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1996, p. 221).

1. 10 Bourdieu's Notions of Field, Capital, and Symbolic Violence:

Habitus represents an essential notion that is key to the study and understanding of Bourdieu's theories. Three other concepts that are equally important are *Field*, *Capital*, and *Symbolic Violence*. Bourdieu's concepts will hopefully serve as analytical tools that would allow us access into the various functions and dynamics set by the state in relation to the field of education. Examining which variables influence educational policies and which social categories are mostly affected by these reforms can help us figure out what model of society the state wishes to construct and maintain.

1. 10. 1 Field and Capital:

Influenced by Weberian views, Bourdieu perceives of fields as "different and separate spheres characterized by a series of conflicts and clashing interests" (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1996; Richardson)¹¹. Examples of these fields include: The economy, culture, geo-political

¹¹ See views laid out by Professor Malcom Richardson in his academic website.

policies, international relations, and field of education. Expounding on this notion of field, Bourdieu (1996) states:

The field of power is a field of forces defined by the structure of the existing balance of forces between forms of power [...] It is a space of play and competition in which social agents and institutions which all possess the determinate quantity of specific capital (economic and cultural capital in particular) sufficient to occupy the dominant positions within their respective fields [the economic field, the field of higher civil service or the state, the university field, and the intellectual field confront one another in strategies aimed at preserving or transforming this balance of forces [...] It is also a struggle over the legitimate principle of legitimation and the legitimate mode of reproduction" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1996, p. 76).

Bourdieu's analyses place particular emphasis on the field of education. He believes that competition between social groups and institutions over existing forms of capital¹² is particularly evident in the field of education. Therefore, understanding how this field is politically and economically structured can be representative of how state and society interact with each other on broader scales. By this act of structuring we mean working to identify motives and ways through which state authorities introduce new economic and cultural paradigms into school curricula, and how such patterns 'seep into' the collective mindset to ultimately become the new cultural norms.

Understanding how Bourdieu's conceptions of forms of capital, and how these forms contribute to the construction of a certain model of social structure will be of great use in our

¹² Economic, Social, Cultural, and Educational

future analyses. For Bourdieu, Capital refers to “the set of actually usable resources and powers...Capital is accumulated over time, it plays a significant role in producing and reproducing profits in individuals’ life opportunities, and it is most valued when it is scarce ” (Bourdieu, 1996, 114). These conceptions of capital will be of particular importance when discussing Moroccan state’s visions of reforms of the educational sector from 1956 all the way up to the present time.

Bourdieu further elaborates on the notion of capital and distinguishes between four main types of capital: economic, social, cultural, and educational. He argues that whoever owns much of one of these forms of capital, (s)he can invest it in socio-economic, cultural, or political fields to acquire power. In brief, four different forms will be laid out:

1. 10. 2 Economic Capital:

Readers of Bourdieu’s works will undoubtedly detect a Marxian influence creeping over all concepts he developed, and which have come to form the basis of his ‘theory of reproduction’. Bourdieu insists that the economic and financial resources an individual acquires and owns are the core mechanisms that determine an individual’s habitus and social belonging. Bourdieu’s significant contribution to the branch of ‘critical theory’ lies in his investigations of mechanisms (state educational policies) enabling certain social categories to acquire different forms of capital.

In more explicit terms, economic capital (Financial Resources) most of the time allows people access to academic and sociocultural spaces that provide high-quality education, good medical services, and a sheer amount of practical skills and knowledge all of which translate into cultural capital. These means of cultural capital often are articulated in

the form of soft and life skills (language and communication, and analytic faculties) that could privilege them over less fortunate classes.

In a nutshell, ‘economic capital’ sums up all the material assets and possessions that an individual who belongs to a particular social class owns and puts to use to acquire other forms of capital (social and cultural).

1. 10. 3 Social Capital:

The material assets and possessions a person owns more or less determine the social class to which an individual belongs. Another form of capital which presents itself as an equally valuable form of capital is ‘social capital’. Bourdieu (1992) defines social capital as: “The sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119).

Social capital may be conceived of as the aggregate of resources and formal or institutional connections that an individual possesses. Social connections and links that have the capacity to impact the individual’s status and positions in the same way as ‘economic capital’ would function. ‘Social capital’ means social control. This latter generates benefits to certain members of society simply by relying on services procured to them by their network of interest groups. Bourdieu stresses that this form of capital -social capital- is a valuable ‘symbolic resource’ which unquestionably translates into a form of economic capital. (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 3-6)

In the context of schools, social capital usually articulates itself in practices and patterns such as acts of ‘parental supervision’ and ‘tracking’. Such practices often have positive effects on students’ academic achievement and success. Examples of these acts

include: Grouping high-achiever students in one single class and allowing them access to good-quality instruction, continuous parental support, and investment in extracurricular activities that can ensure a positive learning atmosphere conducive to efficient learning.

1. 10. 4 Cultural Capital:

A third form of capital that Bourdieu expounds on in his book *Reproduction of culture, society, and education* is ‘cultural capital’. This latter refers to the sum of knowledge, skills, and competencies attested to by the obtaining of academic credentials conferred by state-run or private academic institutions on students.

Cultural capital can manifest itself in material acts such as: Dressing up in a particular fashion, buying certain brands of cars, or living in a specific neighborhood; or in immaterial forms such as showing unique tastes, skills, language registers, or obtaining academic titles (credentials). While cultural capital does not necessarily equate financial resources, it can be exchanged for financial gains. To illustrate this we can cite: being remunerated in exchange for a medical check-up, an expert intervention, a legal counsel or offering language courses.

Bourdieu developed the notion of ‘cultural capital’ following long examinations of people belonging to underprivileged social classes. According to Bourdieu, underprivileged individuals could not acquire the appropriate cultural capital valued and highly-estimated within the society to which those individuals belong for reasons related to poverty and a lack of basic knowledge and skills such as the mastery of a foreign language and access to educational resources, Bourdieu (1986) maintains:

The notion of cultural capital initially presented itself to me, in the course of research, as a theoretical hypothesis which made it possible to explain the unequal scholastic achievement of children originating from the different

social classes by relating academic success, i.e., the specific profits which children from the different classes and class fractions can obtain in the academic market, to the distribution of cultural capital between the classes and class fractions. (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 114)

Bourdieu (1986) wraps up his discussion of forms of capital by concluding that the acquisition of cultural capital is a key determinant of an individual's belonging or pertinence to a specific social category. He notes that the accessibility of students to economic opportunities offered by the economy (market) is not a direct result of school achievement (individual academic efforts) per se; rather, the acquisition of an abundant or scarce sum of capital(s) is what determines the positioning of these individuals on the social ladder (ibid, 1986).

1. 11 Bourdieu on Elite's Nostalgia to resurrect the 'Ancien Régime':

Bourdieu's studies and examinations of the French education system in most of his works led him to conclude that the state's political system was the main force controlling the construction and structuring of different classes of the French society. A deliberate political structuring wherein 'privileged' groups of society benefit from favorable education conditions. The procurement of such conditions are meant to enable these middle and higher class students forms of capital to excel at their studies; which would lead to the reproduction of the same social structure.

On another level, less 'privileged' social groups are 'politically' condemned to remaining in that same social structure from within which they had grown up. Bourdieu's 'political condemnation' refers to the pool of educational policies seeking to maintain for

subsequent generations similar educational and vocational prospects that had previously been occupied by their parents:

Bourdieu suggested that the school provides – like other state institutions – a false consciousness that negates critique and resistance. Masking-through-internalization ends up legitimizing the social order. On the one hand, those in power reproduce the very conditions which allow them power; on the other, the powerless accept as given and natural their own “fate” as failure. (Yair, 2009, p. 36)

Gad Yair takes up his criticisms of the state to a new level when he furthers Bourdieu’s arguments and directs criticisms towards neoliberal states. He openly accuses these states of tricking individuals from lower classes into believing in their own worthlessness and self-negation. Throughout his book, Yair aspired to highlight the discrepancies distinct to the modern states’ discourse of reform and the real effects such a discourse yields on peoples’ lives. Furthermore, the scholar shows no hesitation to refer to the education system as the most counter-revolutionary of all state apparatuses:

Taking Bourdieu’s paradigm to the extreme, one could say that education tricks the lower classes to commit their own self-negation, namely to commit an unconscious collective suicide. The system allows them to prepare and perform their own failures, thus innocently appearing to be objective, fair and meritocratic. By this sophisticated trickery, the school cloacks itself as a revolutionary institution, as the harbinger of the good society in reality, however, it is the most counter-revolutionary of them all. (Yair, 2009, p. 36)

As we proceed through the subsequent parts of this study, we deem it necessary to recall the push-factors that prompted us to invoke some of Bourdieu's concepts and theories of socio-cultural and educational reproduction. On the one hand, Bourdieu's analyses offer in-depth insights into the dynamics of state institutions in general, and those of formal academic institutions and how they impact and relate to other socio-cultural and economic fields, in particular.

There is no doubt that Bourdieu believed in the revolutionary capacity of the school. He believed that human potential is randomly distributed, and that despite prior inequalities in family upbringing, schools can sever the inherent tendency of the family to perpetuate its social and intellectual status [...] by looking at huge social irregularities that schools kept producing all through the twentieth century, however, Bourdieu arrived at the conclusion that rather than being generative forces of change, the schools remained weak institutions of reproduction. Negating their revolutionary charter, the schools allowed the old order of the estates to reproduce itself. (Yair, 2009, p. 37)

Bourdieu firmly believes that schools are the ultimate 'possible agent in the revolutionary charter of equality and meritocracy' (Yair, 2009, p. 38). However, its whole fate and existence as a tool of social integration, economic growth, and cultural enlightenment are incessantly jeopardized by the constant assaults of market-driven policies. Towards the end of his life in 2002, most of Bourdieu's works sought to expose relentless neoliberal tendencies to undermine people's right to a proper, free, and equal education. Bourdieu's strong criticisms of expanding practices of privatization, economy liberalization, and market deregulation is quite evident in his 1998 *Acts of Resistance against the Tyranny of the Market*.

1. 12 Neoliberalism, the “Mother of all Evil”:

In Acts of Resistance against the Tyranny of the Market (Bourdieu, 1998), Bourdieu explores in great details the dialectics of power relations that the neoliberal free-market ideology plays out vis-a-vis aspects of society, economy and state institutions. Bourdieu chose to ‘upgrade’ his examinations to include economic forces (neoliberalism) that were not previously evident back in the early 1970’s, the period during which his cultural reproduction theory was initially developed.

During the 1990’s, Bourdieu shifted his attention to explore evolving capitalist economic dynamics. In *Acts of Resistance against the Tyranny of the Market*, Bourdieu tracks emergence factors of a new economic model the premises of which got inspired from the doctrine of neoliberalism:

The globalization of financial markets, combined with the progress of information technology, ensures an unprecedented mobility of capital and gives investors (or shareholders) concerned about their immediate interest, that is the short-term profitability of their investments, the possibility of continuously comparing the profitability of the largest companies and appropriately sanctioning relative failure. (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 91)

The ‘excessive exploitation’ of the labour force by industrial and business entities is an issue that has been raised and investigated over long periods of human history by scholars and researchers. At present times, looking into working conditions by researchers is still a common practice in disciplines of economics, business administration, and in most human resource research departments. The new variables that these researchers have grown

compelled to consider in their analyses include ‘globalization’ and ‘technological revolutions’.

The acceleration of the automation process of industries at an exponential led to the emergence of a global digital economy that has been transformed thanks to breakthroughs in fields of ‘information technology’ and ‘artificial intelligence’. It is unsurprising that such sweeping advances would have an effect on the economy as a whole and generate new business policies. Instances of these policies include outsourcing of businesses, financial offshoring transactions, and the establishment of free trade zones...etc. These inexorable changes have greatly benefited investors in terms of cost, productivity, and capital mobility, yet they have significantly affected labor force in terms of their socio-professional rights, job security and pension benefits.

The globalization of modes of communication, cultures, and markets has established new ‘rules of the game’ and has forced world economies to conform to them on a global scale¹³. Consequently, investors are no longer intrigued by the idea of powerful national economies, rather, investors presently extend their scope of business on an international scale. Corporations look for investment opportunities on a global scale for the most accessible, least tax-charging, and more profitable countries, whose economies have the capacity to offer highly-skilled labor force at lowest costs possible.

As much exploitative and degrading employability conditions may have become, and as much outrage and dismay they may have provoked, they have become the standard requirements that governments have to fulfill to draw investments and ensure ‘economic growth’. Bourdieu exposes and openly condemns such practices. On numerous occasions, he

¹³ See the Marrakesh financial agreement binding the WTO, the WB, and the IMF.

demonstrates how the ‘human factor’ in the entire free market model has been devalued and reduced into a digit susceptible to redundancy plans whenever there is a need for layoffs:

This (new market reality) leads to absolute reign of flexibility, with recruitment with short-term contracts or on a temporary basis and “downsizing”, and the creation “within the company itself” of competition between autonomous “profit centers”, between teams, forced into providing all their own services, and finally between individuals, through the individualization of the wage relation. (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 97)

According to Bourdieu, this new economic paradigm has produced a culture of ‘destabilized habitus’. Work settings where a culture of fear, governmentality¹⁴, and insecurity of losing one’s employment reigns. Dispensable workers prone to immediate replacements by other jobseekers queuing to be summoned:

The practical instituting of a Darwinian world in which the springs of commitment to the job and the company are found in insecurity, suffering and stress would undoubtedly not succeed so completely if it did not benefit from the complicity of the destabilized Habitus produced by insecurity and the existence – at all levels of the hierarchy, even the highest especially among executives – of a reserve army of labor made docile by secure employment and the permanent threat of unemployment (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 97-98).

Bourdieu’s line of thought remains consistent in its analysis and approach of the sociocultural, academic, and economic spaces and how these are reproduced and

¹⁴ A Foucauldian concept which designates the ruling elites’ organized practices to maintain their rule over the masses.

reconfigured. Nonetheless, Bourdieu's theory of reproduction undoubtedly serves as a framework and a platform from which other forms of 'acts of resistance' were launched on a large scale. For reproduction theorists, neoliberalism is gaining momentum and so should the modes of resistance exposing it. In our belief, the best form of resistance that could be developed at this juncture consists in understanding how this hegemonic ideology functions, by which instruments it operates, and which socioeconomic spheres it targets.

For clarity's sake, it is important to include a quick reminding note about what this literature review aspires to accomplish, and which course it envisions to follow through ensuing the above series of analyses. This study started out on a conviction that in order to understand how a 'system' works, researchers should first deconstruct it into smaller easy-to-grasp components, study its vision and objectives, and eventually determine how this system relates to other socio-cultural and economic aspects of human life.

This research supposes that education systems are the fields where end-objectives of state reform policies could be studied and where social and cultural perceptions can be traced. Therefore, any attempt to understand how the education sector is managed and where it is being directed requires that researchers view the education system as a point of intersection of all political, social, and economic policies. Addressing educational reform policies alone while disregarding which model of economy the state runs and which profile of society the education system invests in and wishes to produce accounts for the failure to come up with sustainable and efficient educational reforms.

In all world countries, manifestations of neoliberalism (Thorsen and Lie, 2007) may differ in form, but its outcomes remain the same as it will be demonstrated in subsequent sections. Despite numerous attempts by a host of right-wing intellectuals, business corporations, conservative media outlets, and even pedagogues to downplay the infiltration of neoliberalism into world economies, many more sociologists and political scientists, often

identified with socialist movements, have constructed a counter narrative in an attempt to tilt the balance in their favor (Birch and Mechnenko, 2010).

Arguments advanced by anti-neoliberalism thinkers such as Bourdieu, Foucault, Althusser, Apple, and Harvey resonate among the masses in spite of the substantial resources neoliberal advocates have access to. Such resources come in the form of media outlets, budgets allocated to think tanks promoting the neoliberal narrative, and conservative political parties feeding a discourse that fosters entrepreneurial mindset, calls for the liberalization of the economy, and supports unregulated free-market competition.

1. 12. 1 Neoliberalisation or the Privatization of Everything:

David Harvey, a distinguished professor of Anthropology & Geography at CUNY¹⁵, is regarded by many researchers to be one of the greatest living Marxian geographers (Castree, 2006). Besides being a prolific author, he is arguably one of the widely referenced British authors and critics of neoliberalism. Harvey has been teaching Karl Marx's Das Kapital for over four decades at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, and many of his lectures have been uploaded online for researchers to consult worldwide (Castree, 2006).

Harvey's in-depth analyses provide valuable insights into the dynamics of the capitalism in terms of how it has evolved from a system based on trade and industry and cherished individual ownership into a hegemonic mode of commodification, consumerism, and profiteering. A neoliberal mode supported by numerous politicians and thinkers as the ideal solution to all social ills and economic challenges.

On the subject of neoliberalism, Harvey published a book in 2005 where he eloquently described processes of neoliberalization, where and how neoliberalism originated,

¹⁵ The Graduate Center of the City University of New York (CUNY)

and the political challenges that lie ahead of neoliberal states, for Harvey neoliberalism represents:

A theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices.

Furthermore, if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state action if necessary. But beyond these tasks the state should not venture. State interventions in markets (once created) must be kept to a bare minimum because, according to the theory, the state cannot possibly possess enough information to second-guess market signals (prices) and because powerful interest groups will inevitably distort and bias state interventions (particularly in democracies) for their own benefit. (Harvey, 2005, p. 2)

Not only does this citation define what neoliberalism (as a theory) and neoliberalization (as a process) represent, but it also draws clear-cut distinctions between the functions of the state as an aggregate of political and administrative institutions.

Under neoliberalism functions of state institutions are limited to: Facilitating free market operations, opening up new business prospects by ceding previously state-controlled sectors (healthcare, communication and media, education, transportation...) to private-run corporations, securing private businesses' interests by all means possible, and deregulating the economy in order to draw as much foreign investments as possible. According to

neoliberal thinking, fulfilling these functions should eventually earn states the capacity to overcome their economic ‘challenges’ and boost the growth of their economy.

Following Harvey’s illuminating analyses of neoliberalism, we felt tempted to include other perspectives that highlight ways neoliberalism is taking over in political and economic scenes worldwide. In *Border crossings*, Henri Giroux develops a definition of neoliberalism that encompasses a myriad of sociopolitical institutions working to legitimate the existence and the dominance of this ideology in all socio-political and economic spheres, Giroux (2005) contends that:

Much more than an economic theory, neoliberalism can also be defined as a cultural politics, one that created an array of institutions and public spheres from which to produce, disseminate, and secure its ideology, values, and views of the world. As I mentioned previously, power no longer resides within a politics shaped by the borders of the nation-state. Power escapes such traditional boundaries of politics and in so doing redefines both the meaning and the sites in which power is expressed and can be challenged [...]

Neoliberalism has become one of the most pervasive and dangerous ideologies of the twenty-first century. Its pervasiveness is evident not only by its unparalleled influence on the global economy, but also by its power to redefine the very nature of politics and sociality. (Giroux, 2005, p. 7-8)

Neoliberal values have infiltrated fields of politics and economics. The neoliberal system presents itself as a viable alternative to former economic systems. At the core of neoliberalism lies the idea the free-market has to be the driving and organizing force inherent in all forms of socio-political, and economic exchanges. Giroux elaborates on this point when he states that:

Free market fundamentalism rather than democratic idealism is now the driving force of economics and politics in most of the world. Its logic, moreover, has insinuated itself into every social relationship, such that the specificity of relations between parents and children, doctors and patients, teachers and students has been reduced to that of supplier and customer. (ibid, p. 9)

Under the neoliberal ideology, all social and political forms of human life are imbued with values and subjected to the rule of the free market, so much so that it would be easier to imagine the end of the world than the end of neoliberalism as Frederic James once put it (James, 2006, p. 37).

Neoliberal proponents call for a replacement of state-run institutions by a free market system. A system that values business competition, deregulation of all forms of economic transactions, and the retreat of state institutions from the management of all economic spheres by encouraging privatization initiatives.

Giroux (2005) goes on to demonstrate how neoliberalism aligns itself with neo-conservative and right-wing movements worldwide. Conservative movements whose agendas center on abdicating public services and national properties to the private sector¹⁶:

Under neoliberalism everything is either for sale or is plundered for profit: public lands are looted by logging companies and corporate ranchers; politicians willingly hand the public's airwaves over to powerful broadcasters and large corporate interests without a dime going into the public trust; the environment is polluted and despoiled in the name of profit-making just as the government passes legislation to make it easier for corporations to do so [...]

¹⁶ This is achieved through the conception of policies that aim at ceding and transferring the management of all state-owned ownerships, assets, and services to private enterprises.

schools more closely resemble either jails or high-end shopping malls, depending on their clientele, and teachers are forced to get revenue for their school by hawking everything from hamburgers to pizza parties. (Giroux, 2005, p. 210)

Fostering a culture of individualism, consumerism, and entrepreneurship is the direction neoliberalism is steering world societies and economies towards. The strength of neoliberalism as an ideology lies in its ability to harness values of freedom, democracy, and reform (Metcalf, 2009) to bring about a new economic order. An order that arguably benefits multinational corporations by allowing them access into more profitable economic sectors on the one hand, and reduces populations of the world from active citizens into a 'loyal clientele' to use Giroux 'words:

Transnational in scope, neoliberalism now imposes its economic regime and market values on developing and weaker nations through structural adjustment policies enforced by powerful financial institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Trade Organization (WTO). The impact on schools in post-colonial nations is particularly bleak, as policy reforms financially starve institutions of higher learning as they standardize - with the usual emphasis on skills and drills over critical thinking or critical content - the curricula of primary schools. (Giroux, 2006, p. 183)

Three financial institutions directly responsible for the establishment of the neoliberal order are named in the above citation. Peet refers to these institutions as the unholy Trinity; The International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organizations (Peet, 2003). They have made it their vision and mission to assist developing and weak nations experiencing 'balance of payment' issues. This assistance often comes in the form of loan

packages and recommendations to introduce structural adjustment programs suggesting immediate corrective reforms at all socioeconomic and political levels¹⁷.

1. 12. 2 International Financial Institutions and Structural Adjustment Plans:

In an article entitled *Assessing sub-Saharan Africa's structural adjustment programs: the need for more qualitative measures*, Arnon Baron (1997) examined the efficiency of structural adjustment programs implemented in a number of African countries. These examinations sought to compare the objectives laid out in these programs to the reform procedures implemented on the ground. It is worth reiterating that such reform procedures stipulated as prerequisites to the grant of loans:

For the New Right, the central objective of structural adjustment is to unleash the free market, which according to its social and economic analysts ipso facto engenders productivity. This productivity, in turn, generates capital and savings that are then re-invested to further economic growth. New Right policies aim, therefore, to stimulate production by getting the price of commodities "right," mainly by removing "distortions" in product and factor markets. This generally includes establishment of competitive exchange rates, privatization of economic activities, tax reductions, curtailment of public spending on "unproductive" consumption, elimination of state subsidies to services and goods, and abolition of minimum wage legislation. (Baron, 1997, p. 57)

All structural adjustment plans include 'corrective measures' recommended by international creditors who expect beneficiary nations to engage in political commitments to

¹⁷ <http://www.imf.org/en/About/Factsheets/Sheets/2016/08/01/18/48/Crisis-Lending>

introduce reform policies. In his thesis, Egor Kraev, an economist and a mathematician, highlights five central axes which all structural adjustment programs have in common:

1. Cutting government spending and increasing taxes.
2. Introducing floating exchange rates and depreciating the currency
3. Increasing the interest rates and / or reducing the rate of expansion of the monetary base.
4. Liberalizing the current account
5. Liberalizing the capital account. (Kraev, 2017)

Most contemporary economists and politicians believe that economic plans and measures designed under structural adjustment programs seek to achieve one particular objective: A transformation of world economies into a global free-market model economy. This is realized through a progressive disqualification of state institutions from running and exercising control over social sectors of education, healthcare, mass communication...etc., and carrying out processes of deregulation, privatization, and the liberalization of economic transactions.

1. 13 The Privatization of Education, a Global Epidemic:

1. 13. 1 “Selling the House to Pay the Mortgage”:

The neoliberal enterprise profits from a vast array of social, political, economic, and discursal factors all interacting symbiotically to justify its significance as an ideal economic model. In this respect, Verger (2016) asserts that:

Increasingly, governments, international organizations (IOs), donors, and philanthropic entities are converging around the idea that the involvement of the private sector in education systems is inevitable and, to some extent, desirable. Various rationales contribute to this idea: namely, efficiency (privatization as a cost-effective way to expand education), effectiveness (the

private sector as a source of competition and improvement in school performance), diversification (the private sector as a promoter of pluralism in education systems), and innovation (the private sector as a transmitter of new educational ideas and know-how in the public sector). (Verger, 2016, p. 177)

1. 13. 2 The Multiple Forms of Privatization:

The aspect that is mostly criticized about the neoliberalization of states is the privatization processes launched on a global scale during the 1980's under the form of structural adjustment plans (Rai, 2005). These SAP's were introduced in all world economies but were particularly notable at the level of economies of developing nations. Unlike fields of transportation, communication, agriculture, and tourism, ceding sectors of education and healthcare to the private sector proved to be challenging because of the sensitive character of these fields. Consequently, the systematic disqualification of the state from the management of public services of healthcare, education, communication, and transportation has left populations in need of these services at the mercy of a 'neoliberal juggernaut' (Sim, 2012, p. 70).

Education systems have been subjected to a similar process of neoliberalization that other economic sectors underwent. The initial neoliberal infiltrations consisted in the establishment of public-private partnerships or what it has been commonly referred to as 'social finance networks' (ibid, p. 71). Succeeding arrangements include the introduction of managerial measures to run educational institutions in a way similar to how enterprises are run.

In a report submitted by Stephen Ball and Deborah Youdell to the institute of education, an affiliate to the University of London, the two researchers distinguish between two types of education privatization (Ball and Youdell, 2007):

Privatisation can be understood as being of two key types: Privatisation in Public Education. We call this ‘endogenous’ privatisation. Such forms of privatisation involve the importing of ideas, techniques and practices from the private sector in order to make the public sector more like businesses and more business-like. Privatisation of Public Education. We call this ‘exogenous’ privatisation. Such forms of privatisation involve the opening up of public education services to private sector participation on a for-profit basis and using the private sector to design, manage or deliver aspects of public education (ibid, 2007, p. 5).

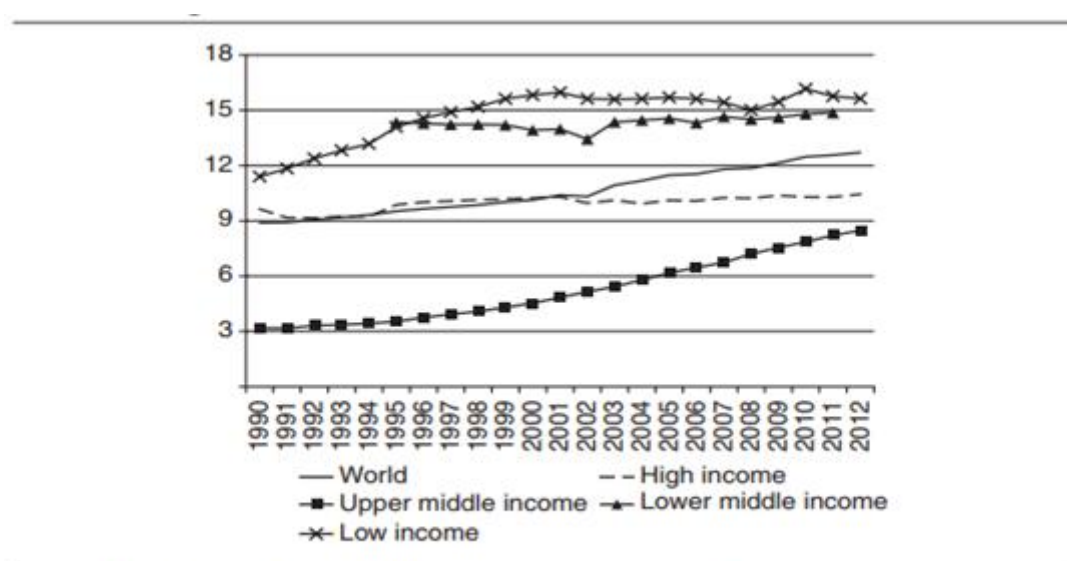
It is crucial at this stage to reiterate that this systematic transfer of public services into the corporate realm could not have been achieved had not a range of social, religious, media, political, economic, and academic authorities rallied behind and adhered to the neoliberal project. The two researchers (Ball and Youdell, 2007) affirms this point when they claim that:

A range of non-governmental actors, including private corporations, private foundations, philanthropists, think tanks, and the media are increasingly active in the promotion of different forms of education privatization worldwide. Indeed, a state-centered approach is no longer appropriate to understand education privatization reforms, not only due to the globalization of educational politics, but also because non-state actors are increasingly active in multiple policy domains, including education policy [...] Recent transformations in the organization of the state and the emergence of forms of governance by networks have contributed to an increasing presence of private actors and private interests within public policy processes. It is no coincidence that in the different education policy spaces where they participate, these

private actors tend to be eager to advocate education privatization and marketization (ibid, p. 7-8).

A 240-page study issued in 2016 detailing how privatization policies were put in place in various countries was conducted by a group of researchers at the Columbia University in New York. The researchers sought to better comprehend how the management of public educational institutions in many world countries has been reconfigured in such a manner that they fit into the moulds of the enterprise. The study is entitled “The privatization of education: a political economy of global education reform”.

The study starts off its analyses of the inexorable rate at which the process of privatization is transforming the world’s systems of education by studying and discussing official statistics provided by international organisms. The study proceeds then to examine samples of economic and legal policies states have been deploying to carry out gradual transitions from the classical model of state-run education systems to business-like autonomous institutions. The below line graph referenced from the same study indicates the increasing global rate of enrollment in primary education in private institutions according to countries’ level of income between the years 1990-2012:



Source: Adapted from data from UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2015.

Figure 1.1. Percentage of Enrollment in Primary Education in Private Institutions According to Countries' Level of Income, 1990-2012

The consistent recourse of families belonging to various social classes to the private sector is indicative of successful delivery on some of the objectives laid out in SAP's as far as the introduction of privatization policies into fields of education are concerned. The graph shows that the enrollment of students in private educational institutions started off on a parallel basis with the implementation of SAP's towards the end of the 1980's, and that this enrollment continued to grow steadily through the following three decades. Interestingly, unlike other social categories, lower middle income families seem to have resisted the temptation to join the private sector till the year 1995. From that juncture on, the line curves moved up on a yearly basis.

The next graph shows a variation in the percentage of people shifting their preference from 'what they supposed' to be an inefficient public education sector towards 'better-structured' private institutions. Such impressions formed by the public opinion on both public and private schooling constitute the core arguments of a discourse that still resonates within societies. We shall look into ways this a discourse is marketed by neoliberal circles, which incessantly struggle to overrate private school institutions to the detriment of public ones. The arguments disparaging the performance of state-run institutions are drawn mostly from reports issued by national and international organizations. Such arguments have greatly helped to set up sociopolitical conditions whereby pro-neoliberalism politicians forwarded and accelerated their privatization visions, particularly in fields of education and healthcare.

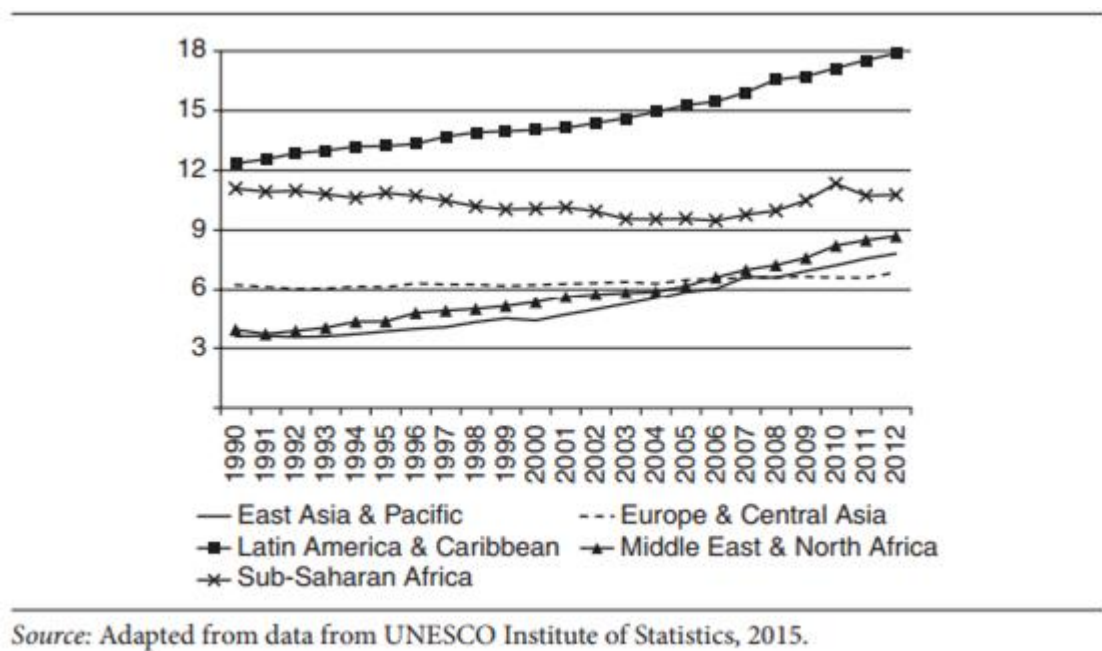


Figure 1.2. Percentage of Enrollment in Primary Education in Private Institutions According to World Regions, 1990-2012

As the above graph shows, privatization has taken its toll on education systems in all world countries. However, the impact is quite evident in three specific world regions and these are: Latin America & Caribbean, the Middle East & North Africa, and East Asia & the Pacific.

The graph further demonstrates that the latter three regions have experienced a notable increase of people's enrollment in private education institutions, and that these enrollment figures will likely progress in the foreseeable future. Many reports and studies support this argument especially that reform policies designed in these countries will continue to follow a neoliberalization course of reform (Torres and Almos, 2004, p. 65).

1. 13. 3 Neoliberal Schooling, Apple's Ideology and Curriculum:

Numerous studies (Samoff and Klees, 2012) show that world education systems have undergone a simultaneous series of reform initiatives towards the end of the 1970's and the

beginning of the 1980's. The reform logic and principles driving these initiatives are often articulated in the form of recommendations and urgent corrective measures in reports issued by international financial institutions. While these recommendations seldom vary in how economic and political reforms should be implemented, they basically all share the same objective: shifting state-run public services to more market-oriented ones.

Neoliberal and conservative concepts of competitiveness, productivity, entrepreneurship and privatization have been infused into educational discourse. Michael Apple, an American pedagogue, demonstrates in his book *official knowledge* (2014) how right-wing politicians have been successful at reconfiguring the pedagogical discourse and eventually restructuring the current state-directed educational model. In chapter two titled "The politics of common-sense: why is the right winning", Apple states:

I show how the Right has been able to build a new hegemonic accord, a new compromise that integrates the perspectives of various groups under its leadership. A tense coalition around the politics of race, gender, class, religion, and sexuality is formed in such a way that conservative tendencies dominate public discourse over education [...] we should not romanticize these "spaces", however. The conservative restoration is quite powerful. It has been able to create a new politics of official knowledge, especially around the curriculum itself. The effects of this are seen on the artifact that constitutes the "real curriculum" in most schools: the textbook. How should we look at texts during this period? What is happening to them? (ibid, p. 10).

Michael apple has extensively written about issues that influence curriculum-designing processes, schooling, and knowledge production in North America. His effort

sought to better understand how various power relations – economic, political, and cultural- play out in the field of education, and how teaching-learning methods are being redefined¹⁸.

Apple's contributions offer new academic venues for researchers wishing to explore the ways syllabus-designers integrate free market values into school programs. More than that, not only did Apple challenge "the oppressive tendency of corporate America to restructure schooling" (ibid, p.115), he also held the political system responsible for the decline of the public sector through processes of privatization and marketization:

No matter what political party is in the White House, this is a time of rightist resurgence in education. What education is for, what and whose knowledge is considered legitimate, and who has the right to answer these questions - all of this is now being reconstructed during the conservative restoration. These transformations are occurring at the level of official policy and in the Right's ability to convince a significant portion of the population that what is private is now good and what is public is bad inside and outside of education. They are witnessed in the increasingly effective attacks on teaching and the curriculum, on the needs of business and industry being seen as more and more the primary, if not the only, goals of schooling, the tighter control of teaching in many states, and in the increasing integration of education into the conservative project (ibid, p. 9).

¹⁸ Michael Apple produced an exquisite series of books and studies tackling the transformations which the American educational system has been subjected to: *Education and Power* (1982); *Teachers and Texts* (1986); *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age* (1993); *Educating the Right Way: Markets, Standards, God, and Inequality* (2001); and *The State and the Politics of Knowledge* (2004).

In *Official Knowledge*, Apple demonstrates the discrete ways governments through corporate-friendly policies resort to complete their subduing of education system. Ways that Apple refers as the ‘politics of accords and compromises’. In other words, the scholar demonstrates how recent curricular reforms have built their substance on norms dictated by the free market. The scholar maintains that these norms that have been enforced in the educational discourse as well as at the level of our ‘collective perception and understanding’ of the whole reform process:

The politics of official knowledge are the politics of accords or compromises. They are usually not impositions, but signify how dominant groups try to create situations where the compromises that are formed favor them. These compromises occur at different levels: at the level of political and ideological discourse, at the level of state policies, at the level of the knowledge that is taught in schools, at the level of the daily activities of teachers and students in classrooms, and at the level of how we are to understand all of this (ibid, p. 63).

We hope that we have by far covered some of the literature on how education systems construct curricula that foster principles and norms of neoliberalism. According to Apple, acquiring such norms is indispensable for individuals to be able to function optimally in a market-driven society. The acquisition of these norms is accomplished through school curricula that reinforce ‘a culture of control’ and a pedagogical content meant to instill in them norms of obedience, order, individual entrepreneurship, economic freedom, and self-reliance.

In addition to cultivating a ‘culture of control’ within educational institutions and preparing individuals to be receptive of the socioeconomic conditions outside of these

institutions, Apple contends in his books that schools operate at a tacit level by ‘controlling meaning’. This second notion directly corresponds to both the selection process of which knowledge should be taught and which should be discarded, and the ‘cultural legitimacy’ attributed to this knowledge. By ‘Cultural Legitimacy’, Apple means the ability of a social group to decide on what makes of knowledge a ‘knowledge for all’:

Schools do not only control people; they also help control meaning. Since they preserve and distribute what is perceived to be “legitimate knowledge”— the knowledge that “we all must have,” schools confer cultural legitimacy on the knowledge of specific groups. But this is not all, for the ability of a group to make its knowledge into “knowledge for all” is related to that group’s power in the larger political and economic arena (ibid, p. 64).

For Apple, determining the roles and functions of schools, their pedagogical mission, and the structure of their educational curricula are no longer the exclusive affair of supervising state institutions; rather, these functions and policies are conceived in collaboration with economic and corporate parties. We argue that these public-private collaborations constitute platforms wherein power dynamics of reproduction play out. Collaborations that reinforce the socioeconomic structure through its insistence on basing educational and policies curricula on the local economic needs of markets. Apple argues in this respect that:

Schools exist through their relations to other more powerful institutions, institutions that are combined in such a way as to generate structural inequalities of power and access to resources. Second, these inequalities are reinforced and reproduced by schools (though not by them alone, of course). Through their curricular, pedagogical, and evaluative activities in day-to-day

life in classrooms, schools play a significant role in preserving if not generating these inequalities. Along with other mechanisms for cultural preservation and distribution, schools contribute to what has elsewhere been called the cultural reproduction of class relations in advanced industrial societies. (ibid, p. 66)

The professionalization of pedagogical content in educational curricula is another critical aspect that Apple tackled in his *Hidden Curriculum*. I believe that an analysis of such content is essential to our understanding of how ‘the school’ is used as an enforcer of neoliberal values. It will be demonstrated in subsequent chapters how the mission of education systems have shifted from cherishing values of diversity, creativity, multiculturalism, and personal growth, to offering an education centered on technical knowledge, skills ‘enhancement, and an emphasis on the acquisition of vocational abilities to optimally function in professional settings.

In conclusion, the classical model of ‘the exemplary student’ who is expected to immerse himself or herself in day-to-day sociopolitical and economic debates, to be actively engaged in different social and political manifestations, and to contribute to the socioeconomic development of their nation in every possible way has been replaced by a another model of student, who is expected to be profession-oriented, skilled and proficient, able to adapt to socioeconomic conditions, and resilient enough to acquire new skills or abilities.

Before we proceed to the following chapter, it is important to reaffirm the rationale that has been guiding our analysis of education systems under different socioeconomic orders. Although the present study chose to cover how the neoliberal ideology has presented itself as a better alternative to former capitalist and socialist orders, it does not in any way

seek to question or criticize how neoliberalism is becoming the new norm. Examples of the general issues which the study raises include:

- a. Is the Moroccan education system structured in such a way that it provides forms of instructions to individuals on the basis of their socioeconomic backgrounds?
- b. Is there any correlation between what the system offers as instructions and the forming of the social structure?
- c. Does the state's discourse of reform celebrating ideals of justice, equality and equity match implemented policies on the ground?

Chapter Two:

2. 1 The MENA context:

A simple comparison of education systems in most developing countries would reveal that there are two features that these systems share. On the one hand, all these education systems are in a state of crisis. Secondly, in all of these countries, there is a social consensus about the urgency to initiate reforms in the education system. This is particularly evident in most developing countries where education systems seem caught up in an endless cycle of failing educational reforms.

The strategies and processes of implementation of these reform initiatives remain evidently in line with recommendations of IFIs: Diminishing ‘the dominant character’ of the state in social and economic sectors, allowing private investors access to state-run sectors specifically those of education and healthcare, promoting a culture that hails neoliberal values of competition, entrepreneurship, and individualism, and finally restructuring the education sector in terms of its guiding missions and forming of ‘human capital’ meant to be put at the service of economic productivity and the urgent needs of the market:

Reforms aimed at privatizing and decentralizing education at all levels are promoted by influential business roundtables and industrial councils advisory to education, such as the Council for Business/Higher Education Cooperation in Australia, as well as conservative think tanks, such as the Centre for Policy Studies, the Institute of Public Affairs, and the Centre for Independent Studies in Australia; the Hillgate Group and the Institute of Economic Affairs in England; and the American Enterprise Institute, the Heritage Foundation, the Hudson Institute, and most recently the Brookings Institution, in the United States. University economics departments, such as that of the University of

Chicago, and related research and development departments or intellectual property offices also play active roles in promoting such reforms. (Arnové, 2005)

The Middle East and North African (MENA) region is a stark example of how education systems have been caught in a wave of failing reforms. Reports issued by international organizations criticized the dysfunctional character of implemented reforms as well as the failure of MENA countries to deliver on the objectives put forward in their reform plans. In a 2008 report entitled *The Road Not Traveled: Education Reform in the Middle East and North Africa*, World Bank examiners produced a thorough account of the educational situation in the MENA region (Galal, 2008).

The report took on an investigative approach aimed to highlight the sociocultural, economic, demographic, and political impediments that have been holding back educational reforms in the MENA region. Moreover, the report, harnessing results of statistical analyses conducted by regional and international organizations, provided interesting evaluations of educational policies implemented in all states of the MENA region. It placed emphasis on deficient government policies, inhibiting factors, and potential economic and political challenges that these impeding factors had led to. The committee of examiners started out the report with a quite interesting statement:

As a result of a massive search, we found 34 education reform programs in 14 countries: Algeria, Djibouti, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Yemen, and West Bank and Gaza. The number of reform measures we identified for all 14 countries exceeded 900, averaging 65 measures per country. The reform programs (or waves of reforms) were typically initiated in the 1950s and

1960s, followed by one or more subsequent reform waves. (Galal, 2008, p.149)

We wish to emphasize one particular area of research which the report offers significant details about. It is the scope of privatization across the MENA region, and how the Private Enrollment Share Mean leaped from 10.5 % in 1980 to 19.5 % in 2003 at primary school level, and from 12 % in 1980 to 13.7 % in 2003 at the secondary school level as the below table indicates:

	Primary			Secondary			Tertiary		
	1980	1990	2003	1980	1990	2003	1980	1990	2003
Algeria	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	—	—
Bahrain	—	13.2	22.6	—	8.8	15.5	—	—	—
Djibouti	—	8.9	15.5	—	15.7	21.0	—	—	—
Egypt, Arab Rep. of	5.0	5.8	8.0	11.0	3.8	5.5	—	12.5	16.5
Iran, Islamic Rep. of	—	0.1	4.3	—	0.3	5.7	—	—	54.1
Iraq	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6.5
Jordan	6.0	22.9	29.9	19.0	6.1	16.6	—	—	24.7
Kuwait	—	25.0	32.3	—	22.6	27.6	—	—	—
Lebanon	61.0	68.3	64.7	47.0	57.8	51.9	—	—	49.3
Libya	—	—	2.5	—	—	2.8	—	—	—
Morocco	3.0	3.6	5.5	5.0	2.7	4.6	—	1.5	5.1
Oman	—	1.8	—	—	0.7	1.1	—	—	28.7
Qatar	—	23.4	71.8	—	12.3	32.3	—	—	—
Saudi Arabia	3.0	4.1	6.9	20.0	2.8	7.3	—	—	7.4
Syrian Arab Rep.	5.0	3.6	4.2	7.0	5.6	4.1	—	—	—
Tunisia	1.0	0.5	1.0	7.0	12.0	3.9	—	—	0.4
United Arab Emirates	—	32.3	57.6	10.0	20.7	40.6	—	—	—
West Bank and Gaza	—	—	8.4	—	—	4.3	—	—	58.1
Yemen, Rep. of	—	—	1.8	—	—	1.7	—	—	8.7
Mean	10.5	14.2	19.8	12.0	11.5	13.7			23.6

Figure 2.1. Private Enrollment Share in Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Education as a percentage of Total Enrollment, 1980 - 2003

A simple survey of the figures noted in the table above shows how the expansion of private institutions is a key ‘constant’ in government policies since the early years of the 1980’s. During this period, many world countries expressed their will to introduce structural reforms into their economic systems. The engineering of these reform policies, as demonstrated on numerous occasions, was overseen by IFIs which provided ‘recommended development strategies’ and imposed the implementation of these strategies as a prerequisite

to the grant of any loan packages. As a result, the privatization of world economies and the liberalization of markets were an inevitable global scenario:

In the 1970s and 1980s [...] There were intense discussions on the appropriate policies for tackling stagflation in developed countries, management of the growing global imbalances and the international responses to debt crises.

Contractionary policies under the Washington Consensus as well as its implementation through IMF conditionality were also heavily discussed issues [...] The frequency and depth of economic crises as well as the adjustment and austerity imposed by the Washington Consensus meant that less attention was paid to issues of income distribution, living standards, education, health and environmental degradation (Galal, 2017, p. 18).

In addition to the neoliberal economic model that all world economies have assertively been compelled to fit into, the report shifts its course of analysis and employs other criteria related to world regions' employability of scientific and technological devices in the field of education. The MENA States ranked lowest in every category as the below table indicates:

	Expenditure on R&D	Scientific publications	European patents	U.S. patents
Arab States	0.4	0.7	0.0	0.0
North America	37.9	38.4	33.4	51.5
Western Europe	28.0	35.8	47.4	19.9
Latin America	1.9	1.6	0.2	0.2
Sub-Saharan Africa	0.5	0.8	0.2	0.1
Japan and NICs	18.6	10.1	16.6	27.3
China	4.9	1.6	0.1	0.2
India and Central Asia	2.2	2.1	0.0	0.0
Others	2.2	2.9	1.3	0.6
World	100	100	100	100

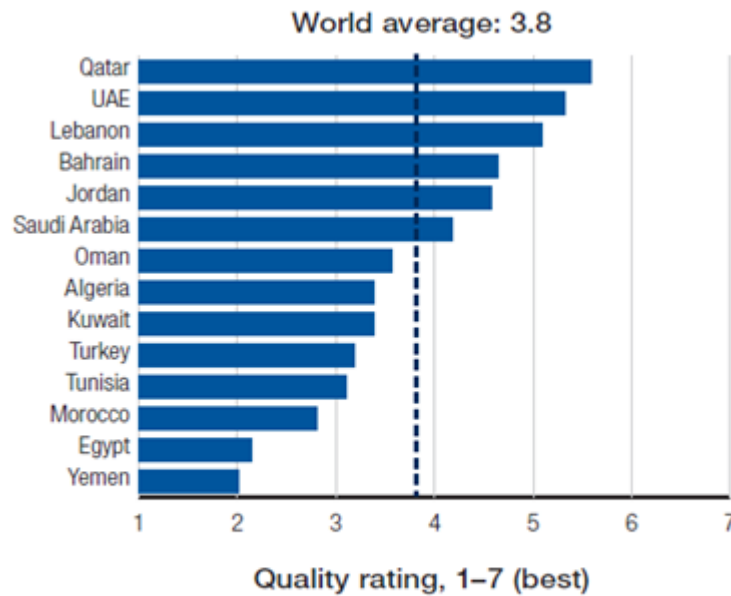
Source: UNESCO 1998.

Note: Data for expenditures on research and development are for 1994.

Figure 2.2 : Scientific and Technological Capacities in World Regions (Percent of World Total, 1995)

Despite the fact that the MENA region is "home to more than 60 percent of the world's proven oil reserves, mostly located in the Gulf region, and nearly half of global gas reserves" (Galal, 2017), its investment in education in terms of expenditure on research and development, scientific publications, European patents, and U.S patents remains very minimal. In fact, and as it is indicated in the above table, investments of the MENA countries on education remain so limited that the Sub-Saharan African region, with its meagre means, has been able to outperform the MENA region as far as European and US patents' criteria are concerned.

However, as somber as this whole situation appears to be, many countries in the Gulf region have been able to take up the challenge and structure their education systems efficiently. Education systems capable of producing a new generation of students equipped with intellectual, reflexive, critical, and linguistic capacities, and who can effectively adapt to different professional spaces thanks to the proficient-oriented and skill-based forms of instruction the gulf education systems are procuring.



Source: World Economic Forum, Executive Opinion Survey.

Figure 2. 3: Quality of MENA's Education systems

A comparison of the quality of the MENA education systems based on the annual global competitiveness reports issued by the World Economic Forum reveals that most GCC (Gulf Cooperation Council) members have been successful in bringing about concrete educational reforms. Unlike other MENA countries, GCC member states have rendered their education systems true levers of socioeconomic development (Galal, 2008). The above graph shows how GCC members were able to move higher on the ranking scale in less than two decades following substantial investment efforts in their systems of education. These results are indicative of the commitment of and the substantial efforts exerted by these countries' ruling regimes.

In conclusion, we could argue that most GCC states have been able to take on the challenge of reforming their education systems. The implemented reforms that have resulted in positive outcomes according to a number of international organizations¹⁹. The reports on

¹⁹ Reports issued by PIRLS, PISA, and TIMSS.

education performance issued by these organizations applauded the reforms undertaken in most GCC countries specifically in Qatar, the UAE, and the kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Galal, 2008). Other than this, the reports also highlighted areas of challenges and provide recommendations for policy-change²⁰. Most of these common challenges shared by GCC countries corresponded to three main areas: Policy designing and Implementation, school organizational structure, and the importance of involving economic stakeholders in every step of the reform.

2. 2 The Moroccan Education system :

One of the reasons why we deemed it necessary to offer a brief overview of the socio-educational contexts of MENA countries was the demographic, social, cultural, and political similarities that these countries have in common. Therefore, any potential success or failure of a reform scenario implemented in any of these countries is likely to yield similar results in another one.

The Moroccan case represents a plain example of a country determined to reform its education system at all costs. In the wake of independence, the dominant official discourse called for the establishment of a strong education system as one of its primordial projects. According to Aljabri (1973), building a strong system of education meant: “ Echoing the spirit of the liberation movement [...] recognizing the sacrifices of all the militants and liberators thanks to whom the nation set itself free from all forms of colonial shackles”(Aljabri, 1973, p. 24)

As promising as these initial ambitions of establishing a national, productive, and equitable education system have seemed, a vast array of political and economic challenges arose which put these intended reform attempts on hold. As a novice researcher, delving into

²⁰ K-12 Reform in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Countries: Challenges and Policy Recommendations.

these factors and conditions seemed to me an inevitable step to take in order to form a clearer picture of the factors that inhibited the fulfilment of these reforms.

At this point, we judged that the historical period in modern Moroccan history which can best serve as a starting point of our analysis of the education system is that of the French colonial period, or what is referred to in Morocco history as ‘the protectorate’ (1912-1956). The motive underlying this choice lies in the fact the foundations of the modern civil state in Morocco, as we know it today, were put in place by the French protectorate authorities (Mel, 1961, p. 169-182). This model of a modern state was established in all French colonies overseas or ‘la France outre-mer’.

2. 2. 1 Georges Hardy and Paul Marty’s Views on Education:

One notable French figure known to have set up early policies of education not just in Morocco but in all French North Africa was Georges Hardy. A close friend of the French Resident-General (colonial administrator) in Morocco Hubert Lyautey, Hardy was appointed in 1919 as the director of public instruction, fine arts, and antiquities in Morocco. *Une conquête morale : L'enseignement en AOF* and *L'Ame Marocaine* are two examples of his popular books in which he lays out his political views regarding what forms of education should schools provide and to which social categories.

Hardy’s vision of education and colonial policies were deconstructed by the Moroccan thinker Mohamed Abed Al-jabri in two of his seminal works: *Spotlights on the Problems of Education in Morocco*; and *Education in the Arab Maghreb*. Using a politico-historical analysis approach of the educational discourse from 1920’s up to the 1980’s, Al-jabri explores the consecutive political transitions that the country witnessed during its colonial period, Hardy’s epoch as a supervisor in particular, as well as educational projects, policies and reforms implemented in post-independence Morocco.

According to Aljabri (1989), Hardy representing the French colonial mindset, believed there should be a vast array of forms of instruction within the Moroccan society and that authorities should provide forms of education in correspondence to the socio-ethnic and religious backgrounds of each social category (Aljabri, 1989, p. 17-18).

The first form of education that Hardy argued for was an elitist aristocratic type of education meant to provide instruction in domains of commerce and administration. These domains were primarily reserved for sons and siblings of foreign diplomatic delegations as well as local dignitaries (Al jabri, 1979). Commerce and Administration graduates often pursued their higher studies in France. Upon their return to Morocco, they assumed higher positions of authority and they served as direct links between French authorities, the *Makhzen* ruling class, and other subordinate social categories.

The second form of education targeted the popular masses representing the illiterate bulk of society. The instruction provided to these social categories was varied. It significantly built its content and objectives of instruction on the nature of the economic fields and activities distinct to each region of the country. While education in cities was geared towards training students to perform manual labor in fields of handicraft, bricklaying, tailoring, and fishing activities (in coastal cities), education in rural areas was more focused on agricultural activities (p. 18).

Not only was this systematic repartition of forms of instruction reflective of a colonial perception of how ‘education’ should be approached in relation to ‘society’, but it also reveals how society had to be structured and reconfigured in such a way that could guarantee a sustainable ‘psychic’ presence of the French colonizers in Morocco. In other terms, the French authorities were decided on determining which form of education (knowledge and skills) will best fit and prove more efficient to which social class. In 1920, and during a

pedagogical reunion held with civil inspectors in Meknes, George Hardy made the following statement:

Since 1912, Morocco was put under a French Protectorate, and it has in fact become a French territory. Despite the fact that there still remains a few pockets of resistance here and there that you and your brethren in the army are familiar with, we could assume that the military occupation of the entire country is now complete. However, we do know that a 'victory of arms' is not a complete victory. The power (of arms) can build empires, but it does not guarantee their continuity and permanent reign. Heads can bow to canons, yet hearts fuel feelings of animosity, grudge, and desires to seek revenge. It is necessary to subdue spirits the way bodies were. (Aljabri, 1989, p. 18-19)

Hardy's statement concisely sums up French authorities' vision of what education in Morocco was expected to accomplish - serving France's economic and imperial interests-, and how such objectives could be reached. In addition to subdividing the Moroccan society into social groups and determining the educational needs of each social category, Hardy did not hesitate to voice his concerns with regard to the purpose education French authorities should offer as well as the limits this education should not cross.

This colonial mindset was not Hardy's alone, it was entertained by other French thinkers supporting and justifying the French colonial enterprise (L'Empire Français). Paul Marty makes proof of this in his *Le Maroc de Demain* (Marty, 1925) when he states that:

We should not value quantity, we should not build gradually in Morocco [...] men in whom education would develop senses, tastes, and hopes that they would not be able to realize [...] and neither would the protectorate, the

Makhzen, the colony, nor the Moroccan economy itself could help satisfy.

(Marty, 1925, p. 43).

In more explicit terms, the model of education system that French colonial authorities seemed determined to bring about was an education model where different categories of the population would be trained to engage in the economic activity specific to their regions, form civil administration servants who would facilitate French authorities' exploitation of the country's resources, and quell the potential emergence of resistance particularly in rural Morocco. Such a system would guarantee that every member of the Moroccan society functions efficiently to serve the economic and political interests of the French occupants.

Marty emphasized the importance of not allowing Moroccan students any forms of critical learning that could, put in his words, 'awaken' people's senses, tastes, and wishes which French authorities would not be able satisfy. Education in this sense would constitute an existential threat to the colonial enterprise in its entirety.

2. 2. 2 Imposing French as a Language of Instruction:

On the issue of the language of instruction, it goes without saying that the French authorities were keen on privileging French as the ideal language of instruction in all educational institutions. Through the French language, students were expected to both immerse themselves in the 'glorious history' of the French empire, and to take pride in acquiring the values and the principles that the French revolution bestowed on humanity.

According to Aljabri, Hardy believed that imposing French as a language of instruction in Moroccan schools was the French authorities' winning card to secure some form of allegiance of different social groups. French rulers knew well that alienating the society's 'mother tongue', and by the same token, its Islamic heritage would undermine

nationalists' discourse of liberation, diminish the resistance' momentum, and would hopefully reinforce a Franco-Moroccan sense of identity (ibid). Chief among the initiatives undertaken by the French authorities to achieve this purpose were:

- 1- The establishment of a high institution to teach Moroccan dialect. This institution was meant to train administration employees in dialectal Arabic so as to communicate with people in Darija rather than the classical Fusha.
- 2- The infamous decree of the Berber Dahir - Royal decree - in 1930 seeking to solve Amazigh regions from the rule and control of an Arab center.

These French educational measures were part of a long-term colonial strategy that sought to first cantonize the Moroccan society into separate Arab and Amazigh communities, and then set up a political structure that would function with one objective in sight: maintaining France's control overseas. Hardy, Marty, Lyautey, and numerous other colonial figures rallied efforts, each to the best of his ability, to lay the grounds for a perennial colonial enterprise. Founding an education system on these precepts was meant to prompt various social groups to buy into and endorse the French colonial project in the long run.

This classificatory educational order which French authorities established during the protectorate period fueled 'soft' acts of resistance launched by Moroccan nationalists (Liberal movements) inside and outside of Morocco. National leaders did not spare any efforts to accuse the protectorate regime of supporting a discriminatory elitist system of education, to expose segregation policies enforced by the French authorities, and to reiterate calls to establish a national and equitable school where all members of the society could benefit from a free education, and one that is expected to pave the way for the establishment and the development of a modern state (Alkouraji, 2017).

2. 2. 3 Education Reforms in Post-independence Morocco:

The country's independence in 1956 was celebrated by all Moroccans as an end to long episodes of colonial exploitation. The liberators' jubilation and dream of an independent Morocco that would embrace all its people regardless of their creed, social backgrounds, or ethnic belonging, seemed to have at last come true. The following reasonable phase was laying the grounds for the institution of a strong economy modern state capable of absorbing all members of society regardless of their sociocultural inclinations or political affiliations.

Interestingly, the leading figures of *The Haraka Watanya* or The National Movement were the ones who rushed to enroll their children in French schools in the wake of the retreat of the colonial authorities. French educational institutions, however, remained under French embassies and consulates' supervision and control. These French mission schools still offer their students, up to this day, an education that is congruent with the educational offer provided in France, with a few minor changes such as the inclusion of national courses such as: Arabic, History, and Geography.

2. 3 Initial Reform Initiatives:

Al-jabri states in his book (1973) that amidst the Aix-Les-Bains negotiations, which were held in 1955, more than 37 political leaders, dignitaries, *Qaids* (Makhzen officials), and other Moroccan nationalists stroke an agreement with the French government to put an end to the protectorate regime, and to reinstate the exiled Sultan Mohammed Ben Youssef to his throne. In the wake of these negotiations, the new leaders of independent Morocco faced the enormous burden of taking over and running state institutions (Aljabri, 1973).

The field of education constituted a combat zone or at least a point of intersection where differences between the National Movement²¹ and the new ruling figures of

²¹According to Aljabri, the National Movement consisted of three social categories : the classic aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, and the general illiterate masses.

independent Morocco constantly were quite manifest. For Al-jabri, the general uneducated masses viewed the few years following the declaration of independence as the proper time when liberation movement leaders should have delivered on their promises. Promises to provide the long-demanded, fair and equal education system to all Moroccan citizens:

The ruling elite found itself, in the wake of the independence, facing a sweeping popular pressure demanding the long-promised compulsory education for their children. The social and political repercussions were known and obvious (A fear of a backlash in case people's demands were not met); therefore, the ruling elite was forced to swiftly sort out this issue, and spare itself disastrous outcomes. (Aljabri, 1973, p. 63)

In numerous parts of the book, Al-jabri argues that Moroccan leaders felt compelled to put in place urgent conciliatory policies in response to the needs and demands of an overwrought population. Moroccans, lower classes in particular, entertained the idea that schooling was the key to socioeconomic promotion. According to Aljabri, this idea of social promotion was epitomized then by a common adage that circulated among people which went as follows: 'Today's student is Tomorrow's Leader' (ibid, p. 63). Al-jabri shares an interesting idea when he states that the Moroccan Bourgeoisie acted on this idea of 'socioeconomic' ascension during the protectorate period, and that the rest of society caught up with it and viewed education as the way out of their misery in the wake of Morocco's independence (ibid, p. 63-64).

It was during such turbulent political times that national educational policies and strategies were conceived and implemented. In general, early educational reform policies centered on what has come to be known as 'the four principles'. These were: The 'generalization' of the right to education, the 'unification' of programs of instruction, the

‘Arabization’ of the entire education system, and the ‘Moroccanization’ of state officials and employees (ibid, p. 77).

The significance of Aljabri’s analyses figures in three ways: Firstly, they highlight the imperial and moral precepts on which the French educational model in Morocco (1912-1956) was set up. Secondly, Aljabri’s analyses aim to disentangle the distraught sociopolitical conditions that gave shape to the four principles of reform. Finally, they demonstrate how much shortsighted post-independence educational policies were in the wake of the country’s adoption of the four principles as a basis for subsequent policies and reform plans.

Aljabri contends in his analyses that the four principles figured as reactionary measures to an agitated society and that even the notion of ‘reform’ back then was not the appropriate point of departure. In other words, prior to this colonial education system, Morocco did not recall the presence of any model of an education system in its modern sense. Therefore, since the leaders of independent Morocco were decided on establishing a full rupture with the colonial education system put in place during the protectorate period by the French, then: What was still there left to reform? Wouldn’t it have been more appropriate for the new leaders of Morocco to initiate a national dialogue over the institution of a sound educational project rather than reforming ‘the French’ one?

Insisting on the fact that the four principles were the outcome of hasty conciliatory politics on the part of government officials back in the 1960’s and 1970’s, Al-jabri ostensibly attributes the failures of education reform policies in the wake of the country’s independence to two factors:

Firstly, the massive and obtrusive demand of the population to enroll their children in public schools. Aljabri notes that the enrollment process was so intense that many parents spent nights in rows at the schools’ gates waiting for their turns to register their children in (Aljabri, 1973, p. 68). Secondly, politicians’ incompetence and lack of experience to lay the

grounds for a sustainable educational structure. Government officials' resort to propitiatory policies as a way of compensating for their failure to deliver on former promises made by leaders of the national movement (ibid, p. 61)²² shows how the ruling elite initiating reforms in education was spurred by political motives rather than designing sound reform initiatives with realistic objectives²³.

This trend of conciliatory politics in the field of education continued on. Initially, education figured as a thorny issue causing political discords between competing political parties progressive and conservative. Each of these two camps campaigned for their political and ideological project of how the state and the society should be structured²⁴.

During the early 1980's, the state management of socioeconomic sectors, including the field of education, took a different turn as of September 1983²⁵. In the history of the Moroccan economy, 1983 marks the beginning of the implementation of a ten-year Structural Adjustment Plan. The SAP was put in place under the supervision of both the IMF and the WB, with the aim of bringing about a sustainable macroeconomic balance:

In 1983, Morocco adopted a ten-year Structural Adjustment Plan (SAP) designed by the IMF and the World Bank, which urged the implementation of

²²Al-jabri mentioned a footnote in his book - p: 61 - that Leaders of The National Movement used techniques of propaganda to spur the masses to take action against The French colonial authorities. An evident example of this propaganda was a declaration made to the population. The declaration claimed that the income of the phosphates alone would be enough to support the daily needs of all Moroccans, and that once Morocco gets its independence, each Individual will receive an amount of (1000 Francs/cents) every morning.

²³ The 1960's up to the end of the 1970's represents a period when most world education systems initiated reforms. Examples of such countries include: Singapore, South Korea, Japan, and Turkey.

²⁴ Examples of the issues that drove a wedge between different political actors back in the 1960's and 1970's were : Arabization of curricula (Humanities) at elementary grades while maintaining French as a Language of instruction in both secondary and university levels (Exact sciences).

²⁵ The controversial statement made by Moroccan officials qualifying the Moroccan education system as an inefficient and unproductive sector.

reforms and the rationalization of public expenditure [...] After the end of the SAP and following a request from king Hassan II in 1995, the World Bank published a report recommending the Moroccan government to reform the public administrative system. The latter was judged inefficient and inadequate to support the economic stability of the country. As one of the World Bank's newsletters underlines, the reform of the Moroccan administration is central for supporting democratization and economic development and therefore to contribute to the fight against poverty and the improvement of social services. (Gazzotti, 2018, p. 85)

The education system in Morocco, and possibly in most other countries that won their independence after the end of WWII, has been the subject of two controversial courses of reform action. Firstly, a local course of action extending over a period of 27 years from 1956 to 1983. During this period, the novice ruling parties failed to join efforts and collectively conceive a realistic educational project without succumbing to ideological or political intransigence. Secondly, a global course of action (1983 - 2015) where international financial organizations issue periodic reports on socioeconomic and developmental policies affecting world countries' economies suggesting terms of how these economies should be structured, and what reform plans to put in place in order to promote economic growth.

Among the four principles that formed the basis of educational reform back in the 1960's and the 1970's, Arabization policies have been the most contentious measures ever taken up to the present day for two main reasons: On the one hand, the unavailability of qualified teachers who would help concretize this project:

Morocco followed a different route to Arabization, which hastily covered different disciplines and grades in primary education in the early stage of the

process. Owing to the absence of qualified teachers, especially in math and science, the authorities had to recruit a large number of underqualified teachers. By the early 1960s, 50 percent of the teaching force in primary education were themselves graduates of primary education. (Galal, 2008, p. 243)

On the other hand, the selection of the language of instruction remained a thorny issue for successive governments. Government officials could not come to terms on whether French should be discarded altogether from school curricula and be replaced by Arabic, or maintain French as the main language of instruction. This latter option was justified with French being better positioned to serve Moroccan economic interests and that a thorough Arabization of the education system would require substantial financial and human resources.

At last, it was decided that a gradual Arabization of primary and secondary education should be effected. By the end of the 1980's, the Arabization of all subjects was complete with the exception of a few scientific or technical courses in upper secondary levels as well as at the university level:

French was also maintained as the language of instruction for math and sciences in both lower and upper secondary schools. To meet the demand for secondary education in the 1970s, Morocco had to import French-speaking teachers from countries such as France, Romania, and Bulgaria to teach math and sciences, and Arab teachers to teach humanities and social studies. By 1989, Arabization of all subjects across all grades in both primary and secondary education was accomplished. However, Morocco maintained French as the language of instruction of scientific subjects in technical and

professional secondary schools, and in technical institutes and faculties of sciences at the university level. (Galal, 2008, p. 37)

Not only was the Arabization process of education in Morocco considered as a necessary component in the country's struggle to fulfill its independence and reclaim its narrative of identity and culture, but it was also meant as a rejection of previous colonial attempts to impose French as the country's official language. Furthermore, a full Arabization of state administration and education system meant a fulfillment of Moroccan nationalists' project of an independent state with Arabic at its core. The project was initiated by Moroccan Salafi scholars²⁶ both prior to and during the protectorate regime²⁷.

Arabization in Morocco has historically been confronted by two major adversaries: An economic resistance led by a novice Moroccan Bourgeoisie whose economic interests were in tight correlation with the French economy. Secondly, a recent cultural (ideological) conflict following an awakening of Amazigh organizations (across North Africa) rallying behind calls to recognize and preserve the Amazigh heritage.

It is an undeniable fact that early independent Moroccan governments were ambitious and well-intentioned as far as building a national and fair education system that would have the capacity to realize the aspirations Moroccans had prior to winning their independence. However, it became quite evident that the educational and organizational structures left by the French authorities were too ingrained to challenge or replace. The only alternative educational model nationalists had in hand was the traditional religion-based educational

²⁶ The adjective Salafi should not be confused with its contemporary sense of extremist. A Salafi in this respect simply means a nationalist. Examples of these Salafi Scholars : Abdellah Guennoun, Almokhtar Soussi, Mohammed Belarbi Alaoui, Allal Alfassi, and Mohamed Belhassan Ouazani.

²⁷ - ادريس جنداري ص 09-10 الفكر الاصلاحي في المغرب، ورهان الاصلاح السياسي والاجتماعي: الأستاذ والمناضل علال الفاسي نموذجا

structure that had existed in Morocco prior to the protectorate period. (Al-Marrouni, 1996, p. 18)

Almakki Almarrouni traces back the development of education in Morocco from 1956 up to 1994. In his six-chapter study (Almarrouni, 1996), he provides an extensive analysis of the social, economic and political conditions that existed during what he refers to in his book as ‘the four periods of educational reform in Morocco’. The writer provides ample evidence to support his analyses. His book *Educational Reform in Morocco 1956-1994* along with Al-jabri’s *Lumières sur les Problèmes de l’Enseignement au Maroc* are regarded as two of the most-widely referenced books whenever academic discussions on educational reforms in Morocco are evoked.

Comparing Al-jabri and Al-marrouni’s examinations of the educational structure put in place by the protectorate authorities in Morocco reveals that both accounts generate similar conclusions with regards to how the Moroccan society is structured. According to Al-marrouni, towards the end of the protectorate regime in Morocco, there existed four categories of education that answered to two different institutions or authorities:

- a- A European education and a Judeo-French education: The two types adopted French Educational curricula and used French as their language of instruction. Both types of education were under the directorate of public education.
- b- A French-Islamic education: This type of education was under the supervision of the same French directorate. However, it provided a bicultural instruction (Arabo-Islamic & French) and it used French as the main language of instruction.
- c- A modern ‘free education’ with an Arabo-Islamic orientation: It used Arabic as its main language of instruction and it was under the supervision of the *Makhzen* (the Sultan rule).

- d- A traditional education structure (Msids and Zawyas) which in spite of the countless attempts taken to modernize it, it remained traditional in terms of its teaching-learning methods and the content it provided. This form of classical education was under the Makhzen authority as well. (Almarrouni, 1996, p. 24)

Two more important takeaways to draw from this colonial educational classification of society outlined by Al-marrouni in his *History of Reforms in Morocco* and from Al-jabri's books on education in Morocco:

- A. The colonial authorities' deliberate division of society into two main camps: 1. A modern elite with a dual cultural backgrounds Arab and French. Members of this elite mostly came from well-off families and were located in urban areas. They often integrated administrative positions and served as intermediaries between colonial authorities and the rest of society, 2. The second social category consisted of individuals who clinged to traditions, and who strove to maintain a traditional social order. This order derives its rules and dispositions from Islamic teachings.
- B. These two different modes of education set by French authorities during the protectorate period produced politicians entertaining different visions and objectives they believe the education system should be geared towards. Moreover, one point that polarized politicians' views in the wake of independence concerned the educational structure left behind by the French. The debate was over whether this structure should be deconstructed and replaced by a new national educational model, or that it would suffice to initiate reforms in response to the ambitions and aspirations of an anxious society (Almarrouni, 1996, p. 25-26).

As mentioned earlier, Al-marrouni divides the history of reform of education in Morocco into four distinct periods. The first chapter of the book serves as a prelude to past and present political and academic discussions of the implemented reforms. It highlights the

social, political, and educational conditions of Morocco under the protectorate regime. The four chapters that followed elaborately examined the educational reform initiatives all in correlation with the socioeconomic conditions distinct to each of those reform initiatives²⁸.

Al-Marrouni names the four periods of reform as follows:

- * Period 1: (1956 - 1963) Building a national system of education.
- * Period 2: (1964 - 1972) Restructuring and policy-revisiting Attempts.
- * Period 3: (1973 - 1983) The lost reform.
- * Period 4: (1983 - 1994) The imposed reform.

A close examination of this chronological division reveals one general fact: Educational reforms in Morocco remained hostage to a series of cultural and political disputes which all hark back to the protectorate period. Despite the numerous reform policies put in place in the wake of multiple official conferences as well as the allocation of substantial financial resources, inhibiting factors seemed to always spring up, therefore, hampering the whole process of reform and dooming it to an eminent failure.

To form a fair idea of how the concept of reform was approached in Moroccan political spheres, we shall offer a brief account of the successive reform initiatives implemented since 1957. This account shall be accompanied with a brief commentary on the direct causes that led to the successive reform failures.

The first three years following independence (1957 through 1959) were marked by the establishment of three consecutive reform committees. These were put in charge of reforming the educational system inherited from the protectorate authorities. In brief, a multi-layered system was put in place which targeted groups of societies according to their social backgrounds and the economic or professional functions they were expected to fulfill.

²⁸ Ibid

A. 1957-1958 early reforms: The first reform commission called ‘The educational movement’ was established in 1957. Through coming in contact with varied educational modes of instruction -a Judeo-French education, an Islamo-French education, a Spanish education, a private education, and a vocational instruction -, the commission relentlessly pushed for a unification of the various modes of instruction that existed during the protectorate regime. It suggested a subdivision of educational levels (number of schooling years for primary, middle, and secondary schools), the Moroccanization of state employees, and a gradual Arabization of all school subjects.

The ensuing reform commission of 1958, named the Royal Commission for Educational Reform, had entirely different visions. The initial procedures carried out by this commission involved a cancellation of many decisions taken by the former commission. Chief among these decisions was the reinstatement of French as a language of instruction in schools, mainly for mathematics and similar exact sciences (ibid, p. 36).

This line of early reforms continued on and gave rise to a third commission of reforms named ‘The commission of education and culture’. This latter was formed in 1959 and the main conclusions it reached figured as a part of a larger developmental government plan issued in the end of that same year. ‘The commission of education and culture’ addressed a series of challenges such as the generalization of education and the restructuring of the ministry of education directorate (Almarrouni, 1996, p. 38). In 1959, the number of Moroccan students who joined schools was unprecedented. This added significant pressure on the government as there was a lack of logistical and financial resources. A couple of interesting points that we wish to shed light on during this period before we cover subsequent reform projects, these are:

A. During the protectorate regime, private institutions were neither under the authority of the French public directorate, nor under the Makhzen’s authority. Put differently, the concept of

private schooling during the protectorate does not bear any resemblance to that used in the present times. These institutions were run by nationalists during colonial times and they resisted all sorts of official or administrative control when new rulers of independent Morocco attempted to annex and nationalize them (Almarrouni, 1996).

B. The Arabization process raised many issues in the medium and long ranges regarding its pace of implementation and which courses had to be Arabized. From the mid-1960's until the end of the 1980's, the Arabization issue turned into a point of intense political discord between conservative and progressive forces on the one hand, and between an economic bourgeois elite whose commercial and business growth remained dependent on French economic presence in Morocco.

Almaamoura Forum was the fourth national debate on education reform. It was held on April 14th, 1964, and it brought together politicians, academics, union representatives, and state officials. Almaamoura Forum emphasized the importance of 'the four principles' in the conception of future policies as well as the state commitment to promote Arabo-Islamic values within school curricula. Almaamoura Forum was immediately followed by a ternary chart (1965-1967) that sought to put into effect Almaamoura forum's recommendations. It laid a particular emphasis on the Arabization of primary education levels as of 1966.

The 'ternary chart' or the Benhima chart as it was notoriously known was confronted with a bitter rejection from the part of social and political forces (PI party, UNFP party, UNEM) (ibid, p. 65). The project was criticized for being elitist in that it fostered modes of education reminiscent of those imposed by the French protectorate authorities.

'The first Ifrane debate of 1970': The focus during this period shifted towards higher education and much attention was directed to vocational training. Another major event that followed the first Ifrane debate was the establishment on October 3rd, 1973 of a high council of education. An advisory body that provides non-binding strategic recommendations on

issues that concern the field of education. The high council of education consisted of various social and political actors, pedagogues, economic experts, civil society campaigners, unionists...etc.

The recommendations adopted in the first Ifrane debate were reaffirmed in ‘the second Ifrane debate in 1980. However, the latter Ifrane Debate was held during turbulent political conditions resulting from the implementation of strict policies by the then minister of education and one of the Istiqlal party leaders; Azeddine Laraki (ibid, p. 67). Laraki, who oversaw the ministry of education from 1977 to 1986, introduced a package of controversial policies which infuriated the population and forced it out to protest on the street on multiple occasions²⁹. Examples of these policies included:

- Forbidding failing students to repeat school years as a solution to limit the excessive number of enrolled students at school nationwide. This figured as a necessary measure within a larger austerity plan. Furthermore, education directorates systematically facilitated the orientation process of students enrolling in vocational training programs.
- Restricting the accessibility of students to higher education institutes by imposing a merit-based grading system, and limiting the number of students (faculty seats) who could enroll in these institutions.
- Arabization went full steam ahead following minister Laraki’s statement that ‘language duality was the principal cause of education failure’. Arabization was extended to cover secondary level stages (middle and high). However, a year later

²⁹ Following an increase of school fees in 1984, students came out on the street to protest against these measures. Students were soon joined by unemployed graduates and other workers, and turned into nation-wide protests. These protests were violently quelled by authorities.

(1978), king Hassan II affirmed in one of his speeches that ‘Language duality’ was to remain a feature of the education system (Almarrouni, 1996, p. 78).

As significant as most of the recommendations advanced by official reform committees were, they were still put on hold as a result of Morocco’s implementation of a series of austerity measures. These measures were part of a ten-year structural adjustment plan that started in 1983 and lasted up till 1993. The debate over reform continued, yet it did not yield any substantial results on the ground in spite of intermittent calls from political parties and syndicates to carry on reforms. This exacerbating situation prompted the king Hassan II in August of 1994 to call for the establishment of yet another ‘National Commission’ that should determine and address issues affecting the education system.

The commission’s final recommendations in 1995 were not different from the ones articulated by its predecessors. Again, the commission emphasized the importance of making education accessible (generalization) to as many children as possible. Besides, two more recommendations called for the Arabization of fields of human sciences and the unification of the education system. However, the king was not satisfied with what this commission presented as recommendations, especially with regards to two points:

- a. The commission’s ‘attitude’ towards the role of the private sector and how it functions as a separate entity with an independent management within the education system.
- b. The commission’s vision of how the issue of language duality should be handled (prioritizing Arabic).

The king criticized the commission for not being able to come up with novel perspectives and alternatives as well as for regurgitating the same old slogans of unification, Arabization, and the generalization of education. The commission’s recommendations were cast aside, and new directives were issued to establish a second commission to look into the

education system's issues and to determine its needs. The second commission was headed this time by one of the new king's senior advisers: Mr. Mezyan Belfkih.

Meanwhile, periodic reports³⁰ from the World Bank and other affiliated organizations were issued insisting on an accelerated execution of policies that should grant the private sector access to the field of education and conceive policies that bolster its position. Furthermore the reports urged succeeding governments to set up new alternative courses of action that address the issue of increasing public expenditure. At the core of this action was the necessity to curb spending directed to public services (transportation, health, public investments...etc.), and in particular the increasing funds allocated to the sector of education.

The National Charter 1999-2000: A parliamentary commission that consisted of 34 members submitted a 69-page charter document entitled: *The national charter for education and training*. Not only does the charter offer a holistic view of the main axes that should be addressed, but it also provide an exhaustive reform plan to the ills of the education system at all levels. The charter was adopted as a referential document by the king's cabinet, and subsequent government decisions were bound to abide by and consider its dispositions.

The National Charter is considered by many experts and researchers to be the single most important document in the modern history of independent Morocco to genuinely address issues impeding the progress of the education system (Bedmar, 2014). The document enumerates a list of dispositions (177 measures) subsumed under 18 'pillars', and these pillars are themselves detailed within six separate fields. The charter provides practical strategies which, if carefully carried through, could have undoubtedly ensured a genuine initiation of reforms of the system of education.

³⁰ See WB reports: 1995 - 2006 – 2010.

On a personal note, my examination of *The National Charter for Education and Training* led me to conclude that if this document had been properly and carefully executed, it would have been the ideal solution for a vast array of dysfunctional issues in the field of education. The charter was the fruit of intensive meetings putting together hundreds of experts from different disciplines and fields. Its significance lies in its involvement and call of all social and political actors to assume their roles. For each one of these parties, the charter determines and specifies functions they are expected to fulfill to bring about the desired reforms. The charter is subdivided into two major parts:

Part. 1 lays out the reform objectives, reform motives, guiding principles, and it outlines duties of government institutions and the whole body of NGO's as well as roles and functions of all components of society (individuals and institutions) in relation to school. Finally, it seeks to stir a national mobilization in hope for a collective commitment to the reform.

Part. 2 lists the main aspects of education reform and the pillars of change.

An examination of the six fields subsumed under the second part of the charter showcases the comprehensive character of the suggested reforms in this document. These reforms were articulated in the form of guidelines and they covered six domains: A. Generalizing the educational offer to reach the whole population and adapting its content in a way that would fit the economic needs of each region, B. Pedagogical organization, C. Promoting quality education and training, D. Effective management of human resources, E. overall management, and F. Partnerships and financing sources.

The National Charter for Education and Training was a vigorous reform project. It offered plausible and well-defined courses of action. It was so comprehensive in its approach to reforming the education system in Morocco that it left very little room for criticisms to be levelled when it was adopted as a frame of reference.

However, and after almost a decade of its implementation, reports issued by several international organizations³¹ revealed an acute decline in students' school performance. In primary and secondary school levels, dropout rates reached unprecedented levels. Consequently, the reports linked students' poor performance to the mediocre conditions of schools' infrastructure, crippling poverty especially in rural zones, and the inefficiency of programs of instructions to meet the requirements of industrialization and the modernization of economy (Chauffour, 2017).

For many commentators, experts and pedagogues the evaluations and the statistical indicators presented in these reports came to evidence concerns and conclusions these civic and political parties had voiced before. These concerns related to the incapacity of the national charter to accomplish its objectives. In the same vein, members of the high council of education, training, and scientific research issued an evaluative report in 2014 in which they openly admitted the national charter's inability to deliver on many of the objectives it had previously set. (CSERFS report, 2014)

Ironically, the same fate awaited another follow-up reform initiative titled 'the emergency plan'. The EP lasted only four years (from 2009 to 2014) and was briefly put to a halt following a declaration at the parliament by the minister of education Mohamed Al-wafa³². The minister attributed the causes of the EP's failure to "the absence of proper examination mechanisms of funds (Funds allocated for the realization of EP Infrastructure projects), and the absence of a participative approach in the management of these projects"³³.

³¹ Reports on educational performance issued in 2015: TIMSS, PIRLS, IEA.

³² In July 2012, Al-wafa openly declared that the Emergency Plan failed 'to materialize its objectives'

³³ The Emergency Plan counted a total of 23 projects with an estimated amount of 33 million MAD. The projects were meant to concretize programs developed within the National Charter for Education and Training, but could not be realized for constraints involving funding and lack of logistics, planning... Projects presented in the Emergency Plan covered areas of: Education generalization, curbing dropout and illiteracy rates, consolidating institutional infrastructure, and continuous professional development.

2. 4 Reflections on the Stages of Educational Reforms:

French colonial authorities established during the protectorate period an educational structure which grouped people based on their social belonging as well as the services these groups would be requested to render. This selection process was driven by the desire to preserve the political and the economic interests of the French settlers in Morocco. National Movement (Al-Haraka Al-wataniya) leaders did not show any reluctance to criticize these policies and reject them as being discriminatory, elitist, and purely motivated by a will to maintain an upper hand over the country's economy and resources.

On the part of the French education authorities, there was a pressing need to form individuals who would be willing to defend France's presence in Morocco. These Individuals were expected to constitute a liaison between the protectorate government and the popular masses (Vermeren, 2003). On another level, French authorities were aware of the sensitive character of religion entrenched within society; therefore, the precolonial religion-based education system was subjected to very little change.

The protectorate authorities' intention to establish an education system was never meant to replace or to put itself on competitive grounds with the traditional system that had been in place prior to the protectorate³⁴. On the contrary, they sought to create a parallel modern educational structure that closely resembled the education system in France while being sensitive to the sociocultural subtleties specific to North-African Muslim nations.

As questionable as the motives behind the establishment of a modern educational structure during the protectorate may be, no researcher can deny the fact that its establishment marked a crucial phase in the history of education in Morocco. The string of

³⁴ Religious studies offered by Alkaraouiyine university and different other Zawiya's.

educational reforms that Moroccan authorities carried out in the wake of independence from 1956 up till 1999 were only rectifying policies to a pre-existing structure³⁵.

Regrettably, the successive national policies failed to implement appropriate and realistic reforms that could have generated efficient and long-lasting outcomes. In fact, the field of education represented a space for the settlement of political accounts between different opponents. As a case in point, the debate over Arabization of the system³⁶ is still ongoing and splitting politicians into many camps with divergent perceptions³⁷.

From 1956 to 1999, Moroccan officials put in place a series of reforms which more or less met the same fate. Most of these reforms, with the exception of the national charter for education and training, were the outcome of conciliatory politics as previously noted. Early government officials were more concerned with the structuring of an inherited fragile body of state institutions and dreaded to confront any potential episodes of social unrest. Amidst such conditions, Moroccan leaders strove to meet the bare minimum of demands promised during liberation times. In the field of education, they kicked off their reign over the country by ‘securing a school seat for every student, launching illiteracy campaigns, and a gradual Arabization of the education system. (Aljabri, 1979, p. 84)

However, the effectiveness of these early measures were questioned on multiple occasions. The ensuing reform plans targeted the same issues based on the evaluative reports. Examples of these issues include: The scarcity of human resources, the poor infrastructure,

³⁵ What Lise Storm called: Government officials with colonial habits.

³⁶ Moroccan dismissed Arabization policies following Egyptian support of Algeria in the war of 1963.

³⁷ The vote on the framework law which derived its reform articles from The Strategic Vision 2015-2030 was postponed up till the end of 2019. The delay was due to the lack of consensus over which language of instruction to adopt at educational institutions. Conservative forces, led by the PJD party, viewed the reinstatement of French as an official language as a regressive move to satisfy the ‘French economic lobby’.

ambivalent policies...etc. These promising reform plans were often reduced into rudimentary technical measures hoping they would sort out some of the lingering issues.

Political influence was another detrimental factor that significantly affected the course of educational reforms in Morocco. Political discords between government officials and opposition leftist parties: The National Union of Popular Forces (the UNFP) and the Moroccan Communist Party (The MCP) had an inauspicious effect on the educational course of reforms. Countless political riots³⁸ were spurred by students and education union leaders. Lise Storm captures in her book an episode of political turmoil where students were the instigators of social protests back in 1965, she states:

The riots culminated in March 1965, when citizens dissatisfied with the system of government were joined by underprivileged inhabitants of the bidonvilles (shanty towns or slums) and angry students who had taken to the streets appalled by the Ministry of Education limiting the right to go to school to younger children only (Pennell 2000: 323). King Hassan tried to quell the riots (of 1965) with force, but as it became increasingly clear that the situation was getting out of control, particularly in Casablanca, and that parliament was already beyond the control of the monarchy, the King suspended the constitution and parliament and declared a state of emergency, enabling himself to rule the country as he saw fit. Soon after the declaration of emergency rule in 1965, Morocco entered into one of its most serious economic crises in history. (Storm, 2006, p. 25-26)

³⁸ Morocco experienced a period of 'Years of Lead' or *Années de Plomb* stretching from the mid 1960's till 1999. During this period, direct confrontations between opposition socialist parties and the police led to the demise, the imprisonment, and the abduction of thousands of political activists.

These lingering political discords over political power between former leaders of the National Movement and both the king and his political allies left very little room for the improvement and the institution of a solid education system. Early post-independence aspirations for the reform of this system involved determining clear-cut medium and long-term objectives, setting a well-defined course of action, and hailing reform of the education structure as the core of political and economic initiatives. This situation of political unrest continued on up till 1999, when an alternance government consisting of former leftist parties was formed, ushering in a new era of reform and reconciliation (ibid, p. 127-128).

Beside the above two factors affecting educational reform – a. the absence of a comprehensive educational project that overlaps with the social and developmental aspirations of a newly liberated nation, b. and political strife over power that marked the ensuing forty years of independence –, a third factor that impeded educational reforms was the persistence of stifling economic crises, and the interference of foreign actors. Therefore, any debate over impeding factors of reform should consider two levels of crisis:

- a. An internal level of crisis due to tragic episodes in the Moroccan history such as: engaging in war conflicts with Algeria in 1964, the Arab-Israeli war of 1967, the crippling oil crisis of 1973, a 14 year war against Polisario separatists (1976-1990), bitter discords between domestic political forces, a sharp decline in the value of phosphates in 1977-1978, and consecutive years of drought that lasted through the 1980's.
- b. An external level of crisis where international financial institutions, the IMF and the WB, issued periodic reports in which they presented examinations of every sector of the economy. Examinations often coupled with recommendations to adopt in order 'to overcome challenges impeding economic growth and social prosperity'.

The next part of analysis will attempt to identify how plans of action suggested by the IMF and the WB impacted the course of education reforms in the wake of Morocco's adoption of the Structural Adjustment program in September 1983. These reports have had an unquestionable leverage on different economic and social policies especially those involving educational reforms.

This discussion seeks to demonstrate how influential these reports have become as far as policy-making is concerned. Examples of questions underlying this discussion include: a. Do these reports represent the new norm in the management of these world economies? b. To what extent are these reports taken into account in Moroccan policy-making?

Since the end of the 1970's and the beginning of 1980's, all world countries have undergone reforms at the economic level. These reforms mainly targeted the way socioeconomic sectors are structured and managed. On another level, a sweeping popular resistance to these reforms has been on the rise as people have grown more aware of the regressions that such reforms often implied. Acts of resistance often dismissed as groundless 'conspiracy theories' from the part of politicians.

The early 1980's represent a grim period in the economic history of post-independence Morocco. The Moroccan economy suffered immensely following a series of global and local events. As a way out, a ten-year Structural Adjustment Plan was underway as a response to a series of reports issued by the IMF and the WB. The reports warned of further decline of Moroccan economic indexes³⁹ (WB Report, 1994. Par: 2.06) unless immediate austerity measures were put into effect.

³⁹ During the second part of the 1980s, government expenditures and revenues started to rise again, reaching 25.9% and 22.9% of GDP in 1991 respectively. Capital expenditure recovered to about 7% of GDP. The Government wage bill, after the tight containment in the early 80s, started rising rapidly, following the strong increase in nominal salaries and in recruitment. In 1991 it accounted for three quarters of current expenditures, compared to two thirds in 1987. The Government made huge effort to maintain social expenditures; as a result, public spending in education and health fell only from 6.2% and 1.1% of GDP respectively in 1982 to 5.3% and 0.9% of GDP in 1991.

A brief discussion is offered below of a number austerity dispositions stipulated in two reports issued respectively in 1992 and 1994 by the World Bank. Both reports recommend reforms at the level of the education sector in particular. A parallel comparison between the two reports' recommendations and the implemented reform policies adopted in the sector of education up till the year 2012 (Emergency Plan cessation) will be presented. The objective is to see how congruent and compatible state implemented policies are with the reports' recommendations.

2. 5 WB and IMF's Reports and the Conception of Public Policies:

As stated many times throughout this second chapter, the economic public policies of Morocco since 1973, including policies involving social sectors of education and health, were conceptualized in accordance with dispositions listed in reports published by the World Bank and the IMF. To assess how influential these institutions are, we shall consider a few examples of articles listed in two WB reports published respectively in April 1992 and in January 1994.

It is worth pinpointing that WB and IMF reports outline measures for governments to consider in every aspect of the economy. We will limit our scope of discussion to recommended measures in the field education. Reforms in other economic domains will definitely be engendered. This is partly due to the fact that the education field area where state general strategies and economic policies are most evident.

The initial report in question comes at a stage when Moroccan economy was a bit recovering. It was issued on April 08th, 1992 and it served as an evaluation statement of a first wave of reforms specified within the Structural Adjustment Plan of 1983. Article 96 of the report states that:

An Education Sector Loan (Ln. 2664-MOR, dated May 9, 1986) was aimed at restructuring sector expenditure so as to reduce the budgetary burden of education at all levels, while making education more equally accessible to all segments of society. Physical execution of the loan was satisfactory as was the initial implementation of the new nine-year basic education cycle, the core action of the program. But progress toward developing a satisfactory structure of sector expenditures, including finding a viable formula for accommodating higher education expansion, has been mixed and the restructuring is taking longer than originally anticipated. Additional sector analysis and discussions are under way. The Public Enterprise Rationalization Loan (Ln. 2820-MOR, dated July 27, 1987) supported measures to promote financial and administrative autonomy of a large number of enterprises through enterprise restructuring and policy reforms designed to change government-enterprise relations. Progress under the reform program was generally good and the studies are now complete, except for some of the sector surveys that were to provide the basis for further restructuring efforts. (WB report, 1992)

There are three interesting conclusions to draw from the above article. First off, the two loans provided by the World Bank were conditioned on the completion of a series of reforms involving a 'reduction of the budgetary burden of education at all levels'. Secondly, an insistence on 'dwarfing' state roles through an assertion of 'financial and administrative autonomy'. Thirdly, and as a part of the SAP initiated in 1983, a second loan was granted in 1987 to finance 'policy reforms designed to change government-enterprise relations'.

In a nutshell, the global financial strategies of both the WB and the IMF fall within the neoliberal logic of 'more market means less state'. Therefore, and besides controlling

public spending on education, the state's function should not exceed that of a monitoring agent overseeing and securing market transactions. The above disposition is evident as to how Moroccan public institutions should function, and the enterprise model they should reconfigure public institutions to fit into.

A second critical article (Article 99) in the report enumerates the main economic strategies the Moroccan state should strive to put in place throughout the 1990's. The clause pinpoints the reform policies and sectors the second loan (287M. US \$) seeks to support:

Our strategy for the 1990s is based on the following objectives:

(a) finalize the adjustment lending (in parallel with the IMF program) through SAL-II to support the remaining phases of the macroeconomic reform; (b) subsequently, deliver an investment-oriented program, principally in support of Morocco's three essential development priorities, namely: (i) assistance to the social sectors, in line with the Social Plan supported by SAL-II; (ii) direct and indirect support to private sector growth, particularly to exporters; and (iii) further liberalization of policies in a number of activities (e.g., transportation, housing, municipal development) which were not covered under the SAL programs; (c) tackle environment issues with special emphasis on the need for the establishment of a far reaching water management program and the eradication of industrial pollution; and (d) finance high priority infrastructure projects (telecommunication, roads, etc.), which have a direct bearing on economic growth. (ibid, art: 99)

It has become evident by now that the economic reforms preconditioning the grant of loans as part of the structural adjustment programs were intended to shift the roles of the state from being controller and as a designer of public policies to a facilitator of economic

transactions. Moreover, the structural reforms sought a reinforcement of the neoliberal logic through its resolute support of privatization policies. Putting the report's article in other words, setting up conditions where economic transactions had to be liberalized and run by private corporations. These conditions sought to bring about a model of free market economy that would rule and have the upper hand over economic operations.

Although the WB and IMF institutions strongly discourage states' rising funds of social sectors such as education and health, they recommend a gradual decrease of spending rather than an abrupt or sudden rupture of financial allocations. Public spending directed to social sectors is viewed as an economic liability that should be addressed. These action plans were soon faced by a host of social and political parties which perceived of these global reform discourses as antagonistic and posing existential threats to their historically acquired rights.

For the WB and the IMF, in order to alleviate the impact of public expenditures on the general budget, the government had to implement policies of business deregulation, market liberalization, and support accelerate the privatization of social services. In the same report under clause 41, the WB grants the Moroccan state another loan and in return, it urges officials to allow the private sector an expanded role in the economy as a part of a long program aimed to downsize public expenditure allocated to fields of higher education and to 'road and port' infrastructure :

Some of the services now offered by the Government could be offered by the private sector, thus increasing efficiency and reducing the burden on the budget. The proposed SAL would support the Government's efforts to encourage private sector provision of services as part of its long-term reform program. This strategy is consistent with the objectives of (a) reducing fiscal

imbalance without exerting excessive fiscal pressure on the economy, and (b) promoting the role of the private sector as the engine of economic growth. The SAL program would include a study to identify areas in which the private sector could promote services, including higher education and road and port infrastructure. The study would draw on current work undertaken for the preparation of the Transport Sector Master Plan, higher education financing reforms, and the authorities' privatization program. (ibid, art: 44)

This trend of economy liberalization and market privatization continued as an undisputed course of reform for the subsequent few years. Broad economic policies were to a large extent planned, formulated, and brought about in agreement with the guidelines listed by these international financial institutions through their periodic reports.

Morocco passed its privatization law (N: 3989) on Dec 11th, 1989. By virtue of this law, the state had to initiate a large passover of state-owned institutions to private investors. In a speech delivered prior to the passing of the privatization law, King Hassan II addressed the parliament and forwarded the below remarks in favor of this new economic policy:

La décision de transférer au secteur privé une partie importante des activités industrielles et commerciales actuellement assumées par l'Etat ou ses entreprises publiques, ne procède pas d'une courte vue ni d'un alignement sur des idées largement répandues. Elle est née d'une conception ayant le souci d'objectifs à long terme, prenant en compte les données passées, présentes et futures de l'économie marocaine [...] Nous sommes donc tenus de consentir tous les efforts pour redresser la situation et restructurer les entreprises publiques, qu'il s'agisse de celles qui resteront aux mains de l'Etat ou de celles qui seront privatisées. (King Hassan II Speech, 1988)

To the rest of the public masses, privatization in Morocco was presented as an indispensable pathway to tread on to sort the country out of its crippling economic issues (Catusse, 2009). It never figured in official political discourse as a part of a structural reform plan meant to allow businesses and private corporations more interests and control over vital economic sectors. The privatization law was a critical decision made at the state's discretion. It was motivated by a will of the state to modernize the economy, to balance macroeconomic indexes, and to rid itself of the burden of financing public services. This was articulated plainly in the 2nd WB report issued in January 1994, under article 36:

To help alleviate the financial burden on the government budget, a greater involvement of the private sector should be envisaged so that scarce public resources can be allocated to the promotion of enrollment of the disadvantaged. In addition, public resources need to be reallocated from secondary and higher education to primary education; additional resources for secondary and higher education should be tapped from charging user fees, reducing subsidies and boarding facilities for students and targeting scholarship only to the poor. (WB report, 1994, art: 36)

Understanding this dual discourse pattern is key to grasping how various political and economic forces interact in Morocco. In more explicit words, we contend that the balance of powers and decision-making has shifted in favor of business corporations instead of resting in the hands of the nations' political representatives: The government and the parliament. Corporate groups now literally steer the wheel of the country's political process and decide on the country's economic strategies.

Both the WB and the IMF stress, through their periodic reports, the importance of transforming the Moroccan economy from a state-controlled economy into a market-based

one. The underlying motives for this transformation are: Its modernization, the reinforcement of its regional and national competitiveness, and the improvement of its economic indexes. The Moroccan state has to a large extent conformed to most reform recommendations, though implementation processes extended over long lapses of time. This was often due to political caution of how people might react. (WB report, 1991)

The WB and the IMF reports constituted key referential documents which informed Moroccan public policies through the 1990's. A comparison of state policies covering different socioeconomic sectors with reform requirements suggested in these reports demonstrates an astounding congruence between what is stipulated in the reports and what policies are implemented in reality. One paragraph from the 1994 WB report offers a plain example of how the WB and the IMF have had a great influence on Moroccan public policies with regard to how the Moroccan state should proceed to cut down funds meant to cover social services :

What is required to improve the social conditions of the poor is not just increased spending in the social sectors but a greater focus and the establishment of policies specifically targeted to the satisfaction of their needs; spending more public funds for social services will not yield significant results in this respect unless the composition of that spending reflects this priority, in both quality and quantity. International experience has demonstrated that the most important social policies to alleviate poverty are the ones that expand and improve basic health care and primary education. (WB report, 1994)

An examination of the reforms along with the long-term objectives which both the IMF & the WB ⁴⁰ set forth in their reports leads us to conclude that the outcome of reforms is astoundingly different from what local politicians promoted as end-objectives. In more explicit words, what had been advanced as political arguments to convince the public of the urgency of adopting these measures is remarkably different from the ‘reformed’ socioeconomic realities people found themselves grappling with.

Political campaigns which portrayed these structural reforms as transformational procedures seeking to modernize the economy, to boost its competitiveness on a regional and international scales, and to balance out budgetary policies to meet future economic challenges proved to be illusory tactics. Under these transformational policies, a number of social benefits such as : subsidy programs, free education and healthcare services, affordable public transportation, and pension and social security benefits were all under an eminent risk of being repealed.

The end results of these economic reforms did not live up to the initial expectations laid down by different IFI plans and campaigned for by local politicians. New socioeconomic power dynamics were taking shape. This post structural adjustment reality in Morocco was captured by many observers who explored the ways policies of privatization, liberalizations, and other manifestations of the neoliberal doctrine have reconfigured states’ functions and the management of the economy in general, and of the educational sector in particular. One example of these observers is the French sociologist Myriam Catusse.

Myriam Catusse figures as one of these observers choosing to examine the socio-economic and political transformations countries like Morocco endured. She is a French

⁴⁰ At a later period, the WTO and the IFC will join the course of other major International Financial Institutions in determining how the global financial system should be reinforced and run.

prolific writer and a political sociologist at the IREMAM⁴¹. In one of her Articles entitled: ‘Morocco’s political economy’, she reflects on the socio-economic conditions which emerged following the 1980’s and 1990’s structural reforms in Morocco, she notes:

The Morocco of structural adjustment, of privatisations and of economic liberalisation presents an interesting post from which to observe the reconstitutions of the powers of the state over economic regulation in the context of globalisation. The nature and resources of public power are put to the test of the opening of economic borders and the normalisation of markets at international level. In terms of political economy, alongside its historical and institutional specificities, Morocco can be considered in many respects to be a “paradigmatic” case within the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region: the Kingdom is exemplary with regard to the modalities, the breath and the effects of the economic reforms in which it has been engaged since the beginning of the 1980s. It sometimes plays the role of laboratory of the exercise of new instruments of economic policy. (Catusse, 2009, p. 185-216)

In her article, Catusse emphasizes the shifts in the balance of power between the state and other economic actors. In order to decrease its accumulating public expenses, the Moroccan state, through an acceleration of processes of privatization and deregulation, has both given up its economic control over most of its public institutions, and has ceded their management to private the private sector. Moreover, Catusse compared ways Morocco and its neighboring countries, Algeria and Tunisia, approach economic reforms and their implementation over different sectors. She points out that in the case of Morocco, the state unquestionably implements reform plans dictated by IFIs. At the end of the quote, the

⁴¹ Institut de Recherches et d'Etudes sur les Mondes Arabes et Musulmans-Aix. -Marseille Univ & CNRS-

sociologist did not hesitate to compare Morocco to ‘a laboratory where (novel) reform experiments of economic policy are tested out’ (See citation above).

Catusse compares the protests and riots that erupted during the 1970’s and the 1980’s all over Morocco to those happening at present times. She argues that what these protests (popular outrage) have in common is that they are all prompted by the same factors: The state’s retreat from the provision of public services, and the passover of these to private entities.

Catusse emphasizes in her article other debilitating factors besides the interference of International Financial Institutions. Examples of these factors include: An alarming level of corruption, the presence of a rentier economy, and persistent political discords. She underscores the critical roles which IFIs (WB, the IMF, and the WTO) have played in exacerbating the country’s social instability:

Figuring among the 15 most heavily indebted countries at the end of the 1970s, like several other countries the Kingdom was forced to submit to shock therapy under the auspices of the unholy trinity (International Monetary Fund, IMF; World Bank, WB; and World Trade Organisation, WTO). In 1983, a program of structural adjustment was negotiated with the IMF and the WB, one of the first plans of its kind in the region. The principles are familiar: restructuring of the instruments of state intervention and reform of public finances, monetary policy and external trade arrangements [...] In 1989 Parliament adopted a law designating 112 enterprises, among them the jewels of the public sector, for privatisation. (Catusse, 2009, p. 5)

There is no doubt that the economic reform plans Morocco put in place since the 1980’s have had profound effects on the way the state relates to social services. State officials

insistence on coming up with ways to relieve the state from funding ‘unproductive’ public sectors has become an ordinary discourse. Morocco’s fragile economy is forced into a position where it is fully dependent on a fragile private sector to create jobs and assimilate into its business fabric the growing number of university graduates. The education system on the other hand is expected to succumb to the needs of the job market, no matter how weak and inactive this market may be, by adapting its pedagogical content to these needs.

The funds garnered following the bids of 1st wave of privatization in 1989 (112 privatized enterprises) as well as the debt reduction policy which the state put in place throughout the 1980’s and the 1990’s significantly improved economic indicators of the Moroccan economy⁴² (p. 7). However, the repercussions of these economic measures on the society at large were evident. Incessant protests, led by university-graduates demanding jobs, submerged the streets in most cities and especially those of Rabat. Again, Catusse captures the repercussions of these reforms on the Moroccan society and the social risks they gave rise to in this statement:

The reorientation of economic policy had at least two consequences in this regard: on the one hand, rates of unemployment increased, and on the other social risks accrued. From the end of the 1980s, protest against the repercussions on employment of economic liberalisation became a permanent feature of the landscape of Moroccan social movements due to the “unemployed graduates”. At the same time, as in several countries in the region, the policy of debt reduction entailed, at its very beginning, a suppression of, or drastic reductions in, consumption subsidies. Combined

⁴² According to Catusse, the Ministry of the Economy and Finance affirmed that it achieved its macroeconomic stabilization objectives: external debt (the current account balance) was reduced from 12.3 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1983 to 0.9 percent in 1987 and to 0.7 percent in 2003.

with the political claims, these measures rapidly incited popular movements which certain observers called, a little hastily, and with little regard to the political claims which accompanied them, “bread riots” or “IMF riots”. (ibid, 2009, p. 5)

The sheer amount of protests Morocco has witnessed, led by university graduates unable to integrate in the job market, raised key questions with regards to the efficiency, the appropriateness, and the quality of programs of instruction. By that time, the state was faced with two bitter realities:

Firstly, the diminishing financial resources⁴³ allocated to the sector of education- in conformity with the stipulated provisions in reform programs- forced early initiatives of education generalization and programs’ unification to proceed in a slow pace. Such a scenario which resulted in an increase in the number of dropouts and illiteracy rate.

Secondly, the twenty years of privatization launched in Morocco since 1989 brought the state’s demand of public servants to a minimum. The waves of university graduates were left with the only choice of integrating a feeble job market. As a result of the state’s liberalization of economic sectors and launching successive programs of privatization catasrophe states:

After almost twenty years of privatisation, the public authorities are no longer the principle employers in the country, all the more in that they are no longer in charge of the provision of basic public services. Added to reform of the public administration, this led to a remarkable reduction in the privileged

⁴³ Controlling public spending according to the government means: The Present financial allocations forms approximately one third of the national budget, yet 60 % of this budget expense are reserved for the payment of employees and other ministry personnel. Therefore, control means coming up with novel ways of diminishing employees’ access to further financial benefits (commissions, promotions, linking job salaries to performance...etc.)

power resource that was redistribution by means of public employment and impacted on the field of wage and union relations. (ibid, 2009, p.13)

In spite of the socioeconomic ramifications and the constant challenges that these reforms have resulted in, politicians and statesmen of post-independence Morocco seemed adamant to thrust the country into a model free market economy. The Moroccan state has demonstrated an unwavering determination to fully (Oxfam, 2015) join the course of reforms set by IFIs. To such an extent that the Moroccan government has not shown any interest in singling out which policies may function properly for its economy and which may not (ibid, 2009, p.14).

2. 6 Morocco's Integration into the Global Economy:

From 1987 up to the year 2004, Morocco signed a number of free trade agreements and built countless partnerships with international trade blocs. By committing itself to the dispositions and clauses set within these accords, Moroccan policy-makers' abilities were constricted and forced to design policies in line with these international accords:

In terms of its integration into the world economy, Morocco fulfilled the necessary conditions and acceded to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1987. It was furthermore at a conference in Marrakech in 1994 that the GATT became the WTO. The Kingdom signed a Partnership Agreement with the European Union (EU) in 1996. In the framework of the Euro-Mediterranean process started at Barcelona in October 1995, the Agreement provided for the establishment of a free-trade area between Morocco and the EU by 2010. In 2004, the Kingdom signed a free-trade agreement with the United States (US) which confirmed the option "of the

integration of the Moroccan economy with the world economy. (OXFAM report, 2015)

As already pointed out, despite the plethora of economic reforms that the Moroccan state was engaged in since the end of the 1970's up to 2010, the reforms failed to lay the basis for a strong and modern economy able to compete on regional as well as on international scales. While the state might have risen to the challenge of institutionalizing and laying the foundations of a neoliberal economic system through processes of privatization, economic liberalization, and a sweeping market deregulation, the resulting public disenchantment with these policies led sweeping social dismay, incessant protests, and a waning trust in the political system.

Official reports and statistics produced by national and international organizations corroborate these contentions. International indexes on development, social welfare, education and literacy, and employment rates attest to the declining of social services as reform plans were fully executed.

The WB and the IMF attribute the failure and the incapacity of privatized social services to function properly to the incongruence of these social programs with the economic orientations defined by IFIs as a roadmap to follow through:

From 117th place globally in 1995, Morocco slipped to 123rd place in 2005 out of 177 countries ranked. In particular, its scores for education were adverse.

Morocco is placed among the worst in the world as regards the level of education rurally. In 1998/9, 48.3 percent of the population of over 15 years of age was classified as unable to read or write, 83 percent of the women of whom were living in a rural environment [...] According to a survey of the domestic standard of living carried out in 1998/9, 19 percent of the Moroccan

population was living under the poverty line, as opposed to 13 percent in 1990, while the “economically vulnerable” population living just above this line had also increased. By 2005 the figure would be 25 percent. The worsening of these indicators, which went on beyond 1992 and the end of the main program of structural adjustment, indicates that they could not simply be imputable to the short-term consequences of neo-liberal reform. (OXFAM report, 2015, p. 15)

The figures presented in the above citation showcase the outcomes of the education reform strategies implemented in line with the Structural Adjustment Plan. The results of these reforms were literally inauspicious, and up to the present time, the educational scene consists of a private sector eroding the public one.

The declining indicators in sectors of employment, education, and health raise questions regarding the objectives these reforms sought to accomplish. Clearly the above rates and figures demonstrate a poor management and a defective planning on the part of local officials. Given all of the above examinations, we can assume that the recommendations detailed in the reports released by the IMF, WTO, and WB’ sought to accomplish one grand objective: thrusting the Moroccan economy into the neoliberal mould of global economy by prompting it to adopt free-market values of privatization, deregulation, entrepreneurship, and competitiveness.

2. 7 Morocco 2040 - Emerging by Investing in Intangible Capital:

The last segment of this chapter will draw on a final critical document which presents itself as a prospective frame of reference for Moroccan policy-makers. The report titled, *Morocco 2040 - Emerging by Investing in Intangible Capital*, offers itself as an economic

roadmap for the country to achieve two purposes. Firstly, it provides a comprehensive evaluation of the economy performance through an assessment of the reform policies put in place during the last fifteen years. Secondly, the report highlights socioeconomic areas of potential growth. In terms of governance-related issues, the report suggests recommendations the state should implement in order to accelerate sustainable growth and human development over the following two decades.

The 371-page book was prepared by Jean Pierre-Chauffour; a former IMF economist, the current ‘lead country economist’ for Morocco, and the regional ‘trade coordinator’ in the Middle East and North Africa region at the World Bank. The report is divided into two parts: part one looks into the sectoral policies and strategies implemented over the last 15 years. In more precise terms, the report assessed recent government policies designed to spur growth, integrate the Moroccan economy into adjacent regional economic blocs (Mediterranean and African), define the socioeconomic challenges impeding the convergence of the Moroccan economy within these trade blocs, and eventually to propose “an economic convergence scenario along with the implications this scenario imply for the development model in place in Morocco”. (Chauffour, 2017, p. 4)

The second part of the report narrows down the scope of analysis and puts the concept of ‘intangible capital’ under the spotlight. Basically, intangible capital “relates to the quality of the institutions, the development of human capital, and the quality of social capital in countries” (Chauffour, 2017, p. 5). The report argues for a break-away with past economic models where the state held a central managerial role as a legislator, an investor, and as a controller of the economy. Instead, Chauffour recommends building an alternative development model centered on this economic notion of intangible capital.

Another crucial aspect detailed in part two relates issues relevant to institutional governance and productivity. Not only does it suggest reforms to further control government

spending, but it also urges putting in systems that have the capacity to stimulate human resources to function better:

The book seeks to answer the following questions: What measures should Morocco adopt to enable institutions supporting the market to allocate jobs and capital in a more efficient manner and ensure a more effective integration of the country into the global economy? [...] The book therefore seeks to provide ways to address the question raised by His Majesty King Mohammed VI, in his Throne Speech of July 2014, regarding the manner in which intangible capital could become the “fundamental criterion in the development of public policies so that all Moroccans may benefit from their country’s wealth”. (Chauffour, 2017, p. 5)

The initial assessments that the book spreads out concerns the deficiencies of the current development model put in place. This first analytic segment is entitled ‘The Flagging Development Model’ is an evaluative statement of the series of socioeconomic measures executed by the state over the last 15 years. The report remains in line with the financial recommendations and the economic orientations outlined by the World Bank. Unsurprisingly, the report does not show any reluctance in highlighting the merits of the private sector and the efficiency of entrepreneurial policies in contrast to an obsolete and inefficient state-controlled economy:

The incentives and decision-making process for public sector investment choices are not the same as for the allocation of private sector capital. Although all private sector investment choices are supposed to consider return and profitability, social and land-use considerations, as well as noneconomic

considerations, often motivate public sector investment choices. State-owned enterprises are subject to soft budgetary constraints. (Chauffour, 217, p. 53)

The report reaffirms the WB recommendations as the only ‘ideal’ path of reforms. It even reiterates that all forms of government’s interference in the economy are directly responsible for the slow growth and the recession of world economies. Throughout the pages of the report, the public and private sectors are contrasted against each other in terms of efficiency, productivity, and the useful management of resources (financial, human, intangible...etc.), as the below quote indicates:

This is hardly surprising, given that the public and private sectors implement different decision-making processes that produce equally different outcomes. On the one hand, profit seeking tends to generate innovation and a quest for efficiency, in terms of both output and resource management. On the other hand, public choice theorists (Buchanan and Tullock 1962) have shown that public policy makers may actually be motivated by public interest (or at least their perception of the public interest), as well as by self-interest or by bureaucratic interests that are sometimes at odds with proper management and good governance of public funds. (ibid, p. 53)

Socio-economic measures⁴⁴ that government departments often have recourse to in order to appease sociopolitical and union protests are portrayed in the report as: ‘distortions may impede optimum allocation of factors of production and, ultimately, slow productivity gains’ (ibid, p. 111 -112). Comparing elements distinct to private and public economic

⁴⁴ Financial incentives and subsidies such as public and private sectors’ pay raises, promotion criteria, and direct employment.

models serves as a reminder of the economic course the Moroccan state should stay on to accomplish the process of reforming the Moroccan economy.

The report re-enumerates the merits of passing on the management of financial and socioeconomic services to the private sector. It even goes on to attribute all ills of the Moroccan economy to the persisting intervention of the government in various economic sectors. The report also reaffirms the necessity of the government and all other political forces to speed up the process ‘changing the development Paradigm’ (ibid, p.113).

Achieving this end requires launching another wave of structural reforms⁴⁵ that has the potential of overturning the current development model. An alternative model that has the potential of reconfiguring the logic that presently governs public policies:

A sweeping change scenario, under which Morocco would embark on a structural transformation and an accelerated process of convergence in the space of a single generation, assumes that the conditions are present for making sweeping changes to the strategies and policies currently pursued. First of all, there must be a veritable collective realization that Morocco’s current development model has reached its limits. As underlined in the Bank Al-Maghrib’s last annual report, Morocco must begin a complete revision of its development model and promote a series of changes to the design and implementation of public policies [...] The mere continuation of current policies and reforms would not allow Morocco to quickly converge with the most developed countries over the next generation or to fully meet the aspirations of its youth. (ibid, p.113)

⁴⁵ Morocco is in an exceptional period characterized by a demographic transformation that has the potential to bring high growth. If appropriate structural reforms are introduced to seize this historic opportunity, Morocco could rebalance its growth model by scaling up its productivity gains and improving the employment rate.

By now, we believe that IFIs perceptions of what structural reforms articulated in the form of recommendations to drive economic growth have been crystallized. The implementation of these structural reforms is meant to lead emerging economies to form regional trade blocs at an initial stage, and to integrate these free-markets into the global economy at a later one.

Examining the reform scenarios which the WB memorandum presents the Moroccan government with has been an illuminating experience. The *Morocco 2040* scenarios constitute referential points based on which reform strategies and policies ought to be conceived.

In the next chapter, we will examine the recent educational reform strategies in light of economic reforms suggested in the *Morocco 2040* report. A comparison between the dispositions of ‘The National Chart for Education’ and ‘The Strategic Vision 2015-2030’ implemented in the field of education will be compared against the suggested neoliberal line of reforms to determine if any form of overlap or compatibility exists.

Part II : Discourse, Quantitative and Qualitative Analyses :

Chapter Three :

3. Critical Discourse Analysis:

3. 1 A CDA Examination of the National Charter and the Strategic Vision:

The third chapter takes on a textual analysis approach. Its content will be more focused on the discursual properties of reproduction inherent in educational reform strategies in Morocco.

The chapter starts with a brief overview of what Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) means, how it is relevant to our line of research, and how important its employment is as a method that encompasses concepts discussed in the first two chapters.

The CDA method will be employed in both this third chapter and the following one. It should hopefully allow us a narrowing down of the scope of analysis to elaborate on two specific aspects: -a The embedded and often undetected neoliberal properties underpinning the last two reform education projects ‘The National Charter for Education and Training’ and ‘The Strategic Vision 2015-2030’ by means of a discursual textual analysis, -b- At a later stage, a discursual content analysis of neoliberal features inherent in programs of instruction (textbook texts). These texts were randomly selected from various programs of instruction and taught at different school levels spanning over a period from the 1930s up to 2018.

The objective of this chapter is to provide an informed view of how the concept of reform is represented in the two reform texts. In other words, detecting how neoliberal principles are rooted in educational reform policies, and how educational curricula serve as a platform where economic neoliberal values and orientations are articulated, reinforced, and normalized in students’ daily interactions⁴⁶.

3. 1. 1 Definition and methods of CDA:

⁴⁶ What individuals internalize and consider as valid or rational thinking in their daily social interactions

Broadly speaking, critical discourse analysis is an analytical method that explores the discursual properties inherent in language (spoken/written), detects contextual clues inherent in textual discourse, and demonstrates how these contrive to construct ideological systems of thought. Critical discourse analysis will help us deconstruct policies orienting the Moroccan education system: “CDA is analysis of the dialectical relationships between discourse (including language but also other forms of semiosis, e.g. body language or visual images) and other elements of social practices” (Fairclough, 2004).

Another reason why we opted for CDA as an investigation tool is that it concerns itself with the way various forms of discourse - textual, visual, semiotic, verbal- affect social practices, and with how they are in return affected and transformed by these practices. The key note discourse analysts should retain when analyzing discourse is that this process should be undertaken on a regular basis since meanings, interpretations, and analyses of discursual practices are prone to change as well.

In our case, we suppose that the way the Moroccan education system is structured, and how it is led to attain particular goals (detailed in reform documents and policies) over specific periods of time provide discursual properties that are worth investigating. The sum of these properties make up what Fairclough refers to as ‘the order of discourse’ (Fairclough, 2004).

CDA methods of analysis can open up new venues for future research. In addition to this, it can greatly help us gain further insights into the intricacies of economic policy-making and the alignment, or lack thereof, of political discourse with these policies⁴⁷. Therefore, we shall limit our analysis to explore only one dimension of educational discourse: power

⁴⁷ We contend that *political discourse in Morocco* casts legitimacy on *policies of Neoliberalization*. We aspire through our employment of CDA method to lay bare the dual and paradoxical character of this relation, and to demonstrate how the political discourse on educational reform does not overlap with the policies put in place.

relations inherent in educational discourse, or as Fairclough puts it: “the dominant or mainstream ways of making meaning in a particular order of discourse” (Fairclough, 2004).

At this point of research, we wish to piece together the theoretical concepts we have elaborated on in the first two chapters as a way of forming a comprehensive frame of analysis. Fairclough’s method of CDA has the potential of serving as a vehicle through which concepts of power relations, deconstruction, reproduction, social construction of reality, and hidden curriculum would produce a theoretically informed analysis.

Offering a brief overview of the above concepts is, in our view, a crucial step to take in order to generate an informed analysis of the Moroccan education system in its totality. Moreover, the use of CDA as an instrument of investigation is recommended by social scientists themselves, owing to its capacity to portray tacit properties of discourse that might be overlooked by other investigation methods.

3. 1. 2 Reproduction Theorists in Favor of a Faircloughian CDA Model:

Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001) devoted their final writings to expose the significant impact ‘neoliberal discourse’ has on the establishment of the neoliberalism ideology. This discourse is endowed with a performative power and its ultimate objective lies in the systematic elimination of what it perceives as economic growth impediments.

Basically, impediments are simply what the public perceives as social services and benefits they expect the state to provide and to have some form of control over. These economic growth impediments include: subsidy programs, the free provision of social services, syndicate action, welfare state policies...etc.

As alternatives, neoliberalism suggests an eventual replacement of these impediments by principles of good governance, the ideal management of resources, transient

employability, optimal productivity, and market competitiveness, principles which the two sociologists referred to as: “ the new planetary vulgate” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1998).

Fairclough sums up the importance of employing CDA in social sciences by affirming what Bourdieu (2001) himself states in his paper:

Showing that social research needs the contribution of discourse analysts. It is not enough to characterize the ‘new planetary vulgate’ as a list of words, a vocabulary, as they do. We need to analyse texts and interactions to show how some of the effects which Bourdieu and Wacquant identify are brought off.

These include: making the socio-economic transformations of new capitalism and the policies of governments to facilitate them seem inevitable; representing desires as facts, representing the imaginaries of interested policies as the way the world actually is. (Fairclough, 2001)

Now that we have established the need to employ CDA as an investigative method of analysis of the different sociopolitical and economic factors constructing education discourse, we shall now focus our analysis on the deconstruction of properties of power, ideology, and reproduction inherent in educational policies on the one hand -textual analysis-, and examine programs of instruction at a second stage in chapter four, or what shall be referred to as content analysis.

3. 1. 3. Textual Analysis:

In this part, we will highlight the discursual transformations that the educational discourse has undergone. In particular, we wish to track the way pedagogical orientations in Morocco shifted from focusing on the building of a ‘social individual’ who is : a) able to think both critically and sensibly, b) aware of his/her full rights and duties as a citizen, c) who

can contribute to the advancement and progress of the society at all levels, and d) who can benefit equally from the socio-educational and developmental opportunities provided by the state to all citizens, (turned) into a model of student who lacks critical thinking abilities or creativity, and relatively familiar with tools of ‘community capacity building’. According to this analysis, one could arguably contend that this model of student is the outcome of schools that limited their pedagogical action to the procurement of students with vocational competencies in accordance with market needs.

In conclusion, we wish to state that the objective of our analysis of recent educational reform charts is twofold. On the one hand it aspires to highlight the discursual shifts in pedagogical orientations the Moroccan education system has been subjected to. On the other, it seeks to demonstrate the subtle ways in which neoliberalism has infiltrated political discourse through placing emphasis on issues of management, administrative governance, classroom practices, and the teaching-learning process...etc.⁴⁸.

In the fourth chapter, our course of investigation will attempt to view how neoliberal values have impacted educational curricula and textbooks, and how these processes of neoliberalism have impacted the educational discourse in Morocco as a whole.

3. 1. 4. From a Behaviorist Teaching Model to a Constructivist One:

The National Charter for Education and Training has introduced substantial changes in terms of the nature of school interactions involving teachers and their students. Whereas in the behaviorist model, the teacher in class held a central position⁴⁹, new approaches to

⁴⁸ Cf. chapter one for more details on how Neoliberalism functions both endogenously and exogenously.

⁴⁹ A process where the teacher literally ‘ran the show’ in class through leading students across different activities and tasks, imparting instructions, and being regarded as an indispensable source of knowledge and information.

education shifted the locus in the teaching-learning process towards the learner. As a result, the teacher's role was relegated to a mere guide or monitor of classroom practices.

Under this new learner-centered model, teachers' interventions, instructions, assessments, and other similar socio-pedagogical interactions have been restricted to a minimum rate, and interference could only be made when remedial work was necessary to mend students' developmental errors.

According to this new constructivist model, students are expected to hold the reins of their learning experiences. They should also be allowed a broader space of freedom where they are encouraged to experiment with different layers of knowledge and techniques, acquire problem-solving skills, test out and enhance vocational competencies, and develop soft skills as well as community capacity building strategies.

Within such a learner-centered environment, the role of the teacher, previously a master of his or her class, has inevitably been minimized. Besides, new teaching approaches allow students more independence to grapple with the various aspects of the curriculum, and be in charge of their educational experiences through a project-based education.

The merits of this learner-centered model in education are countless. Not only does it guarantee a modern learning-experience where students are allowed a prejudice-free space conducive to an experiential, active, and cooperative learning, but it also strives to equip students with interpretive, presentational and analytical skills required in socio-professional contexts (soft skills).

Pedagogical discourse in Morocco has grown imbued with notions of economic skills, vocational competencies, and proficiency abilities. The integration of these economic concepts into educational discourse has unquestionably given rise to an educational discourse overwhelmed with occupational tendencies through the consistently likening and equating students' school performance to professional achievements in socioeconomic spaces.

Therefore, under the current educational model, once students reach the end of their educational path, they should come out to life well-trained and qualified to integrate the job market.

Moroccan Pedagogical Guidelines are compilations of educational approaches which teachers, in both public and private schools, must refer to. They constitute frames of references for all sorts of classroom practices. These guidelines, as it shall be demonstrated, have grown impregnated with values emphasizing neoliberal free-market principles. This is evidenced in terms of their frequent employment of concepts of: skills, competencies, cooperative working, as well as the introduction of units in programs of instruction that address themes relevant to the world of business, employment, and entrepreneurial initiatives.

To be more practical, and in order to have a hands-on experience of how the Moroccan education system has been reconfigured to fit into the neoliberal model, an analysis of the last two referential texts (The National Charter for Education and Training, and The Strategic Vision 2015-2030) will be conducted.

3. 1. 5 The National Charter for Education and Training:

A fair analysis of the charter's pedagogical policies and their political repercussions on the education sector requires that we cast light on a selection of articles and dispositions which, as it will be demonstrated, literally seeks to jam the education system into the moulds of a free-market economy, and sets the grounds for the establishment of a neoliberal educational structure.

It is worth pinpointing that, for relevance sake, the articles we intend to analyze will be mostly taken from the second section of the charter since the initial part is more focused on laying out 'the targeted components of reform', 'the methods and procedures', 'the

required resources’, how these resources should be garnered and employed, and ‘the end-objectives’ of this reform.

Article - 30: It must be set as a goal, throughout the upcoming decade, and on a yearly basis, a gradual increase from 20 % to at least 50 % by 2010 of graduates who should have obtained a vocational qualification, and eventually have integrated the job market.

Article 30 in the charter demonstrates the shift in course that the education system should be directed towards as well as the basis on which future policies should be conceived. The charter expounds this point by referring decision-makers to two other articles (49 and 51) which formulate definite objectives, and fix specific guidelines for politicians and education sector officials to follow. Articles 49 through 51 of this charter notes down sections that emphasizes the importance of generalizing a new form of ‘education coupled with training’. This new form basically means allowing students to alternate between schools and businesses (enterprises):

- Enabling 10.000 students starting from the school year 2000-2001 to benefit from practical trainings (at vocational centers), and ensuring an increase in number to reach 50.000 students per annum by 2005 – 2006.
- Enabling 12.000 students to receive an alternate training (school and enterprise) as of the school year 2000 – 2001 as an initial stage, only to reach a total of 30000 student per annum by the year 2005-2006. (Articles 49-50)

This shift of course in the education system implies that the current streams which students settle in as a part of the pedagogical offer presented to students at common core secondary level have become obsolete. To use a more accurate economic description, the present orientation system is incompatible with the needs defined by the job market.

Restricting orientation avenues to focus on vocational streams will be a dominant feature of the discourse about educational reform in Morocco throughout the three decades that followed the adoption of the National Charter (2000-2030). Subsequent reform projects will proceed through the same reform path with very small variations as it shall later on be demonstrated.

Non-formal education and literacy initiatives have been included as an integral part of the reform plans launched under the charter. Interestingly, the national charter approaches illiteracy not so much as a socio-educational handicap that prevents a large part of society from getting a basic education, but rather it views it as an economic impediment depriving the economy of semi-skilled and skilled human resources. Articles 31 through 34 made it a top priority for the government to set up literacy programs over the following 15 years. The articles view these programs as: ‘a crucial factor to promoting the socioeconomic fabric and keeping up with the progress of all forms of units of production’ (article 31).

The National Charter determines the social categories which government officials should target, and the progressive measures they need to consider so as to fully eliminate illiteracy by the year 2015, in this respect the charter states that:

Given the importance of the functional dimension of literacy (in promoting economic activity), comprehensive efforts should be deployed in this field, on the basis of giving priority to the following categories:

- A. Illiterate workers in fields of production whose ‘job security’ constantly depend on the development and enhancement of their competencies, hence leading to the improvement of their productivity. This category of workers represents 50 percent of the Moroccan active labor force in productive fields.
- B. The category of adults who do not have a stable or a regular occupation, with a particular emphasis on mothers in rural and quasi-urban areas. (Article 31).

The National Charter seems congruent with the state's intention to subdue the system of education to the logic and needs of the market. On the one hand, it follows a social classification of the Moroccan society in a strikingly similar way employed by French authorities during the protectorate period. This is evidenced by the government's intent to associate formal and literacy programs in correspondence to the economic and developmental activities specific to each region⁵⁰.

The third section (levier) of the charter offers an exhaustive educational and economic conception of how public educational policies should be implemented. The title of the charter's third section is indicative of the objectives the state seeks to achieve. The title goes as: 'Striving for a greater compatibility between the educational offer and the economic needs of each region'.

The adaptation of the educational curricula to suit the economic needs of each region is an educational vision that is congruent with the Moroccan state's general policy. The new Moroccan constitution of 2011 set the grounds for in an ambitious cross-governmental project named: 'Advanced Regionalization'⁵¹. This project came to further emphasize early processes of decentralization, deconcertation, and the re-allocation of powers (Political & Financial) in favor of regional governing councils.

The educational initiatives, which the national charter instructs government bodies on bringing about, are listed in article 40 of the charter. This article (4) stipulates the inclusion of 'reinforced practical modules as a necessary component of the teaching-learning process in

⁵⁰ Educational and academic institutions are consistently urged to open up to their surrounding socioeconomic space. In more practical terms, in order for a school or a university project to be *financially* and *pedagogically* approved, they ought to advance compelling arguments that they would allow students (training beneficiaries) practical and useful skills to facilitate integration into the socioeconomic space they belong to.

⁵¹ Cf. Personal article on Advanced Regionalization.

addition to the based-on-theory programs of instruction which students are led through.

Article 40 states that:

All educational pathways, and by implication all education and training institutions, should include, besides the theoretical and academic instruction provided, a practical dimension initiated at all levels on a gradual scale as follows:

1. The enhancement of manual and practical activities at all educational levels (Pre-school/Primary/Secondary).
2. Launching initiatives built on principles of sharing responsibilities, and coordinating between different structures of public education (including Tertiary education), Technical education, and vocational training in view of collectively exchanging and sharing available resources, equipment, and laboratories in accordance with articles 158 and 159 of this charter.
3. Setting up inclusive establishments comprising members from educational institutions, vocational training centers, enterprises, cooperatives, and handicraft associations from both cities and villages, all within a frame of alternate education and practicums (on-site experiences) in accordance with articles 49 through 51, while ensuring the provision of necessary pedagogical conditions.

The charter's ensuing sections remained faithful to the neoliberal precepts⁵². A logic plainly expressed in the form of guidelines at the introduction of the charter. These guidelines insisted on the importance of adapting educational programs to the required skills, competencies, and the needs of the market. The year 2000 – 2001 marked the start of the

⁵² 'Job market needs' should constitute the pivot around which all reform plans and procedures ought to revolve.

implementation of a number of such measures at all levels of education. Article 42 details these measures and outlines action plans for both the government and the private sector to put them into effect:

1. **At the preparatory level** (Middle school): Each preparatory school has to be linked, whenever it is possible, to a vocational training center, youth houses, or women training centers. This linking should aim at providing pupils with opportunities to acquire preliminary technical principles and professional skills, in addition to the general knowledge procured at the preparatory school level. It goes without saying that most students at this level should be exposed to this dual training, especially those who would directly join the job market, following a practicum at an enterprise whenever it is possible.
2. **At the secondary level** (High School): every high school has to be linked to either a vocational training center or an institute of technology and applied studies, on the basis of geographical proximity and technico-scientific complementarity. Linking these educational institutions with vocational centers in their proximity should aim at dispensing equal theoretical and practical courses to students, with a special attention allotted to students willing to pursue their studies in a professional major, or to specialize in a technico-professional baccalaureate stream.
3. **As for higher studies** (university / under-graduate studies), combining specialties and streams (Theoretical and practical units) should be brought about on a gradual basis. To meet this requirement, regional networks connecting university institutions, engineering institutes, and other post-baccalaureate vocational centers should be set up in accordance with the methods suggested in article 78 of this charter.

Once students of these institutions complete their studies, they are expected to be qualified enough to opt for one of two options: 1. Integrate the job market and put their skills into practice (working for a private company or setting up an enterprise themselves), 2. Pursue their technical studies at a higher vocational institution or enroll in a university course. Articles 44, 45, 46, and 47 detail these post-graduation prospects, and they determine the different academic or professional courses of action middle school, high school, and university students can respectively proceed through.

The following section of the charter (articles 49 through 52) highlights the nature and forms of instruction students should be exposed to in various educational institutions. Again, the main character of these reforms involves an adaptation of school curricula to cater for the economic needs specific to each region. By adaptation the articles mean the provision of the necessary workforce in response to the needs of the local markets of each region. The charter's vision of reform invests in two modes of school instruction: Alternate instruction and Continuous Training. These will be respectively presented as we discuss articles 49 and 52 of the charter.

3. 1. 6. Alternate Training and Instruction:

Alternate training or instruction basically refers to the act of dispensing practicums in favor of students within business enterprises. The charter's articles stipulate that these trainings should cover two-thirds of the curriculum and stretch over a period of two to three years. Moreover, Alternate training must be set on a contractual basis involving the employer as a first party, and either the student-trainee or his parents as the beneficiary party. Articles 50 and 51 elaborate on the objectives and the skills students are meant to acquire by the end of each training period:

Alternate training and instruction should be initiated during the preparatory (middle school) or secondary levels:

- A. At the end of the preparatory level period, Alternate Training allows students who selected it, an acquisition of vocational skills that could qualify them to integrate the job market - according to articles 50 and 51.
- B. At the secondary level, high school students who major in a professional stream acquire and develop vocational competencies, and learn how to adapt them in job market context. (article 49)

Article 49 targets two categories of students. Students who are fifteen of age, ranked as low achievers, and likely to drop out of school after having exhausted the number of years they are allowed to repeat. For these students, the national charter instructs that vocational trainings and enterprise internships be set up in parallel with the basic education student-trainees are offered at school.

The second category of students addressed in this article involves students who wish to specialize in one of the vocational or professional streams at secondary level (high school). For this group of students, the charter instructs that all initiatives to set up partnerships with external parties should be undertaken, and that all necessary resources must be allocated.

Articles 50 and 51 define the legal frame within which partnerships linking educational institutions (secondary schools, university faculties and institutions) with other government institutions such as : The national bureau of vocational training, the ministry of finance, chambers of commerce, agriculture and handicraft ministry...), on the one hand, and with the private sector entities on the other. These partnerships aim to accomplish the objectives below (article 51) :

- A. An efficient contribution, from the part of the partners mentioned above, in providing, administering, planning, and evaluating Alternate Training projects at the local, provincial, and regional levels.
- B. Assume a shared responsibility and a coordinate work between educational and training institutions on one level, and host companies and business enterprises on another, in areas of organization, assignment of functions and occupations, the supervision of the training processes of interns, and eventually the assessment of their acquired professional competencies.
- C. Setting up an insurance program to both insure the safety of interns and trainees, and all the materials, equipment or any other forms of logistical support host companies/enterprises might put to use. Such measures aim at establishing a secure and safe environment during alternate training periods.

3. 1. 7 Continuous Training :

The second form of learning that the charter recommends as an essential formative component in different educational institutions and business enterprises is ‘continuous training’. Article 52 of the national charter defines continuous training as “one way of responding to the needs of companies and business enterprises through ensuring a pool of a competent workforce, and keeping it abreast with the latest technological and technical developments so as to maximize workers’ productivity and businesses’ competitiveness”. In the same vein, article 52 emphasizes the importance of investing in human resources and sensitizing them about their rights and duties through continuous training sessions.

Article 53 determines the categories of employees in the private sector, civil service and administration, and territorial localities to benefit from continuous training sessions. The article stresses that, irrespective of how high their professional positions may be, public

servants and private employees should all be take up continuous training courses that the government and corporations are expected to provide. The same article emphasizes the necessity to keep up with new trends of modern administration, computing skills, or other much-needed soft skills deemed essential by enterprises as a way of maximizing employees' productivity, examples of these new skills include: teamwork building, work collaboration, flexibility, planning, management...).

Articles 54 and 59 reiterate the necessity for industrial, economic, managerial, and administrative organisms to incorporate regular 'continuous training' sessions within the establishments they run, and view continuous training as an investment rather than a financial liability⁵³. This investment is meant to boost productivity within these workplaces, to enhance the skills of their employees, and to keep them updated with the latest techniques of work and management.

Article 56 emphasizes the importance of adapting all forms of continuous training to the 'logic of the market'. Interestingly, this logic in the charter is portrayed as the only system capable of: 1. Catering for the needs of enterprises through qualifying and promoting a skilled workforce, 2. Absorbing masses of young graduates, and 3. Reinforcing the competitiveness of enterprises and that of the national economy as a whole.

Alternate training and continuous training are the two modes of education that the national charter directs officials and policy-makers to center their policies and programs on. These two media of instruction mark the construction of a new pedagogical discourse imbued with economic notions and concepts which are themselves founded on the 'logic of the market'. As a result, school curricula as well as educational policies were not only expected

⁵³ For further details on the provision of Continuous Training for private sector human resources at schools, vocational institutions, and universities, see Min.Edu Law number: 60.17- article 09.

to forgo obsolete modes of schooling, but they were also encouraged to engage in a new educational model that cherishes competency-based approaches and vocational skills.

The national charter stresses the importance of building a variety of partnerships with external parties and with private businesses in particular. These businesses are invited to help determine what their professional and vocational needs are. The objective is to help create opportunities of internships or trainings for school or university students. In a nutshell, a principal objective of the national charter is to develop ways whereby educational institutions could lay the basis for a tradition of interaction with their economic entourage.

3. 2 The Emergency Plan 2009 - 2012:

Eight-year into the execution of action plans developed based on guidelines set in the national charter, state officials found themselves compelled to follow up on the national charter plans with the funding of another complementary reform program that went by the name: The Emergency Plan.

The main objective of the emergency plan was to speed up the realization of a number of projects meant to further generalize the accessibility of education to people in remote regions of Morocco. This was to be accomplished by either the renovation of existing educational institutions or the building of new ones. Moreover, the emergency plan sought to set in a continuous training system that invests in educators' professional development. This was translated by the adoption of a new pedagogical frame - Xavier Roger's pedagogy of integration.

Three years later, the ministry of education brought the emergency plan to an end, and it openly declared its failure⁵⁴ to deliver on the objectives it had set before. In total, the

⁵⁴ In a meeting of the Committee of Culture and Education in the house of representative on July 24th, 2012, Mohamed Alwafa, the minister of education, presented a first evaluative document of the Emergency Plan in which he concluded that the slow realization of the projects and the lack of examinations and auditing of these

Emergency Plan cost over 3.3 Billion dollars. This sparked a public outrage and as a result, multiple voices raised questions of impunity and called for public officials who had been running projects of the EP program to be held accountable.

The ministry's announcement of reform failure was confirmed by the issue of second evaluative and diagnostic report by the higher council for education, training and scientific research. The council based its evaluative report on findings reported by the national authority of assessment in an evaluative study entitled: 'The Implementation of the National Charter for Education and Training 2000-2013: Achievements, Gaps, deficiencies, and Challenges'. In the wake of the presentation of the evaluative report, the council presented an alternative reform text that it bore the name: 'The Strategic Vision of Reform 2015 - 2030: For a School of Equity, Quality, and Promotion', another vision meant to salvage a chronically failing education system.

3 .3 The Strategic Vision Reform Project 2015 - 2030:

The strategic vision project formulated by the higher council for education, training and scientific research is viewed by many commentators and pedagogues as an updated version of the national charter and the emergency plan combined. While The emergency plan adopted 'school of success' as its motto and deployed great efforts to achieve its objectives, the strategic vision built its strategies, projects and policies on three reform venues : equity, quality, and promotion.

The strategic vision document starts off with a foregrounding of the areas requiring immediate intervention in the education system both at an internal and an external level. At the internal level, the strategic vision insists that the teaching methodologies inside classrooms must leap from a teacher-centered education, based on rote memorization,

projects were enough reasons to justify the inefficiency and the failure of the program therefore putting it to an end.

drilling, and a linear transmission of knowledge, to a more learner-centered, competency-based, and experiential approach learning.

The strategic vision stresses the importance of reinforcing the roles of school both as an instrument of social integration, and as a professional training institution capable of responding to the needs of the job market. In this respect, the strategic vision reiterates the necessity of schools to reach out to external bodies (Public and Private) as a way of reconfiguring their programs of instruction and adapting them to the vocational needs of local economies.

The second part of the Strategic Vision presents its perception of the new school and sets the objectives it ambitions to achieve in the following way:

A. Developing a good citizen, **B.** Responding to the requirements of the project of a Moroccan society, as adopted by the nation, seeking democracy and development, **C.** Contributing to the integration of Morocco in the knowledge economy and society and strengthening its position among emerging countries, **D.** Promoting the transition from a knowledge consuming society to a society that produces knowledge and disseminates it through a mastery of digital technologies, and through the development of scientific research and the culture of innovation and excellence (The Strategic Vision 2015-2030, CSERF, 2014).

Similarly to what has been noted previously in the national charter, and in addition to reinforcing students' educational competencies, the third axis of the strategic vision emphasizes the need for educational authorities, in coordination with other public and private institutions, to promote vocational training. This latter should be incorporated in curricula not just as a secondary elective course, but as an essential component of schools' programs of

instruction. In this respect, the strategic vision sums up the objectives and procedures promoting vocational training in the following way:

Enhancing the vocational training by increasing its enrollment capacity and by considering it as the best place for learners to develop their individual expertise, by increasing their chances to meet the requirements set by the economic competitiveness in general, and by the needs of enterprises and the labor market in particular. Four main measures will pave the way for new opportunities in this sector:

- A.** Adopt the principle of openness, flexibility, and mobility through bridges in both directions, adopted for the benefit of learners in different levels of general education and vocational training;
- B.** Establish early orientation systems at the intermediate stage;
- C.** Create cycle options for vocational training such as vocational baccalaureate and review selection and admission criteria;
- D.** Articulate in a better way the complementarity between theoretical and practical training by fostering, in particular, alternate training, in partnership with the economic stakeholders.

According to the Moroccan sociologist Rahma Bourqia, the strategic vision has been adopted at a crucial point in Moroccan modern history marked by three important factors. Firstly, an evaluation of a decade of implemented reforms derived from the national charter. Reforms which could not fully absorb mounting social pressure and the public frustration levelled against public education. Secondly, an unstable sociopolitical context marked by a series of countrywide protests and demonstrations (The Arab Spring). This turbulent sociopolitical scene forced the state to call on the implementation of new and immediate

reforms at all levels. Shortly after, the amendment of the constitution was underway. This resulted in shock waves of reforms that affected all government institutions (Bourqia, 2016).

The dispositions of the strategic vision and the spirit of reform guiding its plans and objectives remain considerably identical to the objectives and reform initiatives launched previously by the national charter. Both of these reform projects sought, at least in theory, to reconfigure the education system in such a way as to render it equally accessible to all social categories, more efficient in terms of the quality of education and knowledge it provides, and compatible with the socio-economic needs of a 21st century emerging economy.

The strategic vision document designed action plans similar to the ones outlined by the national charter. This becomes evident when we compare the ministry of education's diminishing capacity to devise the system's pedagogical policies before and after the implementation of the national charter. Liddicoat (2015) argues that the internal and external partnerships linking public and private sectors have significantly undermined public institutions' capacity to form reform visions, and impose them on the sector they supervise. The private sector's perception of how public institutions should be run has overwhelmed public sectors' (Liddicoat, 2015, p. 118-129).

Private sector' overtake of the capacity to develop and implement policies is not an affair of the education sector alone. All government sectors have been subjected to an entrepreneurial mode of management. What validates the claim that all state institutions are leaping into an entrepreneurial management model is the officials' consistent employment of an administrative discourse that celebrates notions of privatization, productivity, accountability, and governance.

3. 4 Comparing Reform Grounds of the National Charter and the Strategic Vision:

In this next section of our analysis we will highlight a number of articles derived from the strategic vision reform document in a way similar to how we approached articles from the national charter. The purpose is to illustrate and support the argument that the vision underlying reform in Morocco is massively driven by economic and political motives rather than socio-pedagogical or academic ones.

Put differently, we suppose that the constant attribution of the state's unsuccessful socioeconomic policies to the poor functioning of the education system is not an entirely accurate contention simply because a sustainable sound reform will unquestionably be a costly one. Therefore, we claim that the issue of high cost of reform should not be a pretext to back down on the need to effect tangible reform; rather the state should further invest in the educational system and better manage its resources so as to be able to attain its outlined reform objectives. This has been the case of all exemplary school systems in developed countries, where states had no choice but to greatly invest and introduce genuine reforms in their education systems in the wake of the WWII.

Education systems in countries such as: South Korea, Singapore, and Turkey are nowadays ranked amongst the soundest systems in the world. They have themselves experienced consequential economic setbacks; however, their leaders did not hesitate to prioritize educational reforms. These countries' systems of education were rehabilitated to build up generations of citizens capable of responding to the needs of the job market and keeping up with a global economy that has witnessed episodes of technological and digital revolutions.

The Moroccan system of education should not be held totally accountable for long periods of sociopolitical strife. Moreover, the system's history of failing reforms must not be

used as a political tactic to introduce corporate neoliberal policies in the name of employability and economic growth.

We contend that educational reform initiatives such as the strategic vision and the national charter lay the grounds for the implementation of free-market policies. Also, we believe that these policies contribute to the reproduction of the Moroccan structure in such a way that the education system is led to offer modes of education specific to each group of society. Arguably, the plurality of these modes of instruction deny members of lower classes opportunities of social promotion, therefore confining them to the socioeconomic contexts they were born and grew up in.

3. 5 Adapting Curriculum Content to the Needs of the Economy:

The next part of our analysis of the strategic vision will look into the social structure that the current education system supposedly gives shape to and reproduces. On another level, it shall attempt to determine the extent to which the private sector of education will be compelled to conform to the policies and pedagogical orientations laid out in the strategic vision in the same way the public sector is expected to.

It goes without saying that the reform rationale guiding the strategic vision is, to a large extent, similar to that underlying the national charter. The strategic vision continues to gauge the efficiency and plausibility of implemented reforms based on how much progress they could effect as far as the country's socioeconomic conditions are concerned. Meaning that any educational reform policy that does not consider economic and business indexes – aiming at lowering unemployment rates especially among generations of university graduates - is condemned by state officials as a failing policy.

In conclusion, the strategic vision plan employs a reform discourse similar to that articulated in both the national charter and the emergency plan. It is a reform document

crammed with notions and concepts that belong to a discourse of entrepreneurship. These include notions of: Human capital, functional skills, competency-based approach, entrepreneurial instruction, vocational and technical streams, and the professionalization of the teaching-learning process.

To illustrate how the educational discourse has shifted from a socio-pedagogical discourse focused on the building of a role model citizen who is aware of his rights and duties, and cherishes universal ideals of freedom, democracy and equality; to a discourse that celebrates and promotes neoliberal free-market principles, and consistently infuses them into policy-making processes and educational policies. Examples of these strategic vision articles illustrating such discursual shifts include, article 15:

The vocational training offer should be expanded on both medium and long ranges. To accomplish this objective, the state should:

- A.** Increase access capacity to vocational training through establishing new institutions and rehabilitating existing ones, with the aim of ensuring an optimal use of their resources and facilities.
- B.** Reinforce links between vocational training / education and the economic entourage distinct to each particular region, while continuously varying, adapting, and updating programs of instruction to cater for the employment needs of businesses.
- C.** Instruct business enterprises and for-profit organizations to provide vocational training courses within their establishments.
- D.** Initiate vocational streams from middle school classes all the way up to university.
- E.** Gradually increase alternate training opportunities within small and medium enterprises. This should be accomplished within a frame of

partnerships between educational institutions and different social and economic stakeholders (Art.15).

The strategic vision employs a discourse identical to the one employed in the national charter in terms of the objectives and the reform action plans they are expected to realize. The strategic vision bears so much resemblance to its precedent reform project that it sometimes reiterates articles cited in the national charter verbatim⁵⁵. Such similarities come in spite of the multiple national evaluation reports which criticized many of the National Charter reform plans. Many of these criticisms qualified some of the national charter reform plans as unrealistic, and likely to produce very limited impact on the educational order (HCET report, 2013).

The above article (15) plainly illustrates this paradox⁵⁶. Therefore, it supports views that the strategic vision is indeed an improved version of the National Charter with a very small variation.

The strategic vision highlights the fields of reforms it intends to address as well as the frames of reference intended reform initiatives are bound to conform to when designing policies and action plans. These frames of references include the constitutional dispositions covering fields of education and training, international commitments (human rights related) that the Morocco has taken part in, and the economic deals government have struck with international parties.

Educational reform plans in Morocco have failed to deliver on their outlined objectives because they often happened to be between the hammer of international organizations establishing a global model of economy within which education systems are

⁵⁵ The National Charter has been explicitly referenced 20 times in the Strategic Vision document.

⁵⁶ Criticisms levelled against the National Charter and the Strategic Vision's readopting of the same course of reform.

expected to fulfill specific functions, and the anvil of a society that considers the provision of a decent public education service as a primary duty of state institutions. Besides, the prolonged reform process of the education system has been nurturing feelings of impatience and resentment within a society, which seems to gradually give credence to and supports political voices questioning the state's actual motives of reform; especially when seeing that all that these reform plans have accomplished was driving a wedge between different classes of society⁵⁷.

Article (129) reaffirms the idea that the strategic vision 2015-2030 is an enhanced version of the national charter (The strategic Vision, 2014, p. 69). This is an indicator that the state is intent on following up on previous educational reform projects launched since 1999. In particular, article 129 insists on allowing private sector businesses to contribute to designing educational curricula, and to training human resources that the market may require in the foreseeable future.

3. 6 The National Charter: The Official Analytical Report 2000 - 2013:

Nine years of educational reforms under the national charter's guidelines was followed by another three-year emergency plan. This latter, as previously mentioned, aimed to accelerate the pace of realization of reform plans laid out in the national charter (2009/2012). An overall evaluation of these two projects was conducted by the high council for education, training, and scientific research. This council appointed an independent committee to look into the progression of reform plans and report back on these plans by 2013.

In December 2014, the high council for education, training, and scientific research issued a report entitled: *The Analytical Report: The Implementation of the National Charter*

⁵⁷ The strategic vision has made it a requirement for private schools to enroll a percentage (not defined yet) of students who cannot afford school fees as a way of compensating for private schools' targeting of middle-class families only.

for Education and Training 2000 – 2013, Accomplishments, Obstacles, and Challenges. As the title indicates, the report provides a series of analyses that evaluated reform plans put into effect at levels of infrastructure, mobilization of stakeholders, budget shortages, pedagogical orientation, structural organization, and syllabus designing.

The evaluative report addressed five areas, and these are as follows: 1. Financing and training, 2. Governance and pedagogical reform implementation, 3. Education generalization, private sector and vocational training contributions, 4. Evaluating school life and scientific research initiatives, and 5. Areas requiring improvements and determining Future Challenges.

The evaluations and the analyses which the report presented were themselves based on studies⁵⁸ and international reports produced by national and international organizations⁵⁹ that had looked into the various shortcomings detected in the field of education and training (The analytical report, p.11).

The introduction of the Analytical Report starts off by listing the driving motives of reform as well as the requirements which the Moroccan economy should fulfill to access the global market. These two requirements are as follows: a. Meeting global market needs through qualifying necessary human resources, b. Considering that a full integration in the global economy requires the introduction of drastic reforms into the system of education and training. These same requirements formed the theoretical basis on which the national charter, and later on the strategic vision, set up their reform vision and orientation:

The crucial roles that the system of education and training should play at present have become essential in an age of globalization, when competency standards required by the job market have grown stiffer. Professional competency standards that should live up to international market norms in

⁵⁸ CSEFRS, PNEA...etc.

⁵⁹ IEA, TIMSS, PIRLS, WB.

order to allow for a national economic prosperity, and to bring about a national economy that is based on knowledge, technology, and Mass Media.

(Analytical Report, p. 10)

The analytical report reiterates the kind of knowledge -intangible capital- educational institutions should impart as well as the model of students - human capital- the system should build. Therefore, any future reforms should center on meeting the economic needs of each region of the country, and help concretize a developmental model based on notions of intangible and human capitals. The next citation extracted from the analytical report introduction states this clearly:

Studies have shown that every country owns three forms of capitals: a- productive capital, b- natural capital, and c- intangible capital. This latter comprises the necessary components to help create the conditions leading up to the development, and provide governance institutions with the required working means [...] The school's role as a mere educational institution should shift to become a *key-institution* to develop the intangible capital. Therefore, investing in human capital through education, training, and scientific research will be at the core of the economic model, which is itself required to fully integrate this cognitive and knowledge-based capital. (ibid, p. 10)

On a statistical level, the report supported its analyses and reform recommendations with a multitude of data derived from local and international studies. The purpose was to show the progress rates of each of the educational domains subjected to reform. We chose to cover three main domains which directly relate to aspects previously discussed in both the current and the former chapters. These three domains involve: the budget growth of the education system (the increase of financial allocations), policies expanding private education

sector, and the involvement of the entrepreneurial fabric in the design of alternate instruction trainings.

3. 6. 1 Education and Training Budget Annual Growth 2000 - 2013:

According to the HCP, the 2000 - 2013 period of educational reform in Morocco witnessed an exponential rate of expenses with regards to the amount of financial resources allocated to the education and training sector. This amount topped one quarter of the country's annual budget, therefore, occupying around 7, 25 % of the country's GDP. The below table shows the gradual increase of finances invested in the education sector. Between the years 2009 and 2011, the increase reached its peak. During this period, the National Charter went full speed, and it was immediately followed by the implementation of another supplementary Plan (EP) in an attempt to accelerate stumbling educational projects.

Figure 3.1. Progression of Annual Budget Reserved for the Education and Training sector.

2013	2012	2011	2010	2009	2008	2007	2006	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	السنة
56 712	59 190	61 799	59 049	49 162	38 836	35 704	33 128	32 444	29 771	29 034	26 928	24 769	الميزانية
%-4.2	%-4.2	%4.7	%20.1	%26.6	%8.8	%7.8	%2.1	%9.0	%2.5	%7.8	%8.7	-	التغيرات السنوية

Source: Reports issued by the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Education (Million MAD).

In the year 2011, spending on the education and training sector saw a sharp increase totaling an amount of 61.799 MAD. In fact, there are two arguments which could be advanced to justify this high number. First of all, the acceleration of projects' realization as instructed by provisions listed in the emergency plan, plus the implementation of a package of economic and social measures⁶⁰ as a form of socio-political compromise as the year 2011

⁶⁰ To appease the then looming social unrest and to avoid repeating other nearby countries' scenarios, Morocco implemented a number of reforms the most prominent of which were the call for constitutional amendments. It took other important measures that involved a pay raise for both public and private

marked the debut of series of uprisings in a number of Arab countries including Morocco. This tumultuous sociopolitical period came to be later known as the Arab Spring.

Interestingly, the private sector continued its progressive rates leaping from an average of 4,2 % in the year 2000 to a rate of 11,3 %. A remarkable transition with figures nearly tripling compared to what they initially were a decade before. Besides, political and economic indicators asserts the fact that processes of privatization of public services and state properties were in progress, and not likely to show any signs of regression in the subsequent years to come :

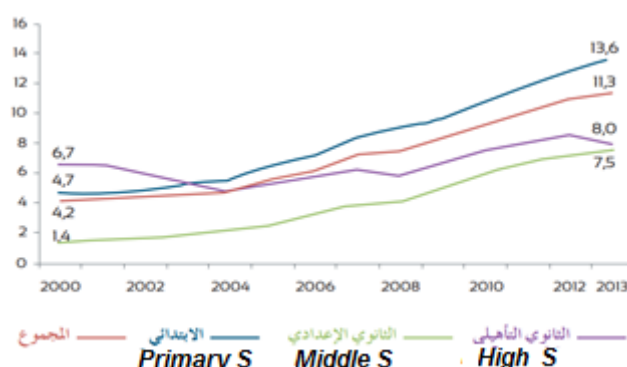


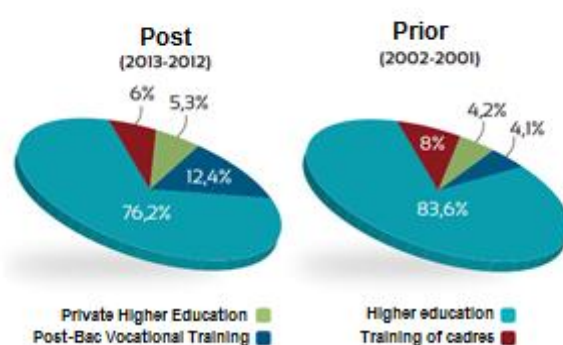
Figure 3.2 Progression of the Private Education sector according to the three levels (Primary- Preparatory - Secondary)

A third aspect that the analytical report tackles concerns the distribution and the orientation of students across different streams and specialties in university and other higher training institutions. The efforts put in by the state in this respect were evident. 83,6 % of high school graduates chose to enroll in public university courses, while only 4,2 % headed to private institutions and vocational training centers in 2000 and 2001.

employees, improving promotion standards, and subsidizing water and electricity consumption. Measures that were signed as a part of agreement between the government and labor unions

However, higher education enrollment in private institutions and vocational training centers will remarkably increase in the years 2012-2013. This Enrollment in vocational training centers and private institutions grew by 12,4 % and 5,3 % successively. As a result, the number of high school graduates heading to public universities decreased from 83,6 % to 76,2 % following a decade of reforms.

Figure 3.3 Rates of Students in Higher Education Institutions Prior and Post the implementation of the National Charter Reforms



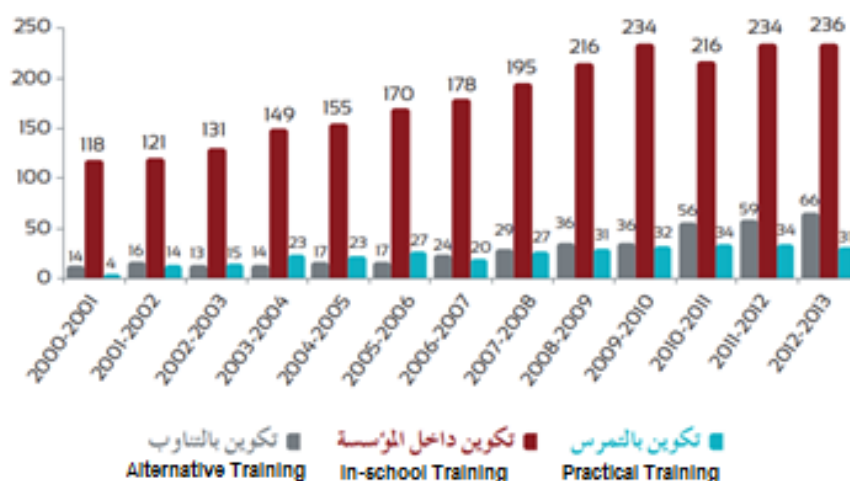
Source: Ministry of Higher Education – H.C.E.T.S.R

The Moroccan state made it a priority to: 1. Involve the economic sector in determining its future needs of semi-skilled and skilled human resources, 2. Design syllabi on the basis of the vocational skills and competencies employees companies and businesses require their employees to possess, 3. Procure periodic training courses in the form of internships and practicums to student-trainees within their facilities.

In addition to the above charts showing the high rates which both the private sector and the enrollment of high school graduates in vocational training centers have achieved after

a decade of reforms, a third graph reveals the extent to which market needs specific to each region of Morocco affect to new forms of ‘parallel’ instruction. By forms of instruction we mean alternate instruction, continuous training, and practicums. These forms of instruction were detailed and prioritized in the National Charter’s articles along with the necessity to adapt pedagogical and academic offers in schools to the economic potential and market needs of each region.

Figure 3.4. Progression of Forms of Vocational Instruction (Hundreds of Thousands)



Source: Ministry of Education and Vocational Training

The evaluative report’s statistics in this regard criticized the limited success of state policies to reach the numbers of students who should have been presented with a selection of technical or vocational instruction streams, as determined in the national charter. In the year 2000 - 2001, around 14.000 students nationwide had access to alternate education and only 4.000 students took part in continuous trainings or practical internships. These figures have notably risen to reach 66.000 and 31.000 respectively indicating a sharp and steady increase of numbers of interns.

Concerning educational institutions whose students could not land internship opportunities, action plans included internal practical programs within specific business establishments. These establishments were able to double the number of students who got access to these vocational programs. In the school year 2000-2001 these programs hosted 118.000 student-trainees and the number went up to reach 236.000 student-trainees by the end of 2012 - 2013.

The analytical report serves as a testimonial of the state's logic of reform in the education sector. Evidently, the introduced reforms seem to be in perfect alignment with the World Bank's views that the educational sector is a pool of 'intangible capital'⁶¹ that should contribute to the progress and growth of the economy through providing the market with its needs of competent and skilled force.

The Strategic Vision 2015 - 2030 continues on the same trail of reforms initiated by the national charter. In brief, the strategic vision claims that it aspires to accomplish the following objectives : promoting the quality of the teaching-learning process, providing an equitable education to all Moroccan citizens, equipping students with necessary skills to access the job market, and stabilizing sociopolitical conditions for multinational corporations wishing to invest in Morocco.

3. 7 The Framework Law 51.17 Structuring the Education system:

The year 2019 will perhaps be remembered as a year of massive protests and relentless demonstrations that swarmed all cities of Morocco. The Protests brought out different categories of society on the street reminiscent of the February 20th movement during the Arab Spring uprisings.

⁶¹ See WB memorandum entitled: Morocco 2040: Emerging by Investing in Intangible Capital.

Protestors included contractual teachers, parents of primary and secondary school students, medical school students, healthcare assistants, and medical doctors in public service doctors. These protests were often backed up by national central syndicates, leftist political parties, and civic associations. All of these social categories rallied behind one cause: condemning the series of education reforms the government has initiated and calling on officials to both withdraw and to review the 51.17 framework law encompassing and legitimating these reforms.

In brief, the protests were fuelled by four major issues that figured in this framework law:

A. Central syndicates and other independent sectoral coordinations of contractual teachers and healthcare assistants mainly condemned governments' reform policies meant to "dismantle public services and to undermine the social rights of employees" through the implementation of contentious 'reform' policies such as: the forceful passing of debilitating pension and retirement laws as well as the reinforcement of employment-by-contract as the standard norm for the recruitment of new employees (Article: 38).

B. Political parties (right and left), with the exception of the Mouvement Populaire party (the minister's party), and many civic associations expressed their strong opposition to the ministry of education's planning to impose French as the language of instruction of a number of science subjects in primary and secondary school levels. This framework law stipulates in articles 2, 31, and 32 that French will become the language of instruction of courses of physics and chemistry, mathematics, and biology.

C. Accelerating privatization through passing laws that delegated the provision of medical school training to private institutions. This decision to privatize medical schools meant that students enrolling in these institutions would eventually be allowed access to public university hospitals to complete their end-of-training internships. A step that was

vehemently opposed by medical school students who effected a year-long boycott of studies in reaction to the state's imposed reforms.

D. A last critical issue that infuriated most political parties, civic associations, and syndicates forcing many of them to take to the street was the inclusion of an article (article 45) in the framework law 51.17. This article vaguely suggested 'varying funding sources' while insisting that the state ought to remain the major contributor and financier of the education sector. The controversial article went on to explain that other actors such as: the private sector, territorial collectivities, and well off families⁶² would have to contribute to the funding of the system as well.

Most protesting parties viewed the inclusion of "well off families" in the article dispositions as a way for the state to wiggle out of its socio-political commitments as the major financier of the education system. Two questions which most opponents of the framework law asked were: Which social category still attends public primary and secondary school? And given the fact that most well-off families have transferred their children to the private sector, which social category still counts as well-off families does the framework law article refer to?

Because of these issues, the Moroccan parliament representatives failed three times in a row to coalesce and form the needed majority to pass the framework law 51.17. While civil associations condemned the government's plan to impose "subscription fees" on university students as an initial measure, suspected to undoubtedly extend to include high school

⁶² On July 16th, the framework law 51.17 was finally passed following months of legislative amendments and a political stalemate over the education system's language of Instruction. While conservative parties expressed their dismay over the reinstatement of French as a language of instruction of certain science-oriented subjects at secondary levels, other parties fully supported the resolution calling the move an achievement towards a linguistic equality among students in general. As for the contribution of families to the financing of the education sector, last minute adjustments withdrew the expression of 'Well-off families', although the principle of social solidarity remained the core and essence of the sector's financing channels.

students at a later stage, politicians chose to blur the debate and discuss the issue of the language of instruction. In particular, discussing whether science subjects should be taught in French or Morocco's official languages Arabic and Amazigh.

This debate over the education system's language of instruction brought to the fore the issue of Arabization, how it has been established over the course of many governments, and whether it has had any positive outcomes on the entire system of education following decades of implementation.

3. 8 The Employment of Languages as Indicators of Identity and Social Status:

In relation to this issue of Arabization, we deemed it fit to explore the Moroccan social structure and see how it relates to the language component. Accordingly, we shall examine how the various Moroccan social classes are constructed and how the use of specific languages can serve as an indicator of identification with a specific socio-economic class. In this last part of the third chapter, we will focus our analysis on categories of the Moroccan social structure since 1956, and highlight the roles the education system has played in the construction of this structure.

3. 8. 1 The Protectorate Regime Structuring of the Moroccan Society:

Morocco's independence in 1956 marked the beginning of a social transformation as a new structure of social relations emerged, completely different from the one that had existed prior to the protectorate regime in 1912.

The establishment of a modern state did not deprive the Sultan of Morocco from any of his governing prerogatives. In fact, he maintained his ancestral position as a commander of believers by means of religious *Bayaa* (allegiance), and under the modern political system put in place by the French authorities, he has also become a king in the modern sense reigning over a constitutional monarchy. The Sultan and subjects correspondence evolved into a

monarch and citizens rapport, where each party serves specific functions outlined by a national constitution.

In addition to the new institutional configuration established by the French colonial authorities, the former traditional (tribal) structure itself underwent drastic changes with the emergence of new social categories. These include an administrative category, a bourgeois business category, a political elite formed mainly by leaders of the former liberation movement, and subordinate masses encompassing farmers, artisans, and students. As for the political activity in Morocco, it has a different turn since then and it has become more organized and institutionalized.

The emergence of a new social structure that consists of a variety of social categories (classes) led to a series of conflicts and political splits within major parties. These conflicts often exacerbated and even took a violent course between the monarchy and some leaders of the socialist union party (USFP) which declared an armed rebellion. An ensuing cycle of violence which manifested in the form of death sentences, long imprisonments, general strikes, violent protests, and sometimes armed attacks marked the Moroccan socio-political scene during the period of the 1960's through the 1980's.

As previously discussed in chapter two, the protectorate's politics of language in Morocco aimed at forming a French-speaking administrative elite which would facilitate different commercial, political, and territorial management activities. This gave birth to a social category (Middle Class) that continued to grow even after French authorities handed over the country's rule to the new leaders. This middle class expanded subsequently to include businessmen, politicians, and military superiors.

In spite of launching two key reform initiatives: The Moroccanization of the administration in 1962, and the Arabization of education system in 1977, the French language maintained its status as an official language of: business transactions, administrative

correspondences, and the main language of instruction in the field of education. Given the high status that French enjoyed during this period as well as the economic ties that both France and Morocco have had in the wake of independence, Moroccans have always regarded the mastery of the French language as a determinant to seizing economic opportunities and achieving social promotion.

A few decades following the Arabization of primary and secondary levels, many civic associations and political parties called into question the efficiency of the initiatives undertaken to Arabize the education system. Whereas both conservative and leftist forces continued to support initiatives calling for the completion of the Arabization project, other liberal and corporate parties blamed the regression of educational indexes and students' pedagogical abilities on Arabization policies.

These parties supporting French relentlessly pushed for the reintegration of French as a language of instruction. They viewed its reinstatement in the education system as a way of ensuring a 'linguistic justice' to all Moroccan students. A part of this argument was that French can have the potential of reigniting learners' desire to take part in the learning process, and to bring back a lost public confidence in the whole education system.

3. 9 The Moroccan Social Structure:

In this last section, we wish to lay focus on the social categories constituting the Moroccan social structure. We will draw on a number of studies carried out by Moroccan and foreign researchers. The underlying objective is twofold: Firstly, identify the characteristics of social groups forming the Moroccan social fabric, and secondly, attempt to figure out what roles the education system plays in feeding, shaping, and maintaining the present social order.

Carl Dawson, a Ph.D. researcher of public and international affairs from Pittsburgh University, and a former Executive Director of the American Chamber of Commerce in

Morocco from 2002 to 2008, wrote a book in which he lists and reflects on a myriad of *Trade Negotiations and Democracy Deficits in Morocco*.

3. 9. 1 The Business Elite:

In the fifth chapter of his book entitled: “Identifying Moroccan Elites”, Dawson draws on the works of two Moroccan researchers Ali Benhaddou’s *Maroc: Les élites du royaume*, and Abdellah Saaf’s *Maroc: L’espérance d’Etat moderne*. Dawson, based on Benhaddou’s dissertation findings, lists the defining features of three social categories of Moroccan elites, namely: the business elite, the technocratic elite, and the political elite. For Benhaddou, the first social category – the business elite:

It is drawn from the great bourgeois families. Status was determined by lineage [...] the substantive involvement of non-family members was rejected, and the main goal was the acquisition of existing profitable markets rather than the development of new markets or the expansion of existing ones [...] the business elite was thus generally characterized by a closed, family-based structure and a rentier mentality. (Benhaddou, 1997)

Benhaddou’s sociological study (1997) sought to explore the demographic configuration of the Moroccan society throughout the 1990’s. By means of qualitative methods, he “surveyed a total of 131 top managers from the business elite” (Tangeaoui, 1993, p. 34), and he found that, although some of these top businessmen may not have earned prestigious academic credentials, they were more concerned with: “The preservation of family wealth and the collection of returns on family assets, rather than increasing profits through an expansion that would require outside investments and thus undermine family control”. (ibid, p. 34)

Dawson (2009) draws on another sociological doctoral dissertation prepared by Said Tangeaoui titled *Les Entrepreneurs Marocains: Pouvoir, Société, et Modernité* (ibid, p. 68). Tangeaoui argues that “the business elite based its strategy on five types of capital: know-how, income from a business activity, rent derived from land or property holdings, political or administrative power, and educational qualifications” (p. 68).

Tangeaoui proceeds with his line of analysis with the same reflective sociological pattern, only to reach an interesting conclusion regarding the evolution of the business elite in Morocco. He notes the presence of a discrete business competition between two business elites: the Soussis (the inhabitants of southern Morocco), and the Fassis (families that are originally from Fes). He wraps up his analysis of the business elite by showing how the rivalry between the above two social groups weakened the business elite in Morocco (Tangeaoui, 1993, p. 205). This rivalry compelled both business blocks to seek forms of economic and political protectionism from state authorities (the palace). According to Tangeaoui, these political practices are reminiscent of ancient rapports binding the Sultan and local merchants during the 17th and 18th centuries. (Dawson, p. 205).

3. 9. 2. The Technocratic Elite:

The second social category which Benhaddou defines is that of the technocratic Elite. In similar ways to the business elite, “The technocratic elite was drawn from the great bourgeois families but had built its influence in the public service and the royal palace over the generations” (Benhaddou, 1993, p. 68). Benhaddou adds that the technocratic elite members were “graduates of *Elite French schools* of public administration and who passed to senior civil service, and on to the directorships of major private and public companies” (ibid, p. 68).

Unlike the business elite whose reproduction and perennity heavily depend on the preservation of different forms of capital (economic, sociocultural, and genealogical) within family circles, the technocratic elite considers academic achievement as the way to access or to become part of this social category.

Benhaddou asserts that: “the key to entering the cycle, above and beyond family origin, was a prestigious degree or other type of diploma” (ibid, p. 68). He corroborates his arguments by citing findings from a formally conducted survey. The latter’s results are as follows: “44% of technocrats held qualifications in fields of civil engineering, mining, or atomic engineering, while 36% were graduates of the IEP or the HEC (elite private tertiary institutions), and 20% attended the schools of medicine or agricultural engineering” (ibid, p. 68), in total, Benhaddou (1997) found that:

89% of the CEOs of major Moroccan companies were hired directly from the senior civil service, and 25% of them were Cabinet ministers, ministerial chiefs of staff, ambassadors, provincial governors, or highly ranked military officers before entering the private sector. (Benhaddou, 1997, p. 76-77)

Benhaddou concludes his analysis of the business and the technocratic elites by stating that both share similar techniques of reproduction. In other words, the two social groups sought to maintain and preserve their interests using similar techniques; even though, he notes, these techniques did not yield any forms of collaboration between the two social groups:

Like two parallel lines, they lead a completely separate existence. None of them engage in the slightest professional cooperation, exchange of economic information, or collective action [...] confined to their respective organizations, they refuse to communicate, not on principle but out of

arrogance of power [...] Because of their different mentalities and contradictory interests, they do not constitute a ruling class but rather confederations of dominant families (ibid, p. 76-77).

To make a long story short, the business elite's logic of reproduction is inherent in: a. the circles of wealthy families they struggle to preserve, and b. in the relational capital they enjoy with 'the high ruling class'. As for the technocratic elite, it seems that academic achievement represents the most noteworthy instrument to access highest levels of civil service. In this regard, he adds that Elite French schools in Morocco still constitute a principal provider of senior civil servants and (multi) national company executives (ibid, p.78).

3. 9. 3 The Political Elite:

The last social category that Dawson addresses is that of the political elite. Based on his own comparisons and on his coverage of a long list of sociological studies of the components of the Moroccan social structure, he concludes that members of the political elite, unlike the business and technocratic elites, have very slim chances to reach senior civil positions unless these top civil servants either belonged to renowned and well-established families or were politically affiliated with one of the state's 'administrative parties':

The few political leaders to reach top civil service positions have generally belonged to conservative parties such as The Rassemblement National des Indépendants (RNI) and the Istiqlal, and are better known for their family pedigree than for their political affiliation. (Dawson, 2001, p. 70)

Dawson closes his observations drawn from Benhaddou and Tangeaoui's studies by developing two points. Firstly, he demonstrates how the marginalization of the political elite in Morocco by the state, from the 1960's up to the end of 1990's, allowed for an ascension of

a technocratic elite. Secondly, he traces back “the origins of the two elites (business and technocratic) to historical and hereditary social structures, each of which he considered to possess qualities allowing it to play a specific and prestigious social role that confers legitimacy” (p. 70).

Another study that Dawson references is one conducted by the Moroccan thinker Abdellah Saaf. However, Dawson limits his reference of Saaf’s study to discuss only the components of the state bureaucracy. Quoting from Saaf’s study, Dawson extracts the following statement:

Saaf reported the existence of three clearly distinguishable groups within the state bureaucracy: civil servants of aristocratic origin, those of merchant origin, and the military. He traced most of the aristocratic bureaucrats to the great Andalusian families that settled in Morocco in the fourteenth century, and suggested that the merchant classes were absorbed into the civil service to fulfil a need for expertise in commerce with the European nations. (Dawson, 2001; Saaf, 1999, p. 28-29)

Saaf’s investigation of the historical roots of state bureaucracy in Morocco offers a remarkable insight into the constituents of this social elite, the socioeconomic dynamics, and the modes of reproduction according to which this social category has evolved since the fourteenth century. He concludes that this elite reproduction was perpetuated thanks to mechanisms of marriage alliances and religious affiliation at first, and then extended to include another crucial variable, educational opportunity:

Just as Benhaddou described a Moroccan elite riven by conflict, Saaf found that the civil service was marked by struggle between the groups that he

identified, and by alliances through marriage and affiliation with religious orders. (Dawson, 2001, p. 73)

A final study that traces the forming of Moroccan social elites, and in particular, the evolution of the middle class in post-independence Morocco is a quantitative research titled *The Moroccan Middle Class from Yesterday to Today: Definition and Evolving*. The study was conducted by two Moroccan researchers affiliated with the department of economics at Mohamed V university of Rabat, Sawsan Boufous and Mohammed Khariss.

The study (Khariss M, *et al*, 2015) employs inferential statistical analyses and seeks to explore the evolution trend of the middle class in post-independence Morocco. The two researchers start off by laying down the parameters utilized to define social classes based on Vilfredo Pareto's work on functionalist sociology (political and economic spheres).

The first research criterion that the two researchers employed was that of self-identification of households. The reported results showed that 55, 8 % of the interrogated population identified themselves as middle class citizens. However, and based on other quantitative criteria, the 55, 8 % figure did not match findings generated from statistical analyses.

Initially, the researchers sought to dissipate common misconceptions people tend to hold regarding the homogeneity of social classes, and to show that individuals may share similar socioeconomic features, and yet belong to different social groups. Besides, the two researchers insist that there is not a one-size-fits-all socioeconomic profile that has the capacity of restricting groups of individuals in a society to one particular social category.

Regarding the quantitative criteria that the researchers employed, they varied from measuring and assessing monthly average income per household, the nature of exercised economic activity, to determining the country's socio-professional structure and the Middle

class rates of indebtedness (recourse to bank loans)⁶³. The study offers a comprehensive view of the nature of economic activity which middle class citizens engage in as well as property and spending patterns that characterize middle class citizens in terms of: Ownership of real estate, acquisition of a vehicle, and other material possessions.

The study concludes that the Moroccan middle class establishes itself as the central and most active group of society since it consists of the literate and skilled population necessary to the growth of the economy. The researchers also noted the difficulty to define precise criteria that would help determine which individuals qualify as middle class citizens, and which do not. Not only does the middle-class set the economic cycle in motion and constitute the category which encompasses the largest number of taxpayers contributing to the supply of state funds, it also represents the link that connects the base social structure to upper economic elites as well as the channel through which state reform policies are implemented (Khariss & al, 2015).

We aimed throughout the content of this chapter to discuss a few samples of strategic policies implemented in the field of education in Morocco, and to highlight the manner in which these policies have led to drastic transformations in the education system. We demonstrated how such transformations had been recommended within reports regularly issued by International Financial Institutions. At a second level, we deemed it necessary to delve into the demographic components of the Moroccan social structure in general, and that of the middle class in particular. This was meant to assist us in grasping the course evolution of the social structure in Morocco, and what roles and functions the post-independence education system in Morocco has been led to play.

⁶³ Quantitative criteria involved Gross Domestic Product (GDP), interest rates, levels of employment, and consumer spending.

Chapter Four:

4. Textbook Analysis:

Instances of the neoliberal discourse emphasizing free-market values are not exclusive to the reform texts and policies as discussed in the previous chapter, many of these neoliberal properties and features may be detected in school programs of instruction (textbooks).

Chapter four will attempt to explore the subtle ways the neoliberal ideology has crept into both syllabus designing and at the school organizational structure.

In the upcoming section, we shall examine a number of samples of lessons from Moroccan textbooks with one objective in mind : Developing an idea about the nature of knowledge Moroccan students were exposed to (epistemological construction) during different periods of history, and determining if this textbook content reflects somehow the economic and the political aspirations of the ruling elite.

In order to test this hypothesis and illustrate how educational policies might be embedded in textbook content, three specific periods of reform will be looked into, and these are respectively: A colonial period (1912-1955), a political period (1960-1983), and an economic/neoliberal period of reforms (1984-2015).

4. 1. Politics of Official Knowledge and the Hidden Curriculum:

Critical theorists (Giroux, Bourdieu, and Apple) emphasize the functionalist roles of schools as spaces of socialization. These theorists all converge in their belief that the way educational curricula are structured in terms of levels of study, orientation streams, and the nature of programs of instruction are indicative of how governing political and economic actors relate to the education system. In other words, the education structure is a space where individuals are expected to socialize, and to internalize sociocultural values as well as economic norms to ensure the regime's perpetuity.

Besides looking into articles drawn from two recent reform texts: the national charter and the strategic vision in the previous chapter, an examination that was intended to highlight the subtle ways neoliberal values have been creeping into the school structure, we wish to tap into another area, text-book designing, where critical discourse analysis may be employed as a method of investigation as another way of detecting these systemic transformations.

The use of CDA in this respect can help us bring to the fore inherent neoliberal values or any other ideological trends that may be inherent within textbook content. We aspire to lay hands on these transmitted values by first highlighting them, and then seeing if they correspond in any way to the public policies put in place.

Highlighting the roles and functions that textbooks play in bringing about educational reforms will likely allow us new realms of research into what the objectives of these reform policies, and how these policies evolve into pedagogical and administrative measures. Therefore, our attention in the next few pages will be focused on the analysis of a compilation of lessons and texts taken out from various textbooks taught at different school levels.

In each set of texts or lessons, we shall try to examine the pedagogical objectives which syllabus designers, at the direction of policy-makers, sought to accomplish during each reform period. The data samples (texts and lessons) will be drawn from textbooks relevant to subjects of languages, and they will be generated randomly based on how probable a certain theme of business, marketing, economic opportunity, private education, vocational training, and skills and competences might recur as a theme in the textbooks' units of instruction.

4. 2 Education under the Protectorate Regime 1923 – 1956:

During the colonial period (1912 - 1955), French authorities founded an educational structure which corresponded with the various social categories making up the Moroccan society. Besides French Christian schools, there were French Jewish schools, French Muslim schools, Agricultural and handicraft schools...etc. In this chapter, our examination of colonial textbooks will be twofold. Firstly, we will synchronically study lessons from textbooks we have been able to lay our hands on through analyzing their content as well as the motives underlying the selection of textbooks' themes. Secondly, we will highlight the pedagogical objectives protectorate authorities sought to achieve in each of the above educational institutions.

A valuable study that provided us with ample insight into the character of colonial textbooks in Morocco is a study published by the Moroccan History Professor Khaled Ben Srhir (Ben Srhir, 2013, p. 110-131). In this study, Ben Srhir draws a comparison between different Arabic textbooks taught at different schools during the protectorate period. Textbooks he was fortunate enough to acquire, as he himself put it, from two sources: old students who were careful enough to preserve them, and other manuscripts that were shelved in the Abdellah Guennoun national library in Tangiers.

Ben Srhir (2013) makes explicit his intentions at the very beginning when he declares that: “En étudiant des spécimens de manuels destinés à l’enseignement de l’arabe dans les écoles publiques et dans les écoles libres, on peut mettre en évidence des choix d’autant plus difficiles à cerner qu’ils se dérobent souvent derrière une idéologie et des valeurs prétendument consensuelles”⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Ben Srhir adds in his article: “les manuels se caractérisent par leur « impossible neutralité », pour reprendre la formule d’Alain Chopin : « Le choix de la langue [...] et du style [...], la sélection des sujets et des textes, l’organisation et la hiérarchisation des connaissances, obéissent à des objectifs politiques, moraux, religieux, esthétiques, idéologiques, le plus souvent implicites”.

4. 2. 1 Teaching of Arabic at Schools of French Morocco:

As discussed before, very little were French authorities interested in bringing about massive changes in the social structure. Therefore, and besides the existing traditional educational order, French authorities established a parallel school system that articulated as an objective: forming and training an elite (Fils de Notables) capable of running and serving the political and economic interests of French settlers in Morocco. In fact, aspects of the Moroccan culture and heritage were included as a part of school programs in all educational institutions (primary and secondary), and had been taught to all categories of students (Christian, Jewish, and Muslim).

As a case in point, the study of Arabic, both standard and dialectal, was a mandatory subject at all school levels, and French educational officials made sure they provided a satisfying educational offer of textbooks that would cater for the learning needs of each social category of students. Hence, at Muslim schools (*Msids*), where Arabic held a superior position, books such as *The Modern Method of Learning how to Read in Arabic and its Principles for Primary School Students* offer a view of how French educational authorities approached education in Morocco. A view which maintained the *Msids*' educational essence but at the same time modernizing its didactic methods.

At French European primary schools on the other hand, there were two types of Arabic textbooks serving two purposes: a linguistic purpose and a functional one. Two examples of textbooks that were employed at French primary schools are: *Apprenons L'Arabe (Let's Learn Arabic)* and *Yallahho (Let's Go)*.

The manuscripts were designed respectively by two French authors: Barthélemy Sans and Elise Cleemann. While the former book adopts a linguistic approach through which authors offer a series of simplified grammar and syntax-based lessons, the latter textbook

engages learners in a communicative way by drawing comparisons between real life situations of people living in France and people living in Morocco.

8° X
28599
(bis)



B. SANS
PROFESSEUR A L'ÉCOLE INDUSTRIELLE
ET COMMERCIALE DE CASABLANCA

APPRENONS L'ARABE

MÉTHODE SIMPLE ET PRATIQUE POUR
L'ÉTUDE DE L'ARABE PARLÉ AU MAROC



1942

IMP. A. B. C. - CASA



E. CLEEMANN



MANUEL D'ARABE DIALECTAL

DES CLASSES PRIMAIRES

DEUXIÈME LIVRE



DIDIER

Ben srhir lays more emphasis on the content of the second textbook *YALLAHO*, and proceeds to provide examples of lessons taught at the primary level. He notes that teaching Arabic at French schools aimed to mitigate cultural discrepancies, and shift learners' focus from grammar-based activities to more functional and sociocultural ones. In this respect, we wish to present three examples of textbook activities that Ben srhir cites in his study. The first activity is culture driven. It compares Muslim men and women's clothing to ways of dressing up Europeans'.

— 58 —

الكسوة للنساء

عند الروامي الكسوة للنساء فيها الاشكال بزّاف: تقدر تكون رهيقة او غليضة بيضاء او كحلاء او على الالوان الشمرير دالمرأة صغير او كبير



43. l-keswa d-en-nsa.

εând ar-rwāma, l-keswa d-en-nsa
fiha š-škāl bazzāf: taqḍer tkūn
rhīfa āu ḡlḡḍa, bēḍa āu kahla āu el-el-lwān. š-šamrīr
d-el-mra šḡēr āu kbīr.



skol, sorte; pl. *škāl*.
rhīf, léger, fin.



ḡlḡḍ, épais, gros.
šamrīr, chapeau.



L'adjectif attribut : الشمرير صغير

Exercices. — I. Traduire en français : 1. *l-bnt šḡēra*; *l-bnt š-šḡēra*; *bnt šḡēra*. 2. *š-samrīr al-kbīr*; *šamrīr kbīr*; *š-samrīr kbīr*. 3. *sarwāl twīl*; *š-sarwāl twīl*; *š-sarwāl af-twīl*.
II. Traduire en arabe : une étoffe (*tub* masc.) fine; une étoffe épaisse; l'étoffe épaisse. — une jolie couleur (*lūn* masc.); la couleur est jolie; la jolie couleur.

— 59 —

الكسوة للنساء عند المسلمين

المرأة كاتلبس قفطان. القفطان كاتتعمل دالملف أزرق او اخضر. منين كاتخرج للزينة المرأة كاتتلحف بالحايك

[الرجل لبس فراجية]

Le sens passif : الفراجية كاتلبس. الدرس كاتكتب

44. l-keswa d-en-nsa εând el-mselmīn

l-mra kā-talbəs qəftān. l-qəftān
kā-ittāeməl d-el-məlf zraq āu
hḡer. mnīn kā-təhrəj l-əz-zənqa,
l-mra kā-tətlāhhəf b-el ḥāik.



ittāeməl, il a été fait.
məlf, drap (tissu).
zraq, bleu.



wqrḡe, rose.
hḡer, vert.
ittāhhəf, il s'est enveloppé.

Exercices. — I. Dans les mots *ittāeməl* et *l-talbəs* distinguez les divers éléments : radical, préfixes. Expliquez le sens des préfixes.
II. Traduire ce texte en français.

الكسوة عند المسلمين

الرجل كايلبس تشامير وسروال
وبدعية. شي مزة كايدير قفطان رمادي
او قهوي او اخضر. وفوق منه
كايلبس فراجية وجلاية بيضاء وسلهام

Adjectifs de couleur : 1) tirés d'un nom : رمادي
2) du type اخضر (rouge)



41. l-keswa ʿand al-ṣalmīn.

ʾ-ʾājel kā-ilbās tšāmīr u-sarwāl u-
badeīya. šī-maṣra, kā-idīr qafṭān ṣmāḍe,
āu qāhwī, āu ḥḍar u-fāq-manno, kā-ilbās
fāṣīya u-jallāba bēda, u-salḥām.

kaswa, costume, vêtement
pl. ksāwi.
badeīya, gilet.
šī-maṣra, quelquefois.

ṣmāḍe, gris (cendré)
qāhwī, marron, couleur café.
ḥḍar, vert.



Exercices. — I. Répondre aux questions : 1. ās mən lūn (couleur)
hiyya j-jallāba? 2. ās mən lūn āḥor taqḍar (elle peut) tkūn? 3. wās
al-lūha dyāl bit-al-qraīya bēda? 4. wās al kāḡḡṭ (papier) byad? 5. ās
mən lūn hiyya l-wraqa (feuille) d-as-sajra?
II. Traduire le texte en français.

الكسوة الرومية

الكسوة الرومية ما هي شي بحال الكسوة
العربية. عند الروامي الرجل كايلبس
قميصة بيضاء او على الالوان وسروال
طويل وكبوت

L'adjectif épithète :

1) avec un nom indéterminé سروال طويل
2) avec un nom déterminé الكسوة الرومية



42. l-keswa ʾ-ʾōmīya.

l-keswa ʾ-ʾōmīya ma-hiyya šī bhāl l-keswa l-eṣrābīya.
ʿānd aṣ-ṣwāma ʾ-ʾājel kā-ilbās qāmīja bēda āu al-
lwān, u-sarwāl ṭwīl u-qabbōṭ.

ʾōmī (ou ʾōmī), européen.
bhāl, comme.

ṣwāma, pluriel du nom ʾōmī.
al-lwān, de diverses couleurs.

Exercices. — I. Traduire : un grand âne — une petite fille — la petite
fille — le grand âne — la ville nouvelle — une ville nouvelle.
II. Traduire : qabbōṭ ṣmāḍe — l-qāmīja l-bēda — s-sarwāl ṭ-ṭwīl — kaswa
ṭwīla — j-jallāba l-qāhwīya.

This first activity presents four texts about Moroccan and European outfits in dialectal Arabic, and then transliterates these same texts using Latin words as a way of rendering them readable. The texts are then followed by a set of comprehension questions and vocabulary tasks as a way of offering learners access to lexis fields used in daily exchanges (rhetorical functions), and allowing them an appreciation of the Moroccan dress code.

The next couple of activities follow the same line of instruction and introduce learners to new sociocultural aspects of life in Morocco. The texts respectively present issues of mendicity (Les Pauvres / The Poor Ones) and fatigue (Jbilou Aayyan / Jbilou is Tired). Unlike the first two activities comparing dress codes, texts about mendicity and fatigue are transcribed in Latin letters only. Besides, they are succeeded by vocabulary and grammar activities which is indicative of what sort of Arabic instruction French schools provide.

30. le-msāken

qoddām bāb-aj-jāmāe, kā-ikūn dīma wāhd-
as-sāei **ema**, wāqaf walla gālas mea l-hēi,
kā-iṭṭeb.

wāhd-āḥor zēzon kā-ikūn mea wāhd-ā-
ṣībāni, w-āṣ-ṣībāni huwwa lli ka-**isea**. kā-iqūl
gēr : — eāl-eṭāh l eāl-eṭāh l

ṣī-msāken, kā-iṣūfhom eāryānin u jīeānīn, kā-
ifeṭḥo gēr b-**ṭreyyef** d-al-ḥobz.

ṣī-merrāt, wāhd-al-mra, hiyya w-ūlīdātha kā-
tkūn gālsa f-al-bard, u kā-tqūl :

— ā man yāteṭena ḥobza **fī-sābīl-llāh** l
līh ihenn fiḥom ū-fīna l



Exercises

67. Questions : 1. wās ṣyfti **ṣī-msāken** kā-iṭṭeb f-**ex-zenqa** ?
2. wās **ex-ṣēṣem** iḥḍer iḥḍer ?
3. ās kā-iqūl s-sāei s-ṣībāni ?
4. ās kā-iqūl al-mra ?
5. wās eṭṭi, nta, **ṣī-ṭerf** d-al-ḥobz l-**ṣī-sāei** ?

Vocabulaire

sāei, mendiant
ema, aveugle
ṭlab, mendier, demander
ṣībāni, vieillard
sea, fut. yasea, il a mendié
frah, il s'est réjoui

ṭreyyaf (diminutif de **ṭarf**) petit
morceau
fī-sābīl-llāh, pour l'amour de
Dieu
hann f... il a eu pitié de

Grammaire

75. ADJECTIFS D'INFIRMITÉS. En arabe, les adjectifs d'infirmités forment leur féminin et leur pluriel de façon particulière.

Sens	Masc. sing.	Fém. sing.	Plur. des deux genres
aveugle	ema	eamya	ēṣmi
sourd	ṣmek	ṣamka	ṣṣmek
teigneux	qīḍe	qarḍa	qṣṣe
Adjectif sans formes spécifiques			
muet	zēzon	zēzōna	zyāzen

68. Complétez les phrases par le mot qui est nécessaire au sens.

1. **fjīeān** kā... b-**ṭarf** d-al-ḥobz.
2. wāhd-as-sāei... mea l-hēi, ka-**isea**.
3. le-msāken... f-al-bard.
4. āna, kā... gers, āu baṣṣeṭa.
5. **ṣī-wahdīn** mā-kā... wālu !

28. Jbīlō ɛäyyān

Jbīlō ɛäyyān : dāba ɛād ja mən

Sīdi-Hrāzəm ɛla rəjlīh.

— ɛla rəjlīh ! **kdūb** !

— āna šəftō b-ɛaini !

— ā Jbīlō, ɛlāš jīti ɛla rəjlīk ? kün rkabti f-əṭ-tōmōbəl.

— həlliuni m-əṭ-tōmōbəl, **w-əz-zərba**, w-əl-hārāji **w-əl-**

ḡwāt ! hā-hōma rəjlīya ḥsən m-əṭ-tōmōbəl. āna b-rāšə š-šōfōr

w-əl-mōtōr u kull-ši !

— ū-mā-eyīti-ši ?

— ɛlāš mā-nāeyā-š ? āna ɛäyyān ū-ɛāṣṣān ū-**l-ɛān**.

— īwa glas tākūl ū-təšrəb. Hā-l-ma **ḡolyān**, **qəm ātāy**

b-iddek.

— wāḥḥa, ū-mnīn nkəmməl b-əl-ffōr, nəmši nəneāš ɛla rāšə.

— **fīha ḥər**. ɛməl kī-mā-bḡēti !



Grammaire

71. LES ADJECTIFS. Remarque préliminaire.

En arabe, on établit la forme d'un mot en représentant les trois consonnes radicales de ce mot par **f, ɛ, l**, et en ajoutant les marques caractéristiques qui lui donnent une forme grammaticale.

Ainsi, **kbīr** est du type **fēīl**, tandis que **fəḥḥān** est du type **fəɛlān** et ainsi de suite.

72. FÉMININ ET PLURIEL DES ADJECTIFS DU TYPE *fəḥḥān*

(ou : *fəɛlān*). Ces adjectifs ont un féminin en **a** et un pluriel en **īn** :

fəḥḥān, fəḥḥāna, fəḥḥānīn.
content, contente, contents, contentes.

Vocabulaire

ɛäyyān, fatigué

kdūb, mensonge

zərba, hâte

ḡwāt, cris, bruit

abréviations : *šī*, abrégé en *š* : *mā-nāeyā-š*.

et *kīf*,

» *kī* : *ɛməl kī-mā-bḡēti*.

jīɛān, affamé

ḡolyān, bouillant

qəm ātāy ! prépare le thé

fīha ḥər, c'est entendu

Exercices

62. Questions : 1. *kīfās ja Jbīlō mən Sīdi-Hrāzəm* ?

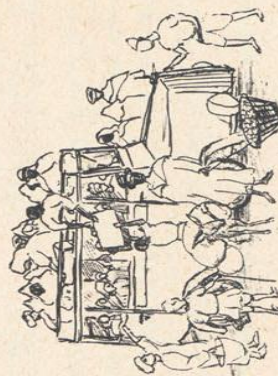
2. *wāš nta kā-ṣāṣər ɛla rəjlīk* ?

3. *wāš Jbīlō mā-eyā-ši b-əl-kull* ?

4. *ās kā-īqāl ɛl-ṭ-tōmōbəl* ?

5. *škūm māši iqēm-lō ātāy* ?

63. THÈME. Moi, je ne monte jamais en auto. Je voyage à pied comme autrefois. De temps en temps, je vais à dos d'âne. Maintenant, je suis fatigué et assoiffé. En chemin, je ne bois pas. Donnez-moi de l'eau bouillante pour préparer le thé.



Ben srhir continues his comparative examination of Arabic textbooks used in different types of schools in Morocco under the protectorate regime. The researcher concludes that although French authorities had planned to institute an education order where the French language played a dominant role as a language of instruction, yet they still maintained the teaching of Arabic, particularly in ‘Les Msids rénovés et Zawayas’, and French-Muslim schools. For European students, however, the teaching of dialectal Arabic in European schools was meant to allow them a new language so as to integrate, or at least, adapt in this foreign land.

4. 2. 2 The teaching of French at primary school levels (Muslim schools):

From the very beginning, French education officials were quite sensitive with regards to the issue of teaching French to a Moroccan Muslim population which had openly denounced the signed protectorate accord in Morocco as an illicit coalition between the Sultan and the French government at the Sultan’s request, following years of tribal unrest and disobedience. The French authorities were aware that they were never going to be received by the locals with open arms upon their arrival in 1912, therefore, it deemed the teaching of French at that time be uncharted territory.

One example of French textbooks that was designed by French education officials for French Muslim primary schools is: *Tous à L’école : Méthode de Lecture*. The textbook was published in 1954 in Paris, and it is the fruit of a collaboration between two French education officials: L. Bousson (Directeur du Secteur Scolaire Musulman), and J. Lahitte (Inspecteur de l’Enseignement Primaire Musulman). The textbook takes on a pedagogical approach that emphasizes the act of reading as a central classroom activity around which other activities of vocabulary construction, writing, and grammar are planned out.

The textbook's thematic selection is varied, and it mostly covers areas that bear a relevance to students' daily activities or routines. The themes covered include texts about school life, hygiene, eating habits, farming and fieldwork, going to the hospital, buzzing weekly markets etc. All texts are accompanied with colorful illustrations, and most covered themes revolve around local events or issues that students could easily identify with.

L. BOUSSON

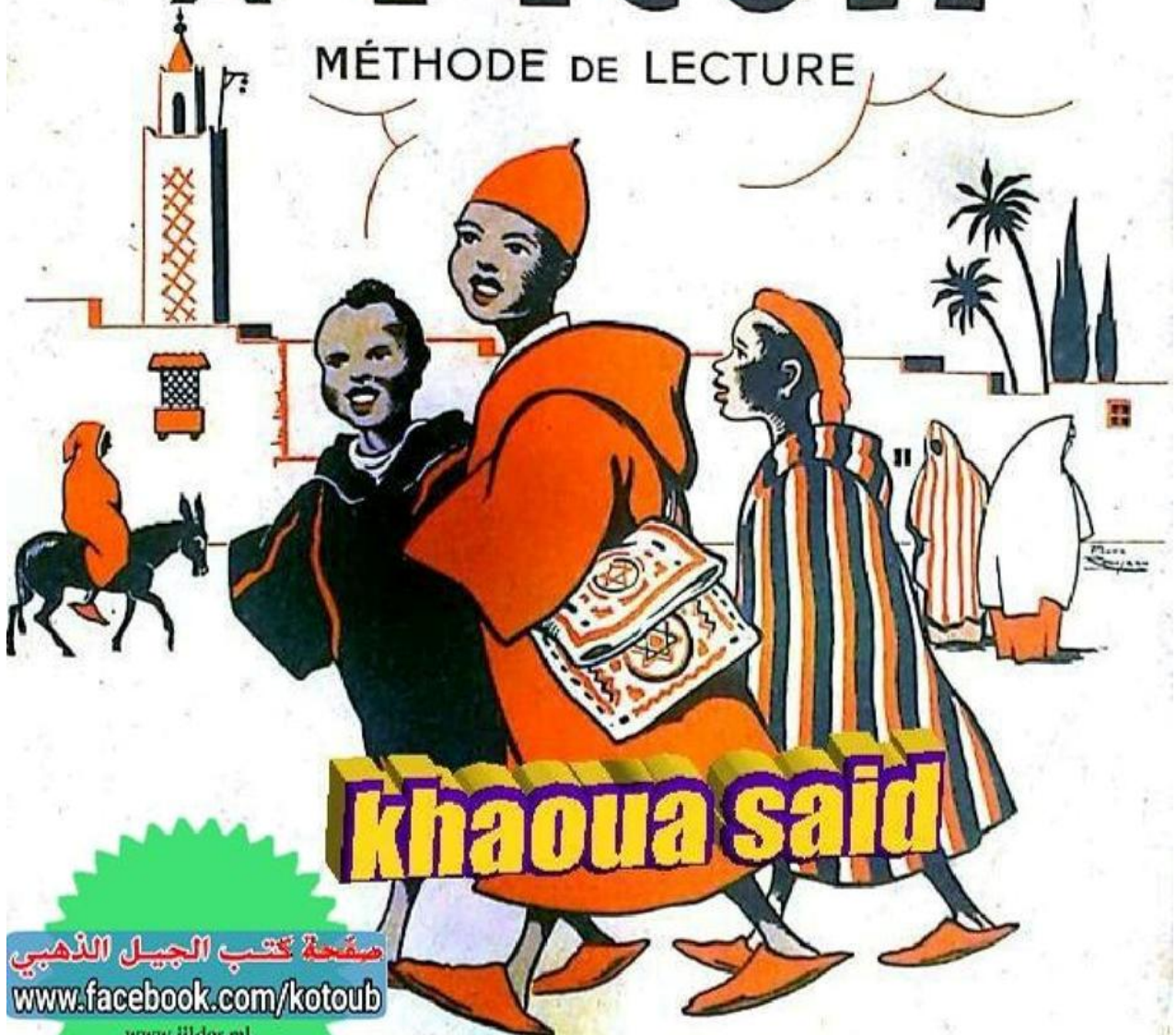
Directeur de Secteur
Scolaire Musulman

J. LAHITTE

Inspecteur de l'Enseignement
Primaire Musulman

TOUS A L'ÉCOLE

MÉTHODE DE LECTURE



khaoua said

صفحة كتب الجيل الذهبي

www.facebook.com/kotoub

www.jildor.ml

DELAGRAVE

Unlike the teaching of Arabic, the authorities insisted on the teaching of French and estimated that it could serve as a determining factor of change. Not only did French textbooks serve as programs of language instruction, but they also fulfilled a transformative function in the sense that their content sought to correct specific social conducts or at the least lay the grounds for the adoption of new ones.

Below are examples of texts that show instance of transformative values that textbooks conveyed. Based on initial remarks of the textbook, we can jump to the conclusion that most presented texts are personalized and familiar to learners. In other words, the social contexts of the suggested texts are often set up in such a way that students easily identify with them. To showcase this aspect in French textbooks, we have selected a couple of lessons that can help us closely examine its inherent transformative dimensions.

Au bout de chaque allumette, il y a du phosphore. Quand je veux acheter des médicaments, je vais à la pharmacie. Dans tous les cafés maures, il y a des phonographes ou des appareils de radio. Mustapha et Aïcha sont deux petits orphelins; leur père est mort du typhus l'an passé. Le typhus est une maladie grave donnée par la piqure des poux.

Lecture.

En route pour l'école.



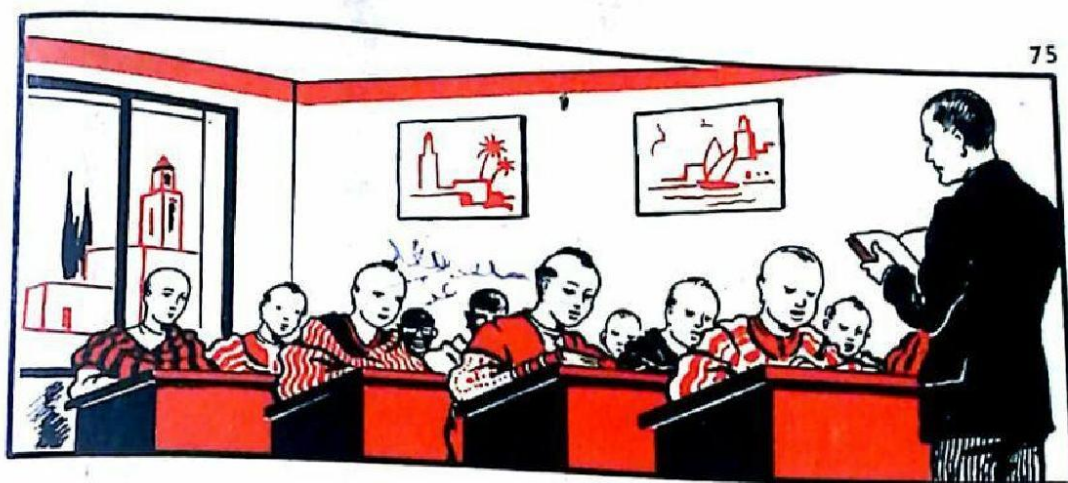
Tous les matins, le petit Ali se lève de bonne heure pour aller à l'école.

Il verse de l'eau claire dans une cuvette et commence à se savonner la figure, les oreilles, le cou, les mains et les pieds. Puis il se rince et s'essuie avec une serviette de toilette.

Quand il a fini, il s'habille, se coiffe devant une petite glace, boit son verre de thé bouillant, prend son pain et part en courant, car il ne veut pas arriver en retard en classe.

En chemin, il rencontre son camarade Larbi le fils de Si Ahmed l'épicier... Et voilà nos deux amis en route pour l'école.





En classe

Grelin ! Grelin ! fait la cloche. Il est huit heures et demie. Vite, tous les élèves courent devant la porte de leur classe et se mettent en rang deux par deux. Chaque enfant enlève sa coiffure, entre et va à sa place en silence.

Qu'elle est jolie la classe, avec ses grandes fenêtres et ses belles images que le maître a suspendues aux murs. Devant les quatre rangées de tables, il y a le grand tableau noir et à côté se trouve le bureau du maître.

Ali ouvre son cartable, sort son crayon, son porte-plume et sa petite ardoise. Larbi ouvre son plumier et prend sa craie. « Croisez les bras » dit le maître, et la leçon de langage commence. Puis vient la leçon de lecture sur le beau livre neuf, et l'écriture ou la copie du jour.

Gare aux taches !!



Commentary:

The two above examples of texts offer a glimpse into the quality of themes and discoursal modes employed by textbook designers. We wish at this juncture to express our contentment with regards to the textbook's selection of themes as well as the way the two French authors managed to produce a greatly personalized, contextualized, and culture-enriching textbook.

The text, in the upper half of page 71, takes on a descriptive tone as it presents information on the following themes: what the chemistry of phosphorus matches is, which store to head to when one is in need of medication, what electric appliances Moorish cafés often possess, and how fatal the typhoid disease could become if left untreated. The lower half of the textbook page continues on the same informative trend though it seems to pick up a directive tone as it enumerates 'the sort of hygienic activities the petit Ali should perform before departing for school'.

On the second page (p: 75), a text titled 'in the classroom' describes in a prosaic style the debut of a morning class with Ali as the central character. The class is packed with curious male students bent on fulfilling the class tasks assigned to them by their French teacher. The text presents an appealing novel experience that exemplifies a new pleasant reality different from what Moroccan pupils were used to.

From a semiotic perspective, the picture exhibits a modern form of learning that may be at odds with the conventional prevalent modes of education that had existed prior to the protectorate regime. The three pictures of the mosque - two posted on the wall and one standing tall outside of the classroom window – may sum up the French authorities' intention to set up a modern education order (in contrast to the existing structure of *Msids* and *Zawayas*) with French at its core.

Besides the cultural content that the text highlights, the ensuing activities reinforce other components of French (Vocabulary, grammar...).



La récompense.

Fatima, qui ne manque pas souvent la classe, a été la première au classement général du premier trimestre. Sa mère, très contente, lui a donné un peu d'argent : vingt francs ! une fortune ! Fatima se sent très riche. Elle court à la boutique d'un marchand d'étoffes, au bout de la rue. Que veut-elle donc acheter ? Un joli ruban rouge pour mettre dans ses cheveux noirs, car elle est propre et coquette.



A final example of a text from *Tous à L'école* that we believe seeks new cultural values is titled *La récompense* or *The reward*. This text seems to introduce an 'unusual school practice in Morocco: female pupils joining school and excelling at their studies. Fatima's success at school gives her mom a good reason to take be proud of her little girl's achievement, therefore, she hands her daughter a 20 Franc-bill as a reward. The clean and

charming Fatima spends the money at a local shop where she decided to buy a beautiful red ribbon for her beautiful black hair.

The pre-protectorate education structure in Morocco, as previously pointed out, was focused on religious, theological, and linguistic studies that were exclusive to male students. Conservative and traditional study sites such as Msids, mosques, Zawyas, and even the popular Qarawiyyine University were accommodative of male students only; as a result, females were denied access to education even at its most basic form.

The text about Fatima's reward clearly serves a transformative cultural function in addition to that of language instruction. This function is articulated in the form of a new cultural norm: 'the schooling of females in a male-dominated and traditional society'. The textbook expects this early generation of students to sensitize their parents about the importance of sending their daughters to schools, and hopefully nurture in them the belief that girls can do well at schools and may even be better than boys. Eventually, the illustration above the text shows another picture of a mosque inside a walled city. The recurrence of the mosque is indicative of the authors' consciousness of the category of audience the textbook was destined for.

Although Arabic was included as a part of school programs by protectorate education authorities, it obviously could not keep up with French. The protectorate authorities ensured that French became the main language of the administration, diplomatic relations, and business transactions in the country. This reality lasted for decades after Morocco won its independence in 1956. French remained as a deeply rooted language even long after the implementation of Arabization and Moroccanization policies.

4. 2. 3 Examples of Textbooks of Independent Morocco 1964 - 1983:

Education reforms in Morocco started off in the wake of Morocco's independence in 1956. The royal committee for education reform in 1958 set the reform process in motion by taking three essential measures : 1. Applying a six-grade system at primary school level, 2. Teaching maths and science in French in 1st grade, and 3. Prioritizing the generalization of education over the provision of good-quality training for instructors. In other words, in terms of management of the educational sector, post-independence officials maintained a course of action similar to the one followed by protectorate authorities.

In the next section, we will continue to place our emphasis on the teaching of Arabic and French as a way of highlighting the subtle ways in which politicians use education systems to build in values and principles in upcoming generations of students. We intend to carry on our book-content analyses with an examination of Arabic and French textbooks prescribed at primary school levels in post-independence Morocco. The two textbooks we wish to consider are respectively: a. *Let us Read* اقرأ authored by the Moroccan textbook writer Ahmed Boukmakh, b. *Bien Lire et Comprendre*, a French textbook employed in Moroccan schools since the early years of 1960's all the way through the 1980's.

4. 2. 4. Ahmed Boukmakh's popular series of “*Let us Read*”:

Ahmed Boukmakh, a primary school teacher and a book writer, is probably the most popular figure during the 1960's through the 1980's. The name Boukmakh is referenced whenever discussions about the teaching of Arabic at primary levels are brought up. Moroccans who were schooled during the 1970's up to the end of the 1980's, still reminisce about texts and passionately recall titles they studied when they were at school, examples of these texts include: ‘Ali's pants’, ‘Ahmed and the demon’, ‘Zouzou goes fishing’, and ‘the chatterbox and the concise speaker’.

Boukmakh's textbooks owe their fame to their originality, authentic selection of themes, and the identification of learners with the linguistic content that these textbooks present. The personalized content of the 'Iqraa' series and the identification of learners with the contextual clues of each text was a key determinant of success and popularity, especially when we learn of the stiff competition that existed between the local offer of foreign textbooks given the wide supply of textbooks imported from countries of Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq.



عَلَّمَ مَعْلَمٌ سَبْعَ عَشْرَ عَامًا
عَلَّمَ مَعْلَمٌ سَبْعَ عَشْرَ عَامًا



عَلَيَّ يَقُولُ: أَرَى عَلَّمَ
يَلَادِي يَسْرِفُ سَأُطْلَبُ
مِنْ أُمِّي أَنْ تَنْسُجَ لِي
عَلَّمَ يَلَادِي، لِأَيِّ أُحِبُّهُ»

فرز فزاري لآلته الوطنية والشعبية، والى أخصنا شعاع هذا الجزء في الأسماء العظيمة

أحمد بوكلف

اقرأ

لدي من الكتب القيمة أود أن أذكرها لكم

للمسيرة

HTTP://KOUTOUB-HASRIA.BLOGSPOT.COM/

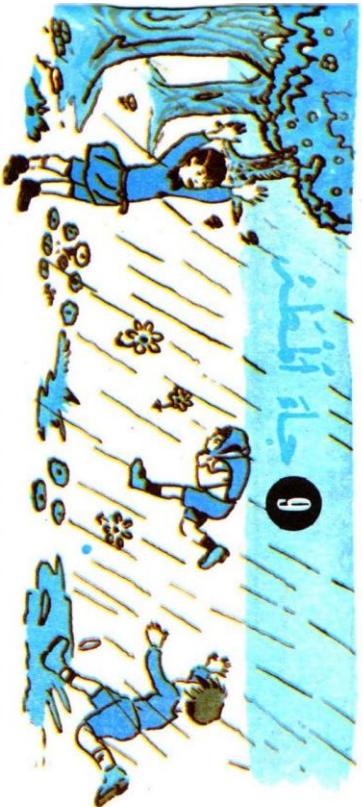
HTTPS://WWW.FACEBOOK.COM/KOUT



الجزء الاول للفسر النحضرري

مع هذا الجزء : (مجمعي الصغير)

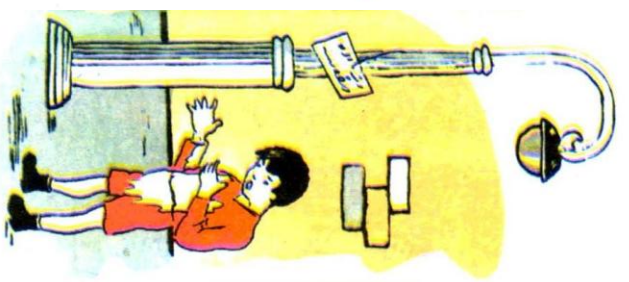




نريد

السَّجَرُ - الْقَعَزُ - خُذُوا - الزَّهَرُ
هَذَا - وَأَسْتَنْشِقُوا

بِإِخْوَتِي . جَاءَ الْمَطَرُ
هَيَّا أَجْلِسُوا تَحْتَ الشَّجَرِ
هَيَّا خُذُوا مِنِّي الزَّهَرَ
هَيَّا كُلُوا هَذَا الثَّمَرِ
وَأَسْتَنْشِقُوا طِيبَ الزَّهَرِ



2- أطفئ الأعمى

نريد

لَيْلًا - الْإِسْطِطِلَاعَ - وَلَكِنَّمَا -
اللَّوْحَةَ - أَعْمَى - وَتَلَوْنَاهُ

1

طَلَبِي عَمُودَ النُّورِ ، وَجْعَلِ
عَلَيَّ لَوْحَةً ، لَيْلًا يَتَلَوُّهَا الْمَارُونَ .

2

إِقْتَرَبَ طِفْلٌ بِحُجُبِ الْإِسْطِطِلَاعِ ، لِيَسْأَلَ
مَا فِي تِلْكَ اللَّوْحَةِ ، وَكَانَ لَا يَعْزِفُ الْقِرَاءَةَ
كَأَنَّهُ أَعْمَى . فَتَلَوْنَاهُ بِصَوْتِهِ ، وَتَلَوْنَاهُ
مَلَأْنَاهُ .

Boukmakh's series of textbooks were first published in 1963; although, he declared in one of his newspaper interviews in 1990 that his textbooks' earliest editions had been published in 1956. Over the course of time, Boukmakh's textbooks were the subject of numerous revisions (09 editions). The purpose of these revisions was to keep the textbooks up with the outlined objectives of educational reform policies, new pedagogical trends, and to keep the textbooks' various components up to date in terms of reading texts, illustrations, and layout.

The textbooks' author was also quite diligent as far the way he built up the series' content of instruction. Each level sought to provide students with solid language skills in all aspects of Arabic (linguistic and functional).

Concerning textbooks' selection of themes, most unit topics were derived from students' everyday realities and personal interests. The textbooks' units of study covered themes of citizenship, farming and agriculture, school life, cultural values, hygiene, political organization, healthcare issues to mention a few. As for the language components, grammar and vocabulary lessons were accorded a special attention in early editions. However, this focus on linguistic aspects seemed to have waned in later editions, particularly in fifth and sixth grades.

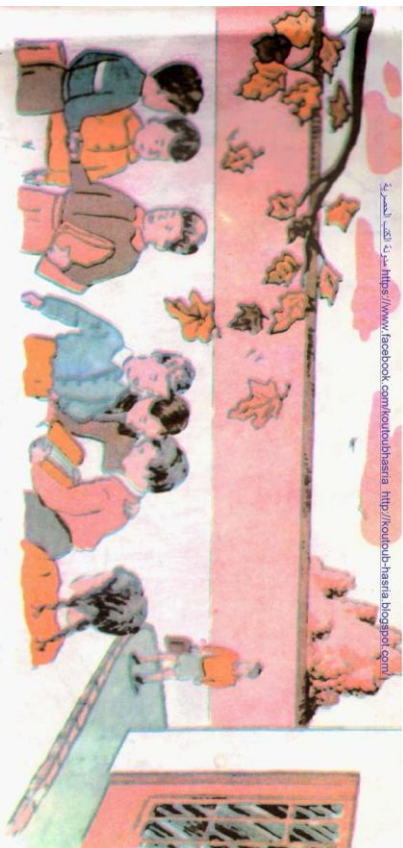
The following couple of texts, respectively drawn from 1st and 2nd grades of *Iqraa* (Let's Read), present samples of themes selected for reading texts. The topics of these two texts could be representative samples of themes for all other reading texts of the Boukmakh series. Most of these themes offer pupils a pleasant and an efficient socio-constructive learning experience. The first below text entitled '*Days of Studiousness and excitement*' serves as a 'mood setter' for pupils kick starting the new school year following a long period of holiday.

The text describes typical scenes of first encounters of two pupils belonging to different social backgrounds, *Said Errifi* (Errifi: The Riffain, coming from a rural area) and *Abdullah Elfassi* (Elfassi: originating from the city of Fes, suggestive of pupils coming from urban areas). The text shapes pupils' perceptions of how they are supposed to relate to each other regardless of their social backgrounds. Building empathy, warding off sentiments of social supremacy, and setting aside economic disparities seem to be the key messages the text attempts to build in students' characters.

عَلَى أَدْوَاتِهِمْ الْمَذْرُوعِينَ فِي غِبْطَةٍ وَسُرُورٍ .
 ١ أَمَا التَّلَامِيذُ الْجَدُّ، فَقَدْ اتَّفَعُوا فِي إِحْدَى
 زَوَايا السَّاحَةِ، مُتَخَلِّعِينَ بِاهْتِمَامٍ بَالِغٍ إِلَى نَشَاطِ
 زُكُلَاتِهِمُ التَّلَامِيذِ .

٥ دَهَبَ سَعِيدٌ عِنْدَ تَلْمِيذٍ جَدِيدٍ، وَقَدَّمَ لَهُ نَفْسَهُ
 قَائِلًا: «أَنَا سَعِيدُ الرَّبْعِيِّ» فَأَجَابَهُ التَّلْمِيذُ الْجَدِيدُ
 مُصَافِحًا: «أَنَا جَبْدُ اللَّيْلِ الْفَاسِيِّ» فَقَالَ سَعِيدُ:
 «سَتَكُونُ مَسْرُورًا بَيْنَ إِخْوَانِكَ التَّلَامِيذِ، لِأَنَّا
 نَعِيشُ فِي الْمَذْرُوعَةِ كَأَسْرَةٍ وَاحِدَةٍ!»

نموذج الصورة أين نخزن؟ أي تفصيل في الصورة يدل على أننا في الساحة؟
 ما هو زمن هذا المنظر؟ ماذا يفعل التلاميذ؟ ماذا ترى في الأسفل على اليسار؟
 شرح الممرات اغتنى بهذابه: اغتسل وترتين - حلقايت: دوائر زوايا: أركان
 لتقصرهم الفهم ١- ماذا فعل سعيد قبل الذهاب إلى المدرسة؟ ٢- ماذا
 شاهد في الطريق؟ ٣- كيف قدم نفسه إلى التلميذ الجديد؟ ٤- هل تعرفت أنت
 على تلميذ جديد؟ ٥- هل يوجد فرق بين الربيعي والفاشي؟ لماذا لا يوجد؟
 فهميهم أركب الجمل الآتية: ١- ارتدى سعيد... ثم انطلق إلى...
 مرسوياً- ٢- شاهد سعيد كثيراً من... يسرون... مملوهم .



١. أيامُ الجِدِّ والنَّشاطِ

١ استيقظ سعيدٌ بكرة، فوجد أمه قد هيأت له
 كل ما يحتاج إليه؛ ولما أنهى من الإختلاء بهذابه،
 تناول فطوره، ثم انطلق إلى المدرسة مسروراً.
 ٢ وفي الطريق شاهد كثيراً من التلاميذ
 يسرون إلى مدارسهم بعد قليل، لأن ذلك
 اليوم، كان أول يوم من السنة الدراسية الجديدة.
 ٣ بعد قليل، كان سعيد في ساحة المدرسة،
 وكان التلاميذ الندماء يؤلفون حلقايت، وهم يتبادلون
 التحكيمات الصغيرة المنصحة، ويستمرجون

في اختيار رئيس الحكومة.

3 ولما انتخب الرئيس ، اختار بعض الأفراد من الشعب ، ليساعدوه على خدمة البلاد ، وسمى كل واحد منهم وزيراً ، ثم قدمهم إلى جلالة الملك ، فواقعه على اختياره .

4 وبعد تأسيس الحكومة ، قام رئيسها في الشعب

خطياً : فسرح برنابج حكومته ، وعاد الشعب بالسر على مصالحه البلاد ، ورفاهيته المواطنين

لهم من الأولاد الذين تراهم في الصورة ؟ لماذا هم يجتمعون ؟ هل

يظهر عليهم أنهم في حوت بهذا الاختراع ؟ لماذا ؟ (يستغل ذلك بحسب الرغبة)

السر ماذا أريد أن تعلم ؟ ماذا مثل المقام ؟ ماذا مثل المثال ؟

1 انسخ ثم انقل

رقت علم بلادنا	رقتنا علم بلادنا	رقتنا علم بلادنا
رقت علم بلادنا	رقتنا علم بلادنا	رقتنا علم بلادنا
رقت علم بلادنا	رقتنا علم بلادنا	رقتنا علم بلادنا
رقت علم بلادنا	رقتنا علم بلادنا	رقتنا علم بلادنا
رقت علم بلادنا	رقتنا علم بلادنا	رقتنا علم بلادنا
رقت علم بلادنا	رقتنا علم بلادنا	رقتنا علم بلادنا
رقت علم بلادنا	رقتنا علم بلادنا	رقتنا علم بلادنا
رقت علم بلادنا	رقتنا علم بلادنا	رقتنا علم بلادنا
رقت علم بلادنا	رقتنا علم بلادنا	رقتنا علم بلادنا

الوطنية



52. الشعب والحكومة

1 قال معلم إنتلاميلو : « تعالوا نلعب لعبة الشعب والحكومة » ففرح التلاميذ ، واستعدوا . وهكذا بدأ التمثيل : مثل المعلم الملك ، ومثل التلاميذ الشعب : فكان منهم الممثلون ، والفلاحون ، والتجار والعامل ، والنساء ، والشيوخ ، والأطفال .

2 قال الملك : « أنتم شعب نسيط ، فعلت ترويدون أن تكون لكم حكومة مخلصم ؟ » قال الشعب : « نعم ، نريد أن تكون لنا حكومة مخلصم ! » قال الملك : « إنتخبوا عدداً من الأشخاص ، لينوبوا عنكم

The second text *The People and the Government* is a presentation of how the government system functions. It is an illustration of texts from the *Iqraa* series that demonstrates what sort of knowledge the textbook author aspires to lead pupils to construct, and how out-of-school realities are brought into the classroom context. In a nutshell, the text figures under the theme of citizenship and it presents itself as an illustration of democratic practices (Electing and Voting) in classroom.

Commentary:

The first text walks the readers (pupils) through the various events of the first day of the school year. Said Arrifi, the text's main character, is a young boy who comes from a rural area. He is excited to meet his old friends and schoolmates with whom he shared funny and exciting experiences. Having noticed a new student around, Said takes the initiative and introduces himself to the new student: 'Abdullah Alfassi'. The new student's last name reveals the urban origins of the new school boy. The text concludes with a reassurance from the part of Said to Abdullah when he says: 'You will be happy among your school brothers and sisters because we see ourselves, here at school, as one family'.

From a constructivist perspective, the text presents the school as a melting pot where all socio-economic disparities and cultural barriers should be set aside. The school is a space where pupils, belonging to different cultural backgrounds, are provided with equal learning opportunities, equal chances of success, and unbiased evaluations of students' academic performances. This mode of equitable schooling is further reinforced at the comprehension section where students are asked to highlight differences between students if there happen to be any. The fifth comprehension question is posed as follows: 'Are there any differences between the *Riffain* and the *Fassi*? And why there aren't any?'

The second text '*The people and the government*' follows the same constructivist pattern. It introduces students to the practice of political authority in a ludic fashion. The

teacher engages his students playfully and prompts them *to put on a show* 'بدأ التمثيل' of the proceedings of government election. The teacher plays the role of the king who invites his people (students) to elect qualified representatives. After these representatives get selected, a list of cabinet members should be put into his majesty's hand for a final consent. Once the government is formed, the king officially addresses his people, sketches out the main lines of the government electoral program, and commits the government to its full implementation.

The above two texts offer a clear view of Boukmakh's strategic textbook authorship objectives. The author accords as much importance to the language components as that of the thematic and cultural content. Besides setting up various grammar and syntax activities, pupils are exposed to a plethora of social and cultural situations where they are prompted to think and relate to those situations in a rational way. We notice this in Said's attempt to assimilate Abdullah, the new student, into a brotherly school environment, and in the textbook writer's attempt to sensitize pupils about the importance of electing a competent representative government which can improve the country's political efficiency and economy.

On another level, and after going over the different themes and units of study of Boukmakh's textbooks (1980's edition), we noticed that a noticeable change in the textbooks' thematic content was carried out. In fact, new instructional units with a vocational 'flavor' crept into Boukmakh's textbooks. This happened at a time when the second Ifrane debate recommendations in 1980⁶⁵ to shift the focus towards vocational training gave Azzedine Laraki a green light to implement policies in this respect.

The impact of these recommendations extended to textbook designing as well. The updated Boukmakh series included units of instruction that were meant to initiate pupils to

⁶⁵ See chapter 2 for more information

vocational fields of plumbing, carpentry, bricklaying, and nursing. These units included language activities that introduced and informed pupils on these vocational themes. Instances of these activities ranged from reading materials and vocabulary tasks, to oral (presentational and interpretive) activities in class. To demonstrate this shift towards vocational instruction, below are samples of lessons that introduce a list of vocabulary items respectively, covering themes of bricklaying and carpentry.

الدرس السابع عشر في الفاظ أدوات البناء

1- اقرأ ثم انسخ الالفاظ الآتية بخط حسن :

الْمَعْمُولُ - الرَّفْشُ - الصَّاقورُ - الْمَالِجُ - الْمَسْجَةُ -
لِلتَّعَاةِ - السَّلْمُ - الْفَارِشُ - مِيزَانُ الْمَاءِ - الْخَلَّاطَةُ
الرَّافِعَةُ - الشَّاحِنَةُ .

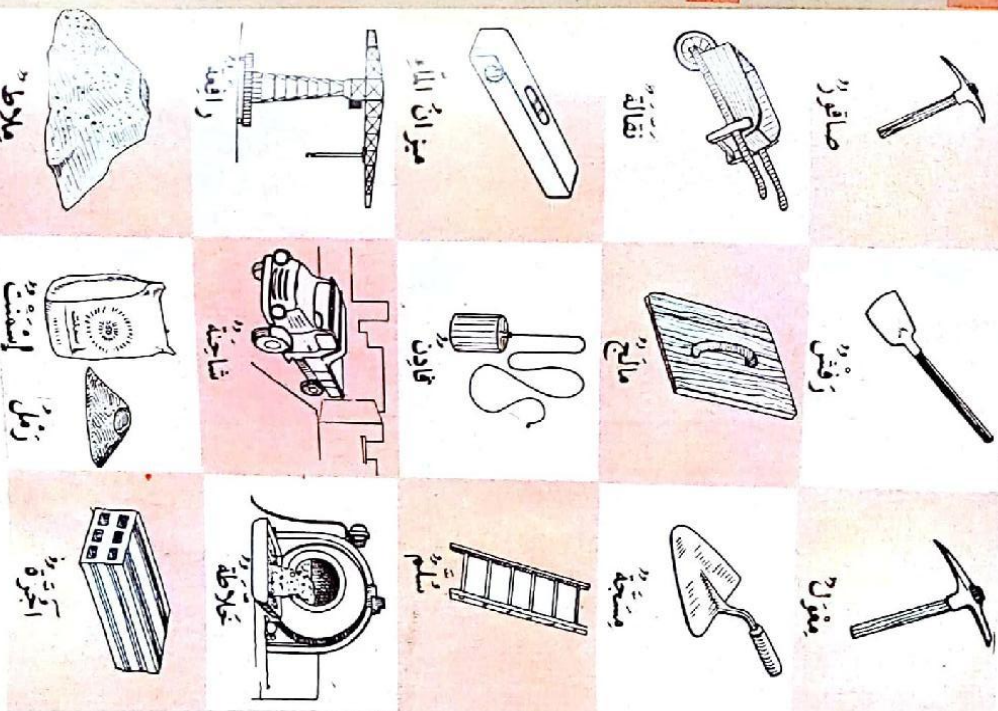
2- املأ الفراغ بكلمة مناسبة مما يأتي :

الرَّفْشُ -- المَعْمُولُ - الْمَالِجُ
يَعْتَخِرُ الْعَامِلُ الْأَرْضَ بِـ ...
يَرْفَعُ الْعَامِلُ التُّرَابَ إِلَى الشَّاحِنَةِ بِـ ...
يَطْلِينُ الْبِنَاءَ الْحَائِطَ بِـ ...

3- اذكر الأسم :

أداة يقيس بها البناؤون استقامة الحائط .
أداة ينقل فيها العامل العامل الأجرار والركمل .
أداة ترفع مواد البناء إلى الأماكن العالية من البناء .

الفاظ أدوات البناء



الدرس السادس عشر في الفاظ أدوات التجار

1 - اقرأ ثم انسخ الألفاظ الآتية بخطّ حسي :

الطَّرْقَةُ - الأَكْثَامَةُ - المَسَامِيرُ - المُنْجَرُ - المِسْحَجُ
المِشَارُ - الزُّرْوةُ - الفُرْجَارُ - الأُرْمِيلُ - المِرْكَةُ
الْمُنْتَبِ.

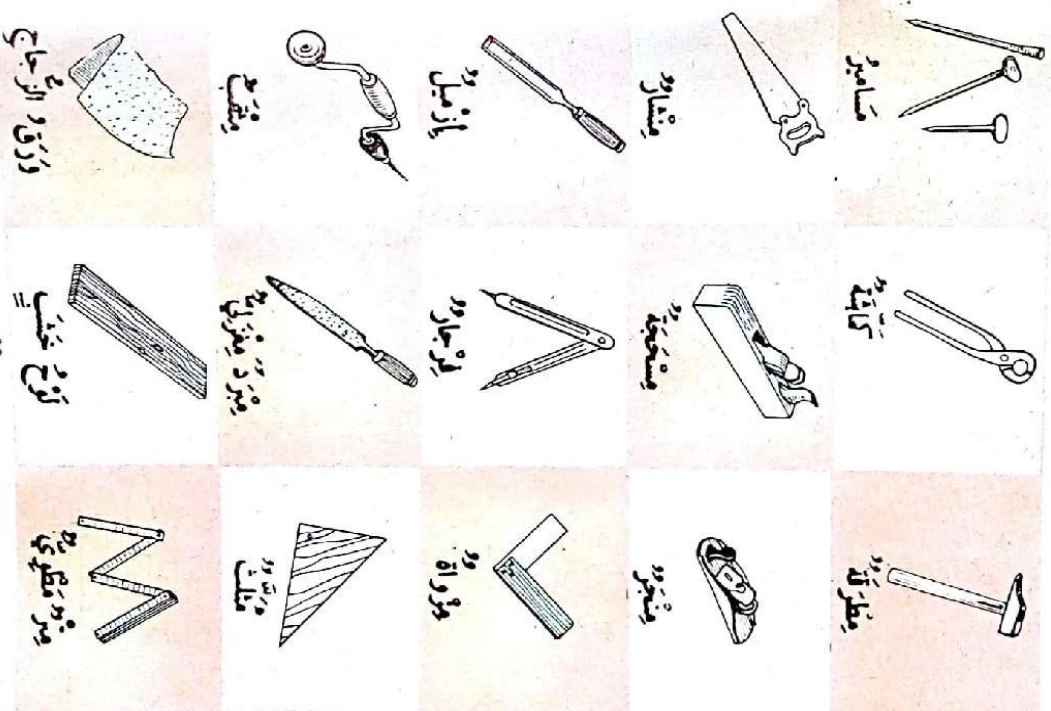
2 - إملاء الفارغ بكلمة مناسبة مما يأتي :

الْمُنْتَبِ - الأَكْثَامَةُ - المِشَارُ - الطَّرْقَةُ المِشَارُ
يَطْرُقُ النُّجَارُ ... بِ ...
يَنْزِعُ النُّجَارُ ... بِ ...
يَقْطَعُ النُّجَارُ الْمُنْتَبِ ...

3 - اذكر لاسم :

أداة يبرّد بها النُّجَارُ الْمُنْتَبِ .
أداة يثقب بها النُّجَارُ الْمُنْتَبِ .
أداة يقيس بها النُّجَارُ طَوْلَ الْمُنْتَبِ .

الفاظ أدوات التجار



4. 2. 5 Henri Tranchart's '*Bien Lire et Comprendre*' (1961 - 1978):

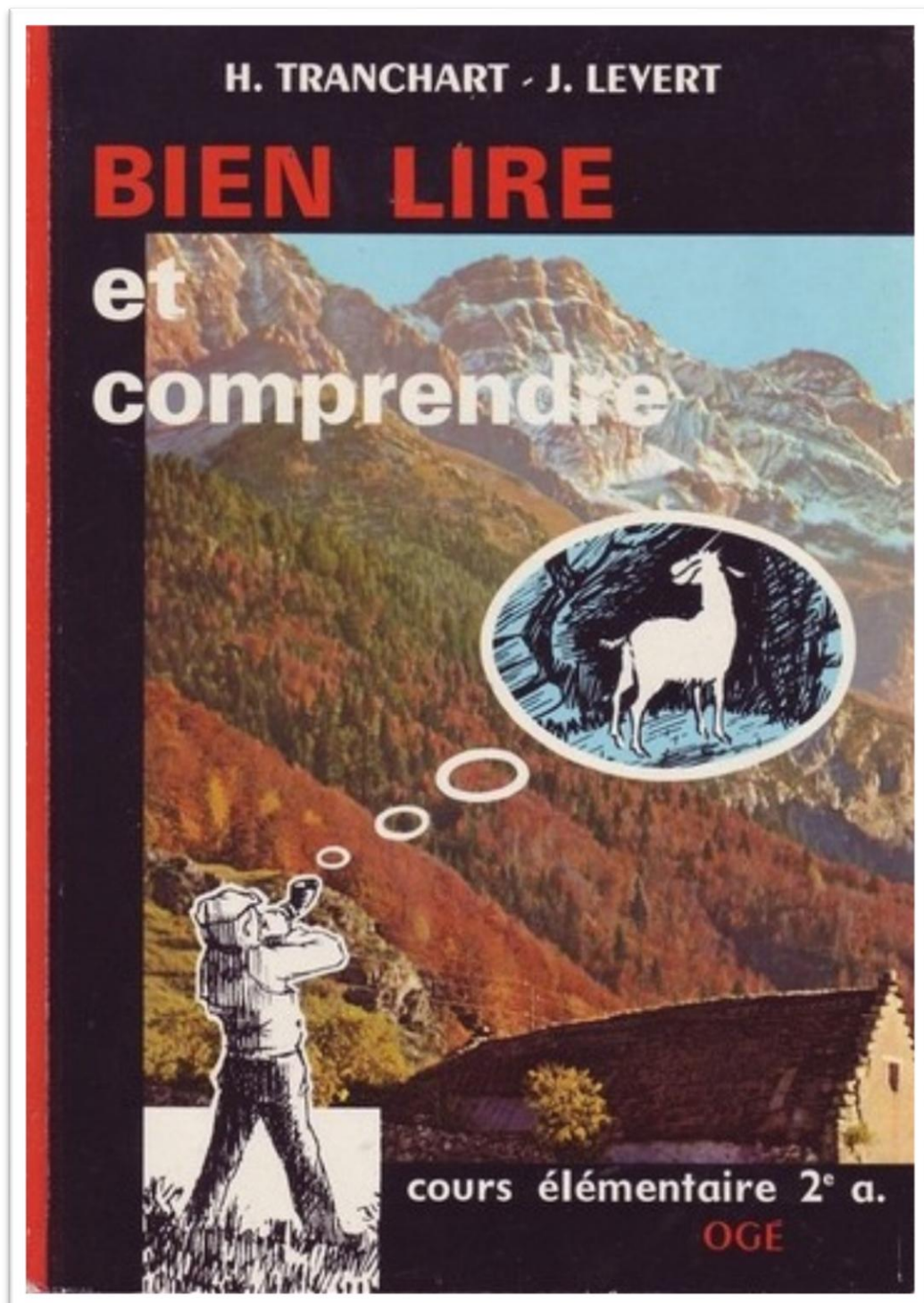
Ahmed Boukmakh's series of textbooks, assigned as the official textbooks for the first five levels of primary school, has undoubtedly impacted the lives of a whole generation of students who, up to the present time, still reminisce about poems or texts they memorized back in school. These common impressions and nostalgic memories are not exclusive to Arabic textbooks alone, they are also expressed every time another series of French textbooks is mentioned. The '*Bien Lire et Comprendre*' series authored by Henri Tranchart is well reputed among Moroccan students of the 1960's through 1980's.

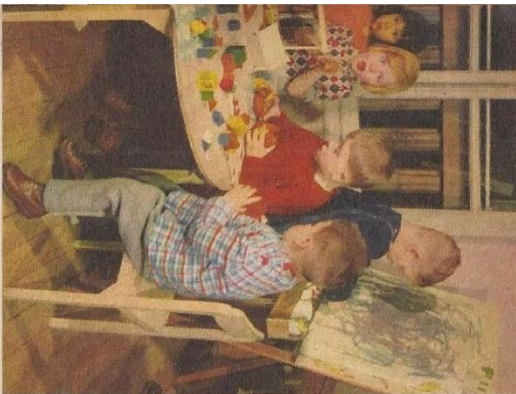
Tranchart's *Bien Lire et Comprendre* series was programed as the official textbook for the first three levels of primary school in Moroccan school. The pleasant outlook of the book, the author's focus on communication skills through reading short fictional passages followed by comprehension questions (questions d'intelligence), and then a gradual instruction of language components provided pupils with unique learning experiences that were evidently translated in their abilities to read, to write, and to communicate.

Tranchart's series of books reaches out to pupils' linguistic as well as affective abilities. Not only do the textbook's activities present a world of fantastic stories and wonders given the fact that most of these texts are excerpts from fictional works, but they also provoke pupils' thoughts through follow up activities that stimulate questions of understanding and intelligence. Moreover, and similarly to Boukmakh's series of *Iqraa*, the *Bien Lire et Comprendre* series sets in a pedagogical continuum since it provides learners with a rich body of language activities that follows a logic of gradual language acquisition.

One aspect that Tranchart's *Bien Lire et Comprendre* might be reproached for when compared with L. Bousson's *Tous à l'école*, used in Muslim schools under the protectorate regime in the 1950's, is its thematic estrangement, meaning that *Bien Lire et Comprendre*'s characters and themes were entirely built around European fictional figures and fairy tales'

characters; however, the three *Bien Lire et Comprendre* textbooks remained the recommended French program at Moroccan primary schools for over 25 years.





ain = ein

Henri est debout.
Il a des pots
pleins de peinture : il peint.

oy. ay

Voyez-vous, sur la table,
les cubes, la pâte à modeler ?
On peut aussi demander
des crayons de couleur...

Voyez ces jolis enfants... Comme ils sont sages !

**ein
oy
ay**

les reins, la peinture, la ceinture, le seau est plein.
envoyer, se noyer, voyager, aboyer, le loyer.
payer, balayer, essayer, un rayon, un crayon.

Mina a balayé la maison de sa maman ; tout est propre.
Ce matin, chez le boulanger, Mina n'a pas payé le pain.
Hier, Mireille a essayé de coudre ; elle s'est piqué le doigt.
Elle a essayé aussi de faire de la peinture. C'était vilain !
Elle a dit : — C'est moins facile que les crayons de couleur.
Cette nuit, le chien du voisin a aboyé ; je l'ai entendu.
René a fait un beau voyage ; il est content ; il veut repartir.
Ne cours pas au bord du lac ; tu vas tomber et te noyer.
René a mis une ceinture en cuir. Voyez comme il est beau !
Maman a mis un tablier pour ne pas salir sa jolie robe.

Un crayon. Le voyage. Mina a balayé la maison.

90

L'histoire du petit garçon paresseux



L'histoire
parle aussi
d'un petit
veau
qui aurait
bien voulu
aller
à l'école.

1. Alain est un petit paresseux. Il ne veut pas apprendre à lire.
À l'école, il s'ennuie. Comme c'est fatigant d'écrire !
Quand il rentre à la maison, il va se plaindre au petit veau :
« Tu as de la chance. Tu ne fais rien. Tu te reposes. »
Le petit veau ne répond pas, mais il remue les oreilles.
2. Le petit veau est devenu un gros boeuf. Un jour, son maître
l'emmène dans les champs, et lui fait tirer une lourde charrue.
Alain vient le voir, le soir, après l'école.
3. Alors le petit veau — qui est devenu un boeuf — lui dit :
« Tu ne veux pas apprendre à lire ? Tu trouves que c'est fatigant ?
Si tu veux, changeons de place tous les deux.
Moi, j'irai à l'école. J'apprendrai à lire et à écrire.
Et toi, tu iras dans les champs pour tirer la charrue. »

106

It is important at this point to reiterate that the French language class was not the only course where French was employed, other courses such as mathematics and biology at secondary levels were taught in French as well. The objective was to allow students to interact with the French language as much time and in as many contexts as possible. The Arabization of the education system was slowly overtaking, yet it deemed that a full coverage of school subjects was not a possible option in the foreseeable future back then. Therefore, the effects of incomplete Arabization and the question of which language of instruction (Arabic or French) should be adopted at elementary, secondary or at university levels remained a controversial policy which subsequent governments passed on to one another.

The period of the 1960's through the mid-1980's was marked by an ambivalent pace of educational reforms. Amidst tumultuous social events which were the result of political stand-offs between the royal regime and progressive socialist parties, the educational sector was subjected to a plethora of reform measures. Among the most prominent of these figured the need to accelerate the process of Arabization and the enhancement of vocational training programs.

The education system of post-independence Morocco fully embraced the French model of education though early policies in the wake of independence independence sought to nationalize the educational structure inherited from the protectorate authorities. The full adoption of reactionist⁶⁶ policies based on principles of Arabization, unification, Moroccanization, and generalization has completely forced the whole educational structure to set out on its journey of reforms on the wrong foot. However, the lack of a national consensus and resources (financial and managerial), the incessant political turmoils, and the total

⁶⁶ Reactionist in the sense that their adoption came as a response to pledges and calls made by nationalists to the general public during the colonial period.

absence of a sustainable vision of reform has produced an education system doomed to an infinite crisis.

Nonetheless, when official sectoral education indicators describing past and present situations of education in Morocco in terms of students' academic performance, their mastery of languages, and their abilities to analyze and appreciate scientific or artistic texts are compared, it becomes evident that education system policies and procedures back in the 1970's and 1980's were more efficient than policies and reforms implemented since 1995 onwards. This observation was declared by king Mohammed 6 in one of his speeches in 2013⁶⁷.

4. 3 Samples from Moroccan Textbooks Approved for Use (2000-2015):

Textbooks are not mere carriers of information and facts, they are pedagogical scaffolds and political channels through which educational policies are executed. An examination of textbook samples employed at schools is by necessity an examination of the culture, the ideals, the values and the perspectives that students (future citizens) would initially negotiate, and on which they would build their ideals and perceptions of life. It goes without saying that whatever content students are exposed to will undoubtedly have a bearing on their reaction to and interaction with the world.

The socio-affective and cognitive abilities that a child develops principally depend on the quality and value of the curriculum content student interacts with. This fact shall be demonstrated in the next few pages as the current programs of instruction approved for use at

⁶⁷ The king, being the president of the national council of education, heavily criticized the present situation of education in a royal speech delivered on August 20th 2013, in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the revolution of the people and the king. On this occasion, he declared : "What is more distressing is that the present situation of the education system has grown far worse than how it was more than twenty years ago".

Moroccan schools, particularly programs of language instruction, have literally undergone a downfall in terms of textbooks' language register and thematic selection.

4. 3. 1 The Teaching of Arabic (1st grade):

Now that we have hopefully developed a comprehensive view of the sort of textbook content dispensed at Moroccan schools over two periods in Moroccan modern history ; the protectorate and the early decades in the wake of independence, we wish to continue our examination of textbooks (2000 - 2015) with samples of Arabic lessons from books recently released by Moroccan publishing houses (2018). The Textbooks we intend to explore are primary school textbook, and they were granted approval for use (homologation) by the ministry of education. Their release came after an official evaluation to decide whether they conform to the ministry's pedagogical guidelines.

The next few lessons we shall examine were drawn from textbooks that have been assigned for the first two primary levels. The first textbook titled "كراستي في العربية" "My Arabic textbook" is assigned for primary 1st level students, and it is accompanied with a supplementary collection of short stories titled "حكاياتي" or "My stories". As for the second textbook that we intend to look into is titled "المفيد في العربية". This latter is also coupled with a booklet of short stories meant be used as in-class activities. Both these textbooks serve as starters introducing pupils into the world of school. It should be noted here that most of students who live in remote rural areas do not benefit from a pre-school education.

In 2017, a review of textbooks' content for all school levels was conducted in response to numerous calls to update and modify official school textbooks, calls that were made by national civic associations, political parties, and business stakeholders. The ministry of education vowed to fully review the programs of instruction for all levels by the end 2018.

An initial review of textbooks was started, and it concerned the three first levels of primary school.

The below few lessons are samples extracted from these recently revised textbooks. Our objective is to examine and compare these lessons in terms of their themes, and language activities similar to what was formerly covered and commented on. The point is to get a glimpse of the body of knowledge and abilities that these textbooks are constructing and exposing students to during their primary school instruction (primary and secondary).

Three sample lessons that we wish to study are taken from 1st grade textbooks "حكاياتي" (My stories) and "كراستي في العربية" (My textbook in Arabic). The collection of short stories "حكاياتي" is a supplementary resource that first grade teachers are instructed to recount to their pupils as a guided-reading didactic support. The ensuing step is the reading activity consists in opening brief discussions as a way of stimulating pupils' imagination, trigger their abilities to describe story characters and possibly identify with them, to predict upcoming events (through imagining final scenes), and to construct the inherent logic guiding the story events.

The first story titled 'The breakfast' relates the unfortunate consequences that a gourmand child named Assou faces after gobbling down food leftovers. The boy completely ignores his sister's repeated advice not to eat food remainings on the table until one day he falls sick. To a six-year-old pupil, the story may seem both intriguing and motivating. Besides, and from an interpretive perspective, the story does convey a couple of social and moral lessons. However, when comparing this reading story to previous reading passages taken from Boukmakh's "Iqraa", it becomes evident that the pedagogical contexts, the language styles, and the reading themes that "Iqraa" and "My stories" develop are totally different.

The same comments could be made on the second lesson sample taken from *My stories* "حكاياتي" titled: 'The flying turnip'. The story revolves around the predicament of an old peasant who is trying to pull a giant turnip out of the soil. After a while, a long line of people and animals joined up and focused their efforts on extracting the giant turnip off the ground. The continuous and relentless dragging of the peasant and his companions forced the turnip out. Apparently they pulled the giant turnip too hard that it flew out of the crowd's sight.

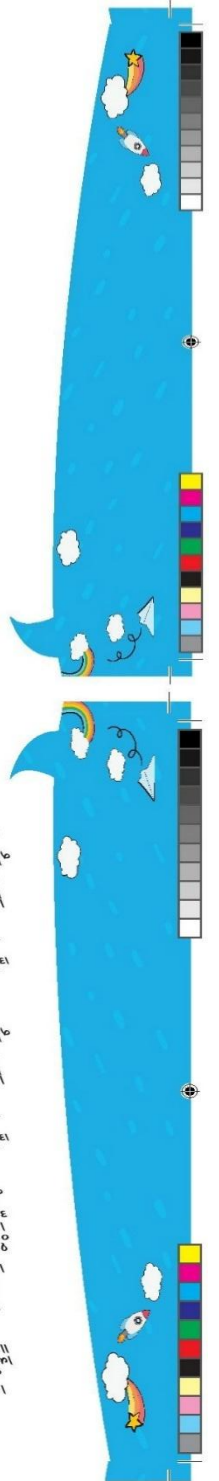
Commentary :

Both stories develop frivolous narratives, and set unrealistic scenes that may cause in pupils episodes of confusion and an affinity for redundant language style. The sister's calling out her gourmand brother's name 'Assssssou عسسسسو' or the overstatement of the verb 'dragging جذب' (12 times) are two instances of a degenerating pedagogical discourse which, when compared to textbook themes, language structures, and targeted learning abilities in Boukmakh's 'Iqraa', we can effortlessly notice the stark thematic and linguistic contrasts.

For competency-based pedagogues, the acquisition of skills and techniques should be privileged over the accumulation and storing of information. This means that the teaching-learning process is no longer founded on the quality of information a student should come across, better than that, it is the acquisition of literacy skills to search for, analyze, synthesize, and how to properly use these information in real-life contexts. Be that as it may, a decent corpus of information (a textbook) remains a prerequisite to allow pupils and students opportunities that mimic real life situations, and to make sense of world events and incidents.

A deconstruction of the pedagogical discourse inherent in textbooks is by necessity a deconstruction of the pedagogical identity that the education system is led to produce and reproduce. Therefore, any type or form of knowledge that students are exposed to, and any

sets of skills that they are directed to develop will undoubtedly shape and construct their future perceptions of: society, culture, economy, and the political system.



وَهَكَذَا، نَادَى الْقِطُّ الْقِطَّ، فَجَذَبَ الْقِطُّ الْقِطَّ،
وَجَذَبَ الْقِطُّ الْقِطَّ الْكَلْبَ، وَجَذَبَ الْكَلْبُ الْوَلَدَ،
وَجَذَبَ الْوَلَدُ أُمَّهُ، وَجَذَبَتِ الْبَنْتُ أُمَّهَا،
وَجَذَبَتِ الزَّوْجَةُ زَوْجَهَا ...



فَجَاءَ صَرَخُ الْفَلَّاحِ: «أَيُّهَا تَتَعَرَّكُ! أَيُّهَا تَتَعَرَّكُ ... إِنِّهَا تَتَعَرَّكُ!»
فَجَذَبَتِ الزَّوْجَةُ بَشِدَةً، وَجَذَبَتِ الْبَنْتُ بَشِدَةً،
وَجَذَبَ الْوَلَدُ بَشِدَةً، وَجَذَبَ الْكَلْبُ بَشِدَةً،
وَجَذَبَ الْقِطُّ بَشِدَةً، وَجَذَبَ الْقِطُّ الْفَارَّ بَشِدَةً،

نَمَّ ... طَاخَ!»



طَارَتِ الْفُتَّةُ فِي الْهَوَاءِ.

4. 3. 2 Sample Lessons from Updated French textbooks (1st grade):

At the present time, the teaching of either French or English in Morocco is a matter that the ministry of education has very little control over, especially with regards to the issue of language orientation. While in public schools students find themselves in front of a wide selection of languages: Italian, German, Spanish, or English, private schools restrict students' options to English only, private school students know that English would be a mandatory module all the way through their university studies no matter which university major students would select once they graduate from high school.

The same remarks are valid about the choice of language textbooks. While it is compulsory for language teachers in public schools to comply with the ministry guidelines regarding the use of the designated textbooks according to each directorate, most private schools that we could consult employ foreign textbooks they believe best suit their students' learning needs.

This scenario is not exclusive to the teaching of English, the pedagogical offer in French textbooks is varied and copious. Textbooks in public schools are ascribed according to regional educational directorates, whereas private schools very seldom conform to the lists of textbooks issued by the ministry for each level, especially at elementary and middle school levels. Most private schools initiate their students to the study of French and English at pre-school levels. One reason for this is that private schools do not feel satisfied with the ministry's suggested list of books, this fact compels them to reach out to foreign bookshops in search for more appropriate and well suited textbooks offers they believe respond to their students' learning needs.

A simple comparison between two French textbooks "Cours de Français" used at public schools, and "L'Archipel des Mots" widely used at private schools, shows a huge difference in terms of the selection of themes of units, language components, and the

suggested teaching approaches. Both textbooks were authored by Moroccan textbook writers, and they are designed for 2nd grade students, however, the two books are clearly not meant for the same category of learners.

"Cours de Français" offers a limited set of grammar structures and vocabulary lessons, which seeks to only reinforce students' little knowledge of French acquired in the first grade. Besides, and based on an overall observation of the textbook's content, we can conclude that the textbook's overwhelming number of grammar-oriented activities over functional ones and the lack of a project-based tasks allow students very little room to interact with the language meaningfully and efficiently therefore restricting students' learning experiences both inside and outside of the classroom.

On the other hand, "L'Archipèle", and again based on our comparative examinations of the two textbooks, we conclude that "L'Archipèle" designers were conscious of the learners' pedagogical identity or the sociocultural backgrounds of the students who would have access to the textbook. "L'Archipèle" is in many ways very similar to how "Tous à L'école" and "Bien Lire et Comprendre" are designed and structured. The textbook lesson sequencing strikes a balance between various skills (reading, listening, functional communication, and writing), though it noticeably places more emphasis on reading fictional passages.

Below is a sample of a lesson (a sequence introduction picture) extracted from "L'Archipèle". It should be noted that both textbooks "Cours de Français" and "L'Archipèle" are assigned for the same age-category of students (2nd graders).

Unlike public school students of "Cours de Français", private school students of "L'Archipèle" are expected to have a higher level of language proficiency, and to be fluent enough to grapple with the textbook's varied content.

Similarly to the cultural symbolism conveyed in 1950's French textbook "Tous à L'école", the pictures of the mosque tower and the Moroccan flag all seem to appeal to students' sociocultural background knowledge. Both symbols, the mosque minaret (beacon) and the flag of Morocco, lead students to identify with a sociocultural context familiar to them. However, the yellow school buses and the female attendants (*accompagnatrices*) represent a new symbolic variable that has not previously figured in former national textbooks approved for use by the ministry of education.

On a subconscious level, the significance of the below textbook picture for a seven year pupil is as follows: My school is a private school that is: a. located in the middle of a popular neighborhood, b. has Moroccan flags on top of its buildings, adjacent to a mosque, and c. where students board yellow school buses to go back home once classes are over.



Séquence 1

Des histoires d'enfants
Raconter un vécu

Dans cette séquence, tu vas :

- parler d'une journée à l'école et au zoo ;
- lire et/ou écouter des textes, une bande dessinée qui racontent des histoires vécues par des enfants ;
- écrire des phrases pour raconter ;
- présenter un tableau ;
- parler du règlement intérieur de la classe ;
- évaluer tes acquis.

While boarding a yellow bus to head to school might sound as an ordinary practice for some adults, its impact on kids' perception of school is substantial. It is an open declaration of the existence of two schooling systems. Main differences between the two sectors will grow evident to these students as they grow up into adolescence.

4. 3. 3 Sample Lessons from Updated Arabic textbooks (2nd grade):

To further test this pedagogical symbolic power, to use Bourdieu's terms, we wish to study another couple of very short stories taken from a 2nd grade storybook called "My stories" or *حكاياتي*. The two stories are titled respectively: "I love my brother" and "Semsem joins school".

"I love my brother " figures as the very first story in the storybook. It is meant to serve as a prelude introducing some of the storybook main characters: Al-idrissi Family. The young Widad Al-idrissi, who lives in Almassira neighborhood, heads to her new school on her first day of studies. She is welcomed to her class by her teacher and her classmates, and she is invited by her teacher to introduce herself and her family, an introduction that she confidently performs. After an eventful day, Widad is picked up by her dad, and she returns home to keep her mom and little brother 'Mahmoud' company.

The second story tells the story of another Moroccan family, yet unlike the Al-idrissis, all its members are monkeys who live in a forest nearby the town. Semsem, the little monkey gobbles down his breakfast, and takes a tour in town in search of his friends. He/it accidentally bumps into an open school gate and hears a teacher in one of the classrooms asking questions, the intrigued monkey jumps through a window onto one of the classroom desks, and in a similar way to Widad's, he/it starts introducing himself. The seemingly confused teacher retorted by telling the little eager-to-learn monkey that the school is not a place for monkeys.

We think that it would somehow be troubling to imagine how a six-year old pupil who lives in a forest-like rural environment can relate to the discoursal properties inherent in the second story, and how these properties would add up to form perceptions of his or her reality. The same question is valid for pupils who share Widad's sociocultural conditions in urban zones. Unlike the inclusive tone expressed by Said Arrifi in Boukmakh's *Iqraa*, we wonder how students living in urban areas will relate to pupils or students living in rural or under-privileged zones. It should be forgotten that although these events, characters, and the manner in which they are portrayed in these stories might appear for adults as mere fictional funny characters, for six or seven-year old pupils, such symbolic meanings contribute to the forming of their basis of perception, habitus, and cultural capital.

قَضَتْ وِدَادُ يَوْمَهَا الْأَوَّلَ فِي الْمَدْرَسَةِ مَسْرُورَةً بَيْنَ زَمَلَائِهَا، وَعَادَتْ فِي الْمَسَاءِ إِلَى بَيْتِهَا رُفْقَةً أَبِيهَا.



لَمَّا دَخَلَتْ إِلَى الْبَيْتِ،
لَمْ تَحْضُنْهَا أُمُّهَا وَلَمْ
تُعْبَلْهَا كَعَادَتِهَا، كَانَتْ
مُشْغُولَةً بِمُحْمُودٍ، تَطْعُمُهُ
وَتَلَاعِبُهُ.

غَضِبَتْ وِدَادُ، ذَهَبَتْ إِلَى عَرَفَتِهَا، فَوَجَدَتْ مَهْدًا جَدِيدًا
بِجَانِبِ سَرِيرِهَا. وَعِنْدَمَا فَتَحَتْ الصُّورَ انْطَضَعَ وَزَرَّتْهَا
فِيهِ، وَجَدَتْ أُمًّا قَدْ رَبَّتْ مَلَابِسَ أَخِيهَا فِي نَصْفِهِ.
اشْتَدَّ غَضَبُ وِدَادَ وَغَيَّرَتْهَا فَقَالَتْ لِأُمِّهَا: مَامَا! لَقَدْ أَخَذَ
مُحْمُودُ نَصْفَ حَجَرَتِي وَنَصْفَ صَوَانِي، وَوَضَعْتُمْ لِعَيْنِهِ

5

أَحِبُّ أَخِي



الْتَحَقَّتْ وِدَادُ بِمَدْرَسَتِهَا الْجَدِيدَةِ، جَلَسَتْ فِي حُجْرَةِ
الْمُدْرَسِ بِجَانِبِ مُرَادَ، رَجَّيَتْ بِهَا الْأُسْتَاذَةَ وَطَلَبَتْ مِنْهَا
أَنْ تَقْدِمَ نَفْسَهَا لِيَعْرِفَهَا أَصْدِقَاءُهَا وَصَدِيقَاتِهَا الْجُدُدَ.

قَالَتْ وِدَادُ:

- اسْمِي وِدَادُ

الْإِدْرِيْسِي، سَنِي

سِتُّ سَنَوَاتٍ، أَبِي

عَامِلٌ وَأُمِّي مُمَرِّضَةٌ،

لِي أَخٌ صَغِيرٌ سَنَةِ خَمْسَةِ أَشْهُرٍ، اسْمُهُ مُحْمُودُ، نَسْكُنُ

بِحَيِّ الْمَسِيرَةِ.



4

سمسم قرّد صغير، يعيش مع أسرته في الغابة المُجاورة للقرية. أفاق سمسم من نومه هذا الصّباح، غسل وجهه وتناول فطوره وخرج ليَلْعَبَ مع صديقه الفيل الصغير.



بحَثَ عنه في حقل الفول وفي بُستان التفاح، فلم يجده، أَكَلَ سمسم فولة وتفاحة وتوجّه إلى القرية لِيَحْتَ عنه هناك. وَجَدَ باب المدرسة مفتوحاً فقفر إلى النافذة. رأى الأستاذة تكُتِبُ على السبورة، فتسلل من النافذة إلى حجرة الدرس، وجلس على كرسي في آخرها. قالت الأستاذة للتلاميذ: من يأتي

بكلمة في أولها حرف السين؟ أنا سمسم... سمسم... سمسم... رأت الأستاذة القرّد الصغير فقالت: صباح الخير، من أنت؟

قدم نفسك! قال القرّد الصغير: صباح الخير أستاذتي، أنا سمسم، ستي ست سنوات، أنسكن مع أسرتي في



الغابة المُجاورة للقرية. أبي «فوفو» يعمل في الغابة، أمي «صولا» تعمل أيضاً في الغابة، لي أخت أصغر مني اسمها «فلانة». قالت الأستاذة: وماذا تفعل هنا؟ قال القرّد الصغير: أريد أن أتعلم القراءة والكتابة.

قالت الأستاذة: يا سمسم! القردة لا تأتي إلى المدرسة.

Before proceeding to the last part of our textbooks analyses (secondary textbook samples) of what forms of pedagogic knowledge students are led to construct, we would like to reaffirm that a unified and common access of all students to the same textbooks at Moroccan schools in the past partly ensured an inclusive education to all Moroccan students, irrespective of their sociocultural backgrounds or economic statuses.

Despite the fact that most textbooks approved for use are imbued with values of equity, equal opportunity and justice, such values start losing meaning once school students grow into adulthood, and come to the realization that there are some fortunate "Idrissi Widads" who study within educational settings which are different from the one they receive their education in. In addition to their economic capital, the conditions and the resources that private institutions provide students with greatly contribute to the betterment of their students' school performance. This ultimately reverberates on these students' ambitions since it ends up ensuring them access to limited access higher institutions (Medical and engineering schools mostly); hence leading to the reproduction of the social structure

For the other majority of the other less fortunate 'semsems', school will no longer be the right place to fulfill their ambitions of promoting their socioeconomic statuses. Upper middle-class professions such as engineering and medical careers will become far-fetched positions given the relentless professionalization of educational streams in the public sector. For these students, access to limited access institutions will be unquestionably scarce no matter how passionate about learning they may be.

One more assertion we would like to advance is the fact that both Arabic and French textbooks of the 1960's up to the mid-1990's relied on the notion of pedagogic adaptation or abridgement (بتصرف). The suggested reading texts were basically excerpts from seminal books written by Arab or French authors. These texts always figured as initial reading materials after which vocabulary and communication tasks were presented.

Fictional texts and other artistic genres not only present students with fulfilling learning opportunities, but they also allow them chances to forge and enhance their critical thinking skills. Interacting with literary texts provide students with pedagogical settings where they can follow the logic behind the sequencing of events, describe fictional characters, gain an in-depth knowledge on how society and state institutions function, build their personalities, and learn to both cherish and celebrate values of democracy, freedom, social justice, and equity.

Interactions with the ‘thought and logic’ of literary figures has gotten more scarce at the level of revised textbook editions used in schools. Unlike post-independence textbooks we consulted, most reading materials we studied from 1990’s textbooks onwards were passages excerpted from national or international magazines, transcribed interviews with renowned figures in fields of business, economy, entertainment, and sports.

In conclusion, we can assume that modern textbooks used in schools deny students chances to interact with the literary talent, reasoning, and critical views and abilities of literary figures and thinkers. Popular literary characters were replaced by ‘a degenerate discourse’ epitomized by the hailing of TV entertainers, football stars, and a social media frenzy as models of success and achievement.

In order to illustrate the arguments cited above in great detail, we shall discuss examples of lessons taken from two secondary level textbooks of English:

Unit 4

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Read

Moroccan NGOs seek the Empowerment of Women and Youth

Get involved

1. Do you know any Moroccan or international NGOs concerned with sustainable development?
2. What are their objectives? Give examples.
3. Read the introductory paragraph and answer these questions.
 - a. Who is Nouredine Ayouch?
 - b. What are "Zakoura" and "DABA 2007"?



Nouredine Ayouch is one of the most active participants in Moroccan civil society. In an interview with Magharebia, he discussed his two associations, the Zakoura Foundation (founded in 1995) and DABA 2007. These organisations aim to empower the women and youth of Morocco, whom Ayouch considers to be the country's future. Micro-credit allocated by the association has allowed many Moroccan women to start their own projects. Ayouch launched the DABA 2007 association to involve Moroccan youths in the political life of the country.

Read and discover

4. Survey the interview by reading the words in red bold type and choose the correct answer.
Zakoura and Dabba 2007 are interested in
 - a. environment and ecology.
 - b. education and mass media.
 - c. sustainable development and politics.
5. Read the whole interview and check your choice.



Women benefiting from Zakoura foundation

Magharebia : Zakoura began ten years ago. How is it doing today?

Nouredine Ayouch : Zakoura is doing well. Moreover, Morocco has been ranked the top country in the world in issuing **micro-credit** by the World Bank and the UN.

Zakoura is doing extraordinary work in Morocco. We have 1,150 employees at 765 sites throughout the country. Zakoura not only provides micro-credit, but raises awareness of the importance of fighting corruption, being dignified, respecting women, and **voting**.

Magharebia : Moroccan women seem to benefit most from Zakoura's micro-credit. Is this merely a coincidence?

Ayouch : At the start, Zakoura wanted to reach both men and women. But since the first year, we have noticed that our female clients are more serious and show more solidarity. We have therefore decided to devote ourselves more to women, who today are receiving 90 per cent of the micro-credit. I cannot emphasise enough that women are the future of this country. Our country will truly change the day they are given economic, cultural, social, and political power.

Magharebia : Has women's status benefited from the latest modifications to the Moroccan **family code** (Moudawana)?

Ayouch : The changes made to the family code constitute a major shift in the Arab world. Unfortunately, the 'Moudawana' is still poorly applied, because many habits have not changed. **Education** and **communication** are essential to better explain the reasons for this reform.

The first text is an interview with the Moroccan social activist and entrepreneur Nourddine Ayyouch. Besides being particularly known for his financial micro-loans associaton known as Zakoura, Ayyouch is a member of the Permanent Committee of curriculum designing, rrograms, trainings, and educational media. This committee is a derivative body of the high council of education, training, and scientific research. In addition to an enumeration of Ayyouch's associative involvement, the interview places particular emphasis on his two associations ZAKOURA and DABA. These two associations are described in the text as two of the most active associations that benefit people in need of business financing and professional support.

In addition to Zakoura's funding of start-up businesses through the provision of micro-loans as well as the accompaniment of these micro-credit beneficiaries through periodic trainings in fields of marketing and business, Zakoura has an affiliate association called the Zakoura education foundation. This latter concerns itself with : the reintegration of dropout students into the school environment, the provision of literacy and vocational courses, and opening pre-school institutions in rural and under-priviliged areas of Morocco.

Familiarizing students with civic initiatives such as Ayyouch's Zakoura is a great example of lessons that fall under themes of sustainable development and civil society, and seek to promote a spirit of cooperation and values of social solidarity. However, and from a constructivist perspective, students are also introduced into a domain imbued with notions of funding, business initiatives, cooperatives, competition, and self-promotion. These notions are meant to break away with the incumbent economic model wherein (the state) or government institutions are partly or fully involved in the funding and the regulation of these business-oriented activities.

The next two lessons, taken out from 2nd bac textbook "Insights into English", walk students through another theme and concept which is private education. The first lesson is a

reading passage that presents the struggle of three Japanese students to succeed in their attempts to join a private school, whereas the second lesson is a writing activity in which students are led to write an e-mail to a private university in which they should list their strengths, aspirations, and motives to join the YU university.

Review and Evaluation

Assess yourself

Look through Units Nine and Ten. What did you learn? Complete this chart.

Which topics and subtopics can you talk about?	Which strategies can you apply?	Which communicative functions can you use?	How much vocabulary can you use?	Which grammatical points can you use?

Compare your list with that of another pair of students. You may want to add other elements to your list.

In pairs, read the article below and complete these sentences.

1. Japanese mothers pay for *Juku* through _____.
2. For Japanese kids, the examination entry into first grade is _____.
3. Before the exam, they _____.
4. Getting high-ranking jobs is _____.
5. Japanese mothers are referred to as being _____.

The Secret of Japan's School

Hiroshi Katoh, three and a half years old, is preparing for one of the most important moments of his life—the examination for entry into first grade. He has learned to march correctly into his nursery school, obey the 'cleaning-up music and sing the good-bye song. He will soon try for admission to one of Tokyo's prestigious private schools.

In a Tokyo suburb, Naoko Masuo, who is 13 years old, returns and settles in to do homework. She is a seventh-grader at a private girls school. "I have made it" her smile seems to say. For three years in public school, from fourth to sixth grade, Naoko's schedule was high-pressure. She would rush home from school, study for a short time and then leave to attend *juku*, a specialized school that trains students to meet particular goals, most commonly to pass an entrance examination, three hours a day, three times a week. Her goal was to enter a good private school. And the exam would be tough.

Her brother, Watanabi, passed a similar exam several years ago and entered an elite national school. The summer before the exam, he went to *juku* for eight hours a day. Now, as high-school graduate, he is preparing for entrance exams to Tokyo University, Japan's top college.

Hiroshi, Naoko, Watanabi are on the Japanese road to success. Thousands of other children from middle and upper-class families are trying to pass exams, enter good schools and get the good jobs that mark the end of a race well run. Every step of the way they are guided and coached by their mothers, who have had sharp eyes on the finish line from the start. Undoubtedly, behind every highly competent Japanese student stands a mother completely involved in her child's education. She shuttles youngsters from exercise class to music class to calligraphy and piano. She helps every day with homework and may even work part-time to pay for *juku*. This role is so accepted that it has generated its label—*kyoiku mama* (education mother).

To Japanese women, motherhood is a profession, demanding and prestigious with education of the child as number 1 responsibility. The Japanese argue the *kyoiku mama* will never fade from the scene [...].



(Reader's Digest, December 1986)

The first reading text from insights into English recounts the hardships that three Japanese students Hiroshi, Naoko, and Watanabi endured in order to earn the privilege of getting access to a prestigious private school. Such an entry means that they have literally secured their futures. The passages shows readers the amount of sacrifice and efforts Japanese students put in to pass the entrance exam administered by these prestigious schools as of the age of three. These schools, as the passage explains, are attended by children from middle and upper-class families who, prior to their final admission, completely dedicate themselves to high-pressure studying schedule at intermediary institutions called Juku.

The Japanese model of private schooling and how strained Japanese people get to enroll their children in these institutions reinforces a belief among students that in order "to make it" in life, receiving a high-quality private education is an indispensable prerequisite. Not only that, the text goes far to portray students who could not afford to enroll in these schools as under-achievers. Success in education and professional life is pre-conditioned by students' access to these private schools: "...trying to pass exams, enter good schools and get the good jobs that mark the end of a race well run".

The same theme pattern is observed and enhanced in the third and last of these sample lessons. The writing topic provides students with an alternative option to access a private university instead of a public one. The marketing and the promotion of this private education is quite evident. The text chooses to appeal to students' conscience by calling the private university YU as, Your University, or the university you deserve.

On a deeper level, the topic directly reaches out to students by connecting to their future concerns such as on-campus accommodation, a stable academic space and research conditions, an affordable tuition, cultural and sports events, and excellent academic staff and programs. Employing, for this matter, a promotional discourse implying that these listed facilities are not available on public university campuses.

Once again, it seems that the survival and the growth of private education relies on the devalueing and the depreciation of the public education one. All faults and areas of weaknesses in the public education sector seem to offer for its private counterpart golden opportunities to capitalize on, and to promote an "affordable" educational offer as a promising alternative.

Before you Write

1. Read the advertisement below and answer these questions.
 1. How old is 'Your University'?
 2. According to the advert, what are lecturers at YU like?
 3. Which type of Internet would you have access to if you were a student at YU?
 4. What does 'BBA' stand for?
 5. What is one of the good things about studying with students from all over the world?
2. Re-read the advert and find words with the following meanings:
 1. the money you pay for a course
 2. inexpensive
 3. satisfaction
 4. to improve
 5. the buildings of a university

8 Reasons for you to choose Your University (YU)

1. YU, set up more than 20 years ago, has widely recognized academic excellence.
2. Excellent Bachelor of Business Administration (BBA) course conducted by dedicated, professional lecturers.
3. Affordable tuition.
4. Excellent, supportive and friendly atmosphere for study and research. Access to wireless Internet.
5. A variety of services such as on-campus accommodation and a sports centre.
6. Cultural activities once a week.
7. We take pride in having the most diverse BBA course in this country.
8. We have students from all over the world, which will help you to further enhance your cross-cultural competence.

All application material must be addressed to the Office of Admission: www.youruniversity.mz

3. Read the following instructions.
 1. When applying for a course via e-mail, write your cover letter in the body of an email message.
 2. Proofread your e-mail for grammar and spelling. An e-mailed note needs to be professional and error-free.
 3. Be brief and to the point. Your e-mail should be short.
 4. Make sure you include a signature with your full name, email address and phone number.
 5. Include the title of the course you are applying for in the subject line of your message.
 6. Send your CV as an MSWord document.

A textbook is arguably the most influential educational medium in the whole teaching learning process. Besides guiding the course of learning and structuring pedagogical action in class, textbooks also can represent and mirror the state's educational and socio-economic policies as well as determine which models of future individuals the state intends to accomplish through processes of pedagogic construction.

The pedagogic content of textbooks in Morocco was subjected to multiple episodes of revision and updating. However, the recent updated textbooks of Arabic in primary levels as shown in this chapter did not at all live up to the objectives outlined in the reform plans. In fact, some of the new content included in the two primary Arabic textbooks we consulted sparked waves of protests and condemnation countrywide. The inclusion of dialectal (Darija) expressions in the two books infuriated the general public who went on a mocking spree immediately after the release of the updated textbooks.

While the general public condemned the ministry's indifference towards what sarcastic protestors referred to as the *Baghrir*⁶⁸ curricula, other political actors joined in to openly denounce textbooks' promotion of a degenerate discourse meant to produce shallow-thinking students, and to further deepen existing social disparities.

⁶⁸ Baghrir is a Moroccan dialectal word which basically refers to a pancake riddled with holes. Most recently updated 1st grade textbooks contained lessons that included a set of dialectal words.

Chapter Five:

5. Methodology and Research Design (An overview):

The objective of this last chapter is to explore the impact of previously discussed educational policies on the structure of the Moroccan society by means of quantitative and qualitative approaches. First off, a detailed description of the methodology and the research design will be provided. Then, an analysis of the collected data accompanied with reflective commentaries will ensue. As we proceed, references to research components covered in previous chapters will be made as a way of correlating results of data analyses to statements made in these chapters.

The third part of this chapter will analyze open statements made by influential politicians and decision-makers. We shall regard these statements as data to be examined from a qualitative perspective. The objective is to explore their congruence and compatibility with the state's strategic policies in the field of education. The qualitative approach results may either substantiate quantitative data findings and hence give credence to the study's assertion that 'the Moroccan state is intent on further subduing the educational order to the global neoliberal economic transformations, or may offer a new perspective on what the Moroccan state actually intends to achieve by its course of 'educational reforms'.

This last chapter is meant to serve as a scaffold board linking conceptual, educational, and political discourse traits discussed in previous chapters. Each area of analysis will directly relate to an aspect elaborated on in previous chapters. The purpose is to empirically test hypotheses and explore the validity of the proposed research questions. Finally, it is worth noting that the research methodology employed in this chapter follows the triangulation method of analysis as it will be explained shortly. Most social sciences'

researchers believe the triangulation method of analysis as the ideal way of testing the validity of the research findings.

5. 1 Research Design (Quantitative Data Analysis):

The quantitative method of analysis is founded on principles of the positivist approach that seeks to examine and understand phenomena by means of empirical enquiry. This latter involves carrying out statistical experiments through quantifying variables and employing the generated results to either corroborate or discredit the validity of the proposed hypotheses. The employed research methods such as laboratory experiments or questionnaires can, to a large extent, ensure the validity and the reliability of the obtained results. The common concern most researchers using quantitative analysis cite is that the quantitative approach often fails to account for the evaluative patterns surrounding particular social phenomena. This is due to the fact that quantitative analysis exclusively relies on numerical data.

The qualitative approach on the other hand can compensate for research aspects that cannot be quantified, deconstructed, and examined through quantitative data. The qualitative method aims to address the subtle details that can bear a certain impact on the overall state and progression of the observed phenomenon. Yet, depending solely on the qualitative method to produce sound research results is not a research course which researchers would normally take on. Qualitative research findings are often regarded as a part of a whole research strategy. They can lead the way for a thorough understanding of the social phenomenon in question.

Again, it is worth pinpointing that researchers in general favor the use of more than one research method as a way of exploring the observed phenomenon. Accordingly, subjecting this latter to a vast scope of research approaches has the potential of minimizing the risk of overlooking a research aspect that may be indispensable to the understanding of

the whole research phenomenon. Therefore, the methodological triangulation -combining quantitative and qualitative methods- can assist in identifying missing factors and cross-examine findings generated by quantitative and qualitative methods in order to establish their validity and reliability.

The quantitative part of this chapter will start off as follows: a. identifying the population and sample of study, b. Units or sections of analyses, c. data collection procedure and response rate, d. analysis of collected data, and e. discussion of research findings. As for the second qualitative part, it will proceed with: a. the sampling and collection of qualitative data, b. delimitation of the scope and the protocol of interviews, c. qualitative data analysis, findings and overall synthesis of cases, and d. an overall summary of case analyses.

5. 1. 1 Population and Sample of the Study:

Exploring the socio-educational and economic impacts that the education system effects on the society at large requires an interrogation of components such as: implemented past and present policies, curricular structuring, and syllabus designing. To achieve this end, various social categories were surveyed with one purpose in mind: eliciting their viewpoints on a number of issues related to their educational experiences. Experiences, which we presume, form a basis on which their perceptions, attitudes, and views (*habitus*) are forged.

As previously indicated, the conducted survey principally targets social categories - students - which are still involved in the education system. Three categories of students belonging to five different educational environments will be interrogated: secondary school students studying at public schools, secondary school students studying at private schools, secondary school students studying at foreign schools (the French and English Missions), and tertiary students of higher undergraduate institutions (regulated access school).

The rationale underlying the choice to target secondary and tertiary students is that these two categories of students form a homogeneous population that has been the subject of recent reform policies. Furthermore, whichever norms or beliefs these students have embraced, perceptions they have formed, or reasoning processes they exhibit have all been constructed within schools they have attended, as a part of what was referred to in previous chapters as pedagogic identity.

The handed survey seeks to determine how far these students or graduates have adapted to the incumbent social and economic realities, what their perceptions on issues related to education , society, economy, and meritocracy are, and how the school system plays in favour of certain social groups while it disadvantages others; therefore reinforcing a reproduction of social inequalities. Once questionnaires are returned, an analysis of participants' responses will be carried out, and research findings will be laid down and commented on, all these processes will remain within the frame of reference of concepts, hypotheses, and research questions formulated in previous chapters.

5. 2 Data Collection Procedure and Scope of Research:

5. 2. 1 Data collection procedure:

Generating reliable outcomes to either corroborate or refute research hypotheses require a fieldwork investigation of some of the issues raised in this study. The investigation, which will be effected by the means of a questionnaire, primarily aspires to elicit respondents' perceptions on issues ranging from the efficiency of educational institutions they currently attend, and the school programs they are immersed in, to how their socio-cultural backgrounds can have a bearing on their future professional prospects. In general, the questionnaire strives to achieve two main objectives:

- a. To measure up how the education system privileges one social category, that has the required capital (economic & cultural) to access good-quality private institutions, over another disadvantaged category (public school students). A category led to cope with the confusion caused by inconsistent and often conflicting policies (Arabization, vocational streams, a multitude of foreign languages, local textbooks...).
- b. To determine the extent to which students of public and private institutions have *adapted* to the current market-oriented economic model - compared to former generations when the state held a central role in the management of their everyday socioeconomic and professional affairs -. We hypothesize that such an adaptation is a consequential feature of a long-term exposure to a school curriculum imbued with neoliberal concepts of: Privatization, competition, and meritocracy. Put in other words, the questionnaire seeks to measure how important it is for students to acquire competencies, skills, and to meet standards that business corporations and enterprises value in workplace.

5. 2. 2 Scope of Research:

The designed questionnaire comprises four sections, and each section addresses a specific aspect:

- A. The first section of the questionnaire consists of close-ended questions, and it addresses the personal profiles of participants. It includes enquiries about respondents' gender, age, level of study, living area, and parents' occupations. The aim is to gain an insight into the socioeconomic backgrounds of the respondents, and to collect an aggregate of perceptions and opinions specific to the various questioned cohorts.
- B. The second section relatively stretches the scope of questions to include respondents' views on the education system in Morocco; and in particular, the incompatible public and

private itineraries that the current system puts in place. An educational reality that exposes different social groups to different educational experiences, and prompts them to build dissimilar impressions about forms of instruction administered at public and private schools, knowledge construction, and learning of foreign languages.

C. The third section of the questionnaire poses three questions regarding the efficiency of programs of instruction at both private and public schools. The questions aim to gauge how much satisfied respondents are with the instructional content that Moroccan textbooks provide, compared to textbooks designed abroad and exclusively employed at private schools. A final point tackled in this section concerns participants' views on educational aids or facilities available at private schools (and not at public schools), and how important their supply is in the promotion of learning experiences.

D. The fourth and last section of the questionnaire aims at eliciting views of students on issues related to access to economic opportunities, and how efficient the instruction they get at either the private or the public educational institutions is as far as allowing them to integrate the economy. The aim is to highlight the interplay between the education system and the accessibility of graduates of public or private schools to the job market, precisely in terms of: private and public modes of instruction, vocational streams or specialities, how these streams are attributed and to which social categories of students, and which of the two modes of education is more reliable from a corporate perspective.

5. 2. 3 Random Sampling procedure:

In order to ensure a reasonable coverage of various cohorts, questionnaires were distributed at different locations in the Fez-Meknes region. The locations included educational institutions situated at one metropolis and three provincial towns. These are respectively the city of Fez, being the capital of the region, and towns of Sefrou, Taounate, and Ifrane.

Respondents had to fulfill two criteria to be eligible for questionnaire completion. Firstly, they had to be students enrolled in streams of ‘mathematical sciences’ or ‘Physics and Chemistry sciences’ at secondary schools - private and public. Secondly, they had to belong to a mixed-gender class, and be one of the first twenty-five students of the interrogated class. As for the list of students, it should be pointed out that it was randomly generated by the “Massar” administration program, and that variables of gender, place of birth, and parents’ occupation were not taken into consideration when the students’ lists were being formulated.

The “Massar” generated lists of students ensure a random sampling of respondents since it bases its selection processes on unique “national numbers” assigned to students by the ministry of education nationwide. Besides, and upon a close examination of these lists, students were clustered in classes according to these national numbers, and without any forms of gender classification.

Following a brief introduction of the objectives of the survey, respondents were assured of the confidentiality of their responses, and they were informed that their own experiences and perceptions on the aspects detailed in the questionnaire would be very useful. Furthermore, respondents were led through the four different sections of the questionnaire, and they were invited to ask about any question that might have appeared ambiguous or unintelligible.

In total, 18 educational institutions in four different cities in the region of the Fez-Meknes were consulted. Over 350 hundred questionnaires were handed to and then collected back from respondents in different settings. Settings which ranged from public and private high schools, to higher educational institutions; namely, ENSA (National School of Applied Sciences), ENCG (National School of Commerce and Management), and the Medical School and pharmaceutical studies of Fez.

Questionnaires were classified into two categories: secondary level students currently studying at private or public schools in different towns of the Fes-Meknes region, and undergraduate students belonging to higher public institutions, and who are also currently enrolled in one of the streams of these institutions. Classifying questionnaires into two main blocks/poles will both facilitate data processing, and highlight variables determining high school graduates' mobility to "Regulated access" institutions; in particular, ENSA, ENCG, and Medical and Pharmaceutical studies' school.

5. 2. 4 Response rate:

The questionnaires were delivered hand-to-hand in classroom settings thanks to the much appreciated assistance of many teachers and administration staff on sites. A researcher's presence was needed to shed more light on possibly ambiguous questions or statements in the questionnaire, as Arabic or French translations were not provided. Furthermore, respondents were alerted to the importance of individually responding to the statements included in the questionnaire, as well as to the fact that what mattered most was their perceptual opinions on the presented issues, and not what or how these issues ought to be like or should be corrected.

The response rate was quite satisfying as nearly all respondents expressed their will to take part in the process. Over 350 questionnaires were distributed and returned and all of the respondents thankfully filled out the questionnaires. This hand-fill-and-return process was successful thanks to three main factors. Firstly, questionnaires were filled on site. Secondly, topics and aspects developed in the questionnaires were greatly detailed, and finally the questions were intended to tap and reach out to respondents' individual experiences.

Once questionnaires were returned, the two ensuing steps were respectively 'Data Preparation' and 'Data Screening'. These two steps were meant to help convert raw data into

readable and meaningful chunks. While, the former step involved classifying questionnaires by student levels and educational institutions, Data Screening meant inspecting data for potential errors, identifying missing answers, and eventually weeding these incomplete answers out.

The principle that guided our process of data screening was that as long as the incomplete or missing information did not affect the analysis process and by extension the research findings, data were maintained and were considered to be valid to process. Finally, it should be noted that many respondents from the French and American schooling systems expressed their unawareness of processes and forms of Moroccan education (public or private) given the fact that they have never had any educational experiences in schools other than those they began their studies at.

5. 2. 5 Dependent and independent variables:

Questionnaires were devised in such a way as to reach out to students' perceptual views and individual socio-educational experiences. To guarantee a balanced coverage of the target population, a verification of respondents' attendance lists was carried out in coordination with class instructors and administration staff, prior to the completion of questionnaires. Nearly all respondents filled out and returned questionnaires on-site. Further measures were taken to ensure the heterogeneity and at the same time the randomness of respondents.

Respondents' socio-economic backgrounds, cultural capital, gender, age, and educational experiences all represented independent variables that were meant to either validate, or disprove research hypotheses. The end-purpose was to track and identify, in an investigative way, the determining factors that allow certain individuals the opportunity to access higher limited-access institutions at the detriment of others.

In correspondence to the formerly discussed sections of the questionnaire, four dependent variables are considered when applying descriptive as well as inferential analyses' methods. These are as follows:

1. Socio-economic and cultural backgrounds affect graduates' integration into higher 'limited-access' institutions such as ENSA, ENCG, and Medical school.
2. Respondents believe private school graduates owe their high rates of success, and their integration into higher "limited-access" institutions, to the provision of better learning and motivating opportunities.
3. Respondents believe private school curricula possess the pedagogic capacity necessary to enhance students' overall academic performance. Put in other terms, do school activities (in and out of school), programs of instruction, and the structuring of the education system (levels and streams) affect students' school performance; and therefore, students' chances to both get into limited-access higher institutions, and integrate the economy subsequently?
4. Respondents believe that corporations value qualities of competition, teamwork, meritocracy, communication, and resilience in workplaces. Qualities that are based on competencies and individual performances of employees, and which students often acquire during their everyday education experiences.

Once data were coded and converted into numerical figures, they were approached based on two modes of statistical analysis which would endeavor to identify patterns, connections, and possible correlations between various research variables. The first mode of analysis is descriptive statistics. It allows for a numerical reading of the collected data since it can provide us with statistical values such as: the mean, percentage, and the range. This mode

of analysis often serves to determine elements such as gender distribution or age range of the target population.

The second mode of analysis, inferential analysis, permits a wider examination of variables through applying procedures of analysis of variance, correlation, and regression. The employment of these analytical procedures should allow for the treatment of different variables as an interactional composite, rather than on an individual basis. Moreover, results yielded from inferential analyses covering a random sample of population can be generalized over wider categories of people.

5. 3 Data Analysis and findings:

Collected questionnaires were subjected to a thorough screening and mining in the sense that all incomplete or inaccurate answer sections were omitted. As previously mentioned, 10 institutions (public, private, higher) were consulted, and more than 350 on-site questionnaires (n=350) were distributed and retrieved. The following step consisted in transforming sets of elicited responses into numerical values in order to represent them in the form of graphic charts, and to facilitate data reading.

The collected questionnaires were classified into three blocks: Responses elicited from public secondary school students “Block A”, responses elicited from private secondary students “Block B”, and responses elicited from higher limited-access students “Block C”. However, at certain times, references will be made to questions or answers that belong to different aspects in the questionnaire, and which happen to share similar features in an attempt to identify possible research patterns at later stages.

5. 3. 1 Respondents’ Gender Demographics:

Identifying respondents’ gender was a first step to ensure the heterogeneity of responses. The random sampling method employed to elicit responses from participants

ensured mixed groups of informants. In total, out of 350 informants from the three targeted blocks of institutions (Public, Private, and Higher), there were 53,56% of male respondents compared to 46,44% of female respondents as the below chart illustrates.

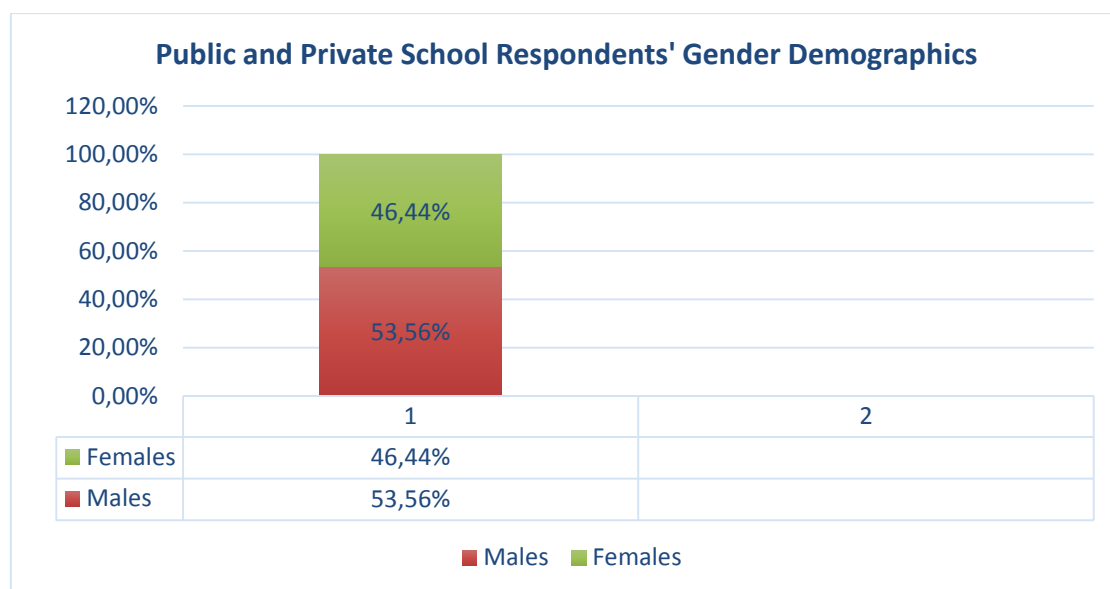


Table 1: Gender of Respondents, N=350.

The above chart shows that there are not any significant differences in terms of gender between the three categories of respondents. A 3,56% difference remains within the norms of an acceptable gender margin, given this statistical figure, the research findings could be said to represent the views of both male and female students interrogated in this study. In this respect, it should be pointed out that prior to the actual act of questionnaires' distribution, a preliminary mock verification of the lists of respondents⁶⁹ was conducted to test the capacity of these lists to cover male as well as female respondents.

5. 3. 2 Correlation between Private Secondary Schooling and Access to Public Limited-Access Institutions:

⁶⁹ Administrative attendance sheets randomly generated by computers, based on individual national numbers.

The second questionnaire component we wish to draw on concerns the correspondence between private schooling as a form of elementary instruction, and accessing public limited-access institutions, namely the ENCG, the ENSA, and medical school. Processed questionnaires covered perceptions of third block respondents (higher institutions); particularly in relation to the first section of the questionnaire, which sought to identify respondents' socioeconomic backgrounds. The results figured as follows:

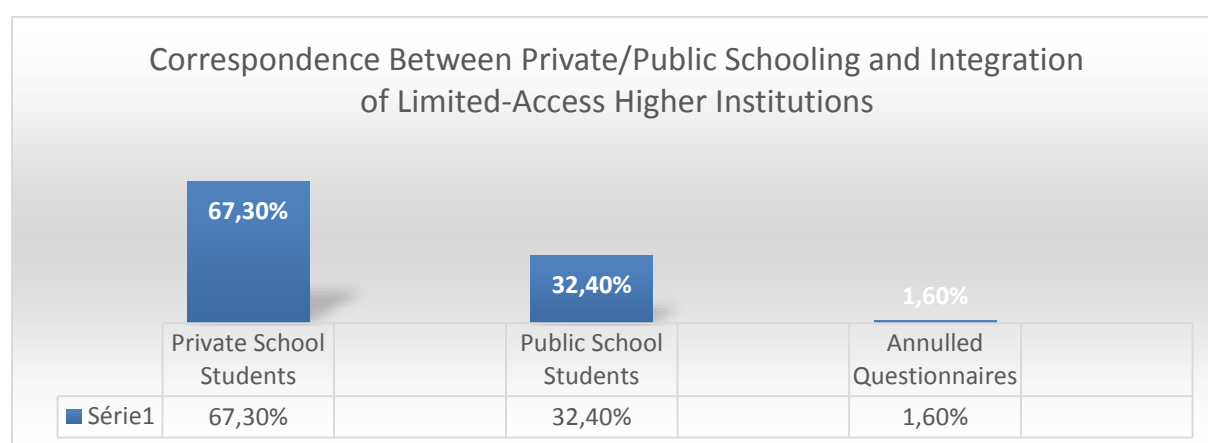


Table 2: Correlation between Private Schooling and Integration into Lim-Access Institutions, n: 150.

Processing questionnaires of respondents pertaining to higher public institutions (ENSA, ENCG, Medical School) indicates that over two thirds 67,30 % of students in these public institutions are private secondary school graduates, while public high schools make up 32,40 % of the overall number of students enrolled in these schools.

The high rates of private secondary school graduates who got access to *Limited-access public institutions* is not necessarily an indicator of a better school performance (if compared to public school graduates), other reasons often play out such as : the unethical inflation of students' test results in some private schools⁷⁰, the broad offer of streams in public schools

⁷⁰ The recourse of many private schools to inflating students' exam scores is a hotly-debated issue in Morocco, especially at the level of private schools. Not only does this practice enable students to pass national exams

which public school students sometimes forced to major in (vocational, arts, humanities, foreign languages other than English...), and which is nonexistent in private schools

5. 3. 3 Socioeconomic Backgrounds and Selection of Private School System:

In contrast to prevalent common beliefs presuming that only students from middle-class and higher social categories attend private schooling, and based on variables of ‘the monthly income’ as well as ‘the living areas of these students’, we have reached a conclusion that private schools have become a preference of not just middle class and well off families, but also of families with modest economic means (both parents making around 5000 MD). Interestingly, many of these private school students qualify for a Moroccan university scholarship once enrolled in either an open or regulated access institutions. This fact led us to annex under-privileged families into the middle-class category as the below chart indicates:

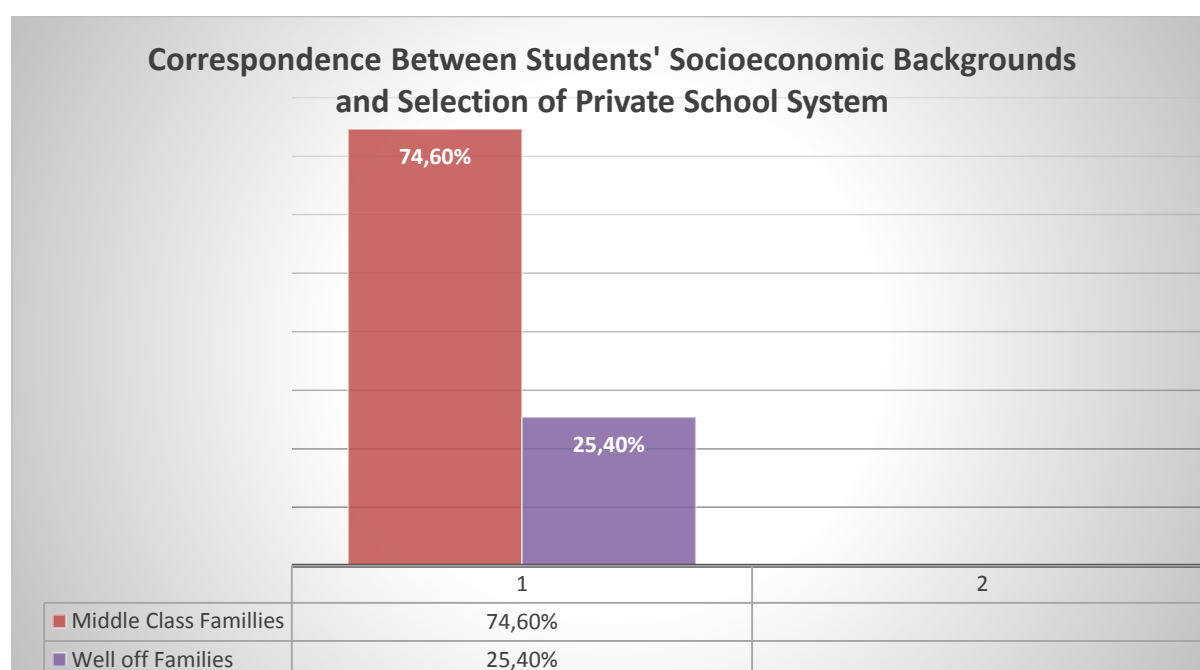


Table 3: Social Categories Constituting the Basis of Students Enrolled in Private Schools

with flying colors, but it also allows them a pass onto the second phase of selection to get enrolled in *institutions à accès régulé*.

According to official ministry statistics, there are over 5685 private primary and secondary schools spread throughout the country, making up 15% of schools hosting students in Morocco. This exponential rise of Moroccan families, be them under-privileged, middle-class, or well off, which favor private schooling over public schooling is indicative of a paradigm shift in people's vision of and approach to public institutions on the one hand, and the presence of growing feelings of distrust in the ability of the public school to catch up with what they believe to be: A better-run and more efficient private school. (Science streams, extra-curricular activities, and the teaching of English as a foreign language).

It could be *inferred* from the above two quantitative examinations: a. Private schooling and its correspondence with integration into limited-access higher institutions, and b. The socioeconomic background of private school students, that private schooling still remains, in spite of the numerous forms of socio-ethical criticisms levelled against this latter, a favorite destination and a better alternative for Moroccan parents from all socio-economic backgrounds. Eventually, and based on processed data, we could argue that since private schools are the main 'supplier' of students in higher limited-access institutions, middle and high social classes will keep on investing in their children through enrolling them in these institutions, hoping that their children would snatch an entry ticket to any of these 'VIP' academic institutions (reproduction).

5. 3. 4 Public and Private Students' Views on the Efficiency of Private Schooling:

While most parents seem quite convinced of the efficiency of the private schooling system compared to its public counterpart, it seemed crucial to shift our focus towards the perceptions and opinions of students themselves, and elicit their views regarding the quality of instruction, and the efficiency of the private schooling system compared to those offered in public schools. Section 'C' in the questionnaire sought to measure the level satisfaction, or

lack thereof, of private and public students regarding the private school curriculum in its entirety (Syllabus, in/out-of-class projects, and programs of instruction).

Interestingly, both categories of respondents exhibited views which were similar to those expressed by adult respondents (see qualitative part). Public school students slightly exceeded private school students in agreement rates as far as the efficiency of private schooling system was concerned. Accordingly, 72,42% of public school students expressed their preference of the educational offer which private schools provide compared to that of public schools’.

On another level, 73,52% private school students too aligned with the view that the private school system is better organized and more efficient compared to the public school one, although frequent explicit reservations are shouted out on the part of parents with regard to the excessive due-pay, the exaggerated registration and insurance fees, and the occasional raise of these, oblivious of the impact they leave on parents’ purchasing power.

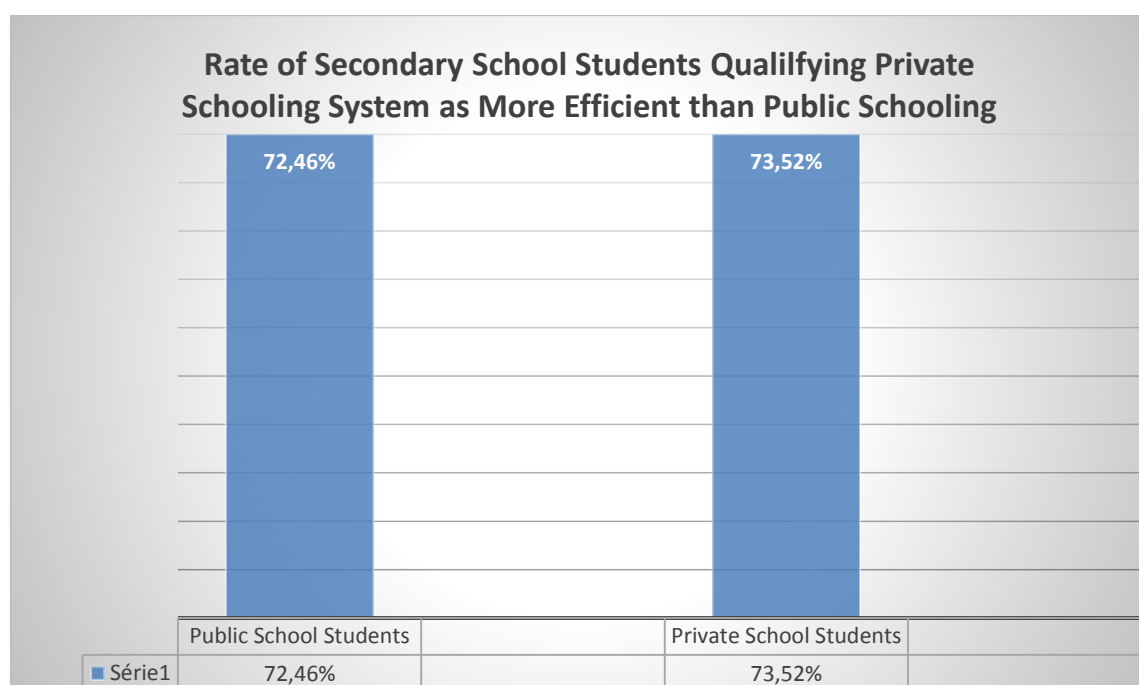


Table 4: Public and Private School Students’ Views on the Efficiency of the Private Schooling System Compared to the Public Schooling System.

This social consensus expressed by public and private school students alike over the efficiency and the quality of instruction in private schools, presents the private school system in Morocco as a viable alternative to public schools. Such impressions significantly play in favor of the private schooling industry. Moreover, the state's slow responses in handling socio-professional issues in the public sector reinforces these attitudes championing the private sector's educational offer.

5. 3. 5 Rate of Students' Satisfaction with Their School Curricula:

Another aspect that is worth exploring, and which we felt compelled to shift our focus towards concerns the quality of programs of instruction, extra-curricular projects and activities, and schools' equipment and resources. Section 'C' in the questionnaires enquires about the pedagogical value of textbooks, foreign language instruction, and the availability of pedagogical resources on private and public school sites. The generated results are as follows :

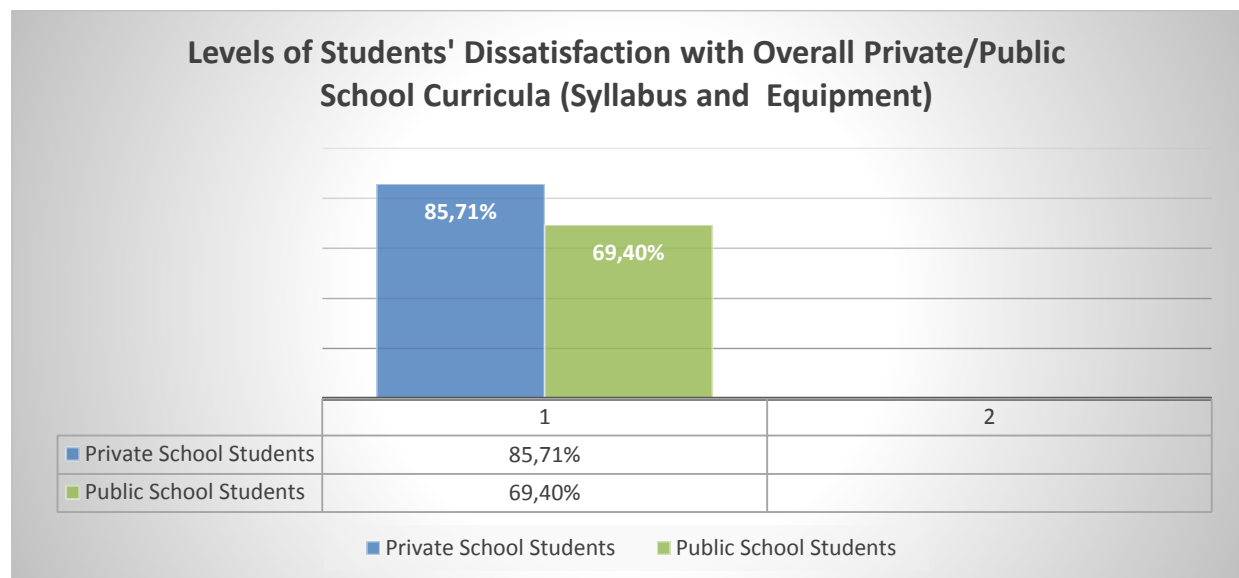


Table 5: Public and Private School Students' Level of Satisfaction with their Programs of Instruction and Extra-Curricular Activities

Public and private students seem to align in their opinions regarding the capacity and the quality of school curricula to reach out to students' learning styles. Sheer feelings of discontent regarding the pedagogical value of these school curricula was expressed by 85,71 % of private school students.

As for public school students, this figure drops in comparison, yet it still remains relatively high at a rate of 69,40%. This frustration at school curricula failing to deliver on the pedagogical objectives they often set, has been further exacerbated by the recent 2018 edition of two controversial Arabic textbooks. (See chapter 4, last section).

5. 3. 6 Students' Perceptions on the Correspondence between Attending Private Schools and Access to Economic Opportunity:

The last section of the questionnaire aspired to explore Moroccan students' views regarding the link between receiving a private school instruction (secondary and higher levels), and how much required and demanded such a form of instruction is by government public institutions and the private business sector. Section 'D' includes five questions. Each of these questions tackles a specific point related to the correspondence between the quality of the educational offer provided by the private education sector, and whether this offer (privileging English language instruction and emphasizing science-based streams) can facilitate a swift access of private students' into the Moroccan job market (The economy). The results figure as follows:

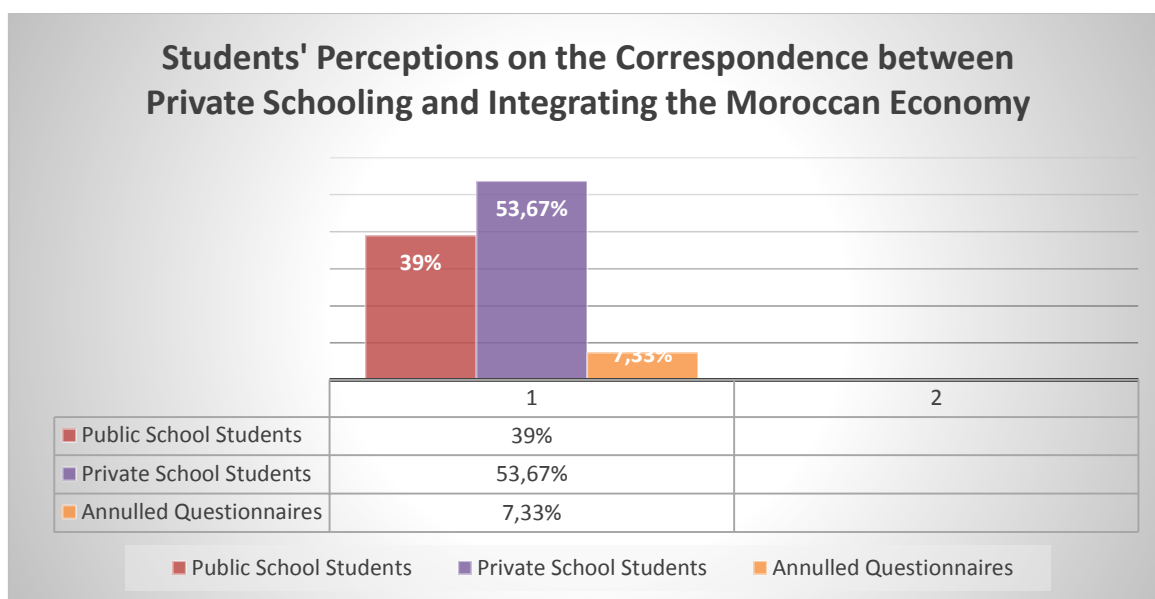


Table 6: Students' Views on the Correlation between the Efficiency of Private School Instruction and Access to Economic Opportunity

Respondents' views fluctuated between those who considered professional competency, personal qualifications, and academic credentials as defining criteria to acquiring economic opportunity, and others who were inclined to believe that integrating the economy depended on other variants such as communication skills, social backgrounds, economic connections, and cultural capital. Results of the third section of the questionnaire indicate that 39% of public school respondents believe that private school students have an advantage over public school ones when competing over economic opportunities. On the other hand, 53,67% of private school respondents believe that they have better chances of integrating the economy once an employment opportunity presents itself.

An expanded examination of the quantitative research findings would be carried out concurrently with qualitative results generated out of individual and group interviews. These interviews with various informants will be preceded by a number of influential people (Politicians, academics, economists, and educators), who, thanks to the long experiences they accumulated in the field of education, render their views worth highlighting and pinpointing.

5. 4 Qualitative Data Analysis:

As a way of lending more credence to our deconstruction of neoliberal market-based properties inherent in the Moroccan educational discourse, a second method of analysis – Qualitative Analysis – shall be employed in this final chapter. The qualitative approach represents a fourth perspective on the Moroccan educational discourse (the first three being, policy documents’ analysis, school textbooks’ analysis, and quantitative analysis). Through the qualitative approach, we aspire to achieve two main objectives. These are as follows:

- a. Varying research and strategies methods to investigate different research questions.

This way, we hope to end up with multiple sets of research findings obtained from various research methods. Research findings that we would eventually put in contrast of each other in an attempt to check how consistent they may be with research hypotheses.

- b. Comparing political leaders’ discourse insisting on the implementation of educational reforms to establish a decent, efficient, modern, and equitable system of education on the one hand, to recent implemented measures and policies on the other. (See chapter 3 for more details).

5. 4. 1 Qualitative Data Collection Procedure:

Many researchers show reluctance to use the qualitative method of analysis per se. Most of them believe that the generated findings bear a subjective and an evaluative side and therefore lack academic validity. However, other researchers favour the employment of the qualitative method of analysis in their studies and research projects as a complementary investigation of the research subject. The final part of this fifth chapter seeks to critically examine official statements made by Moroccan policy-makers. These include current or

former ministers overseeing the educational sector as well as politicians who have served in different departments of education.

We believe that a meticulous examination of these politician's viewpoints on different issues and the contrasting of these views to implemented reform policies can foreground existing discursual inconsistencies between 'what Moroccan political leaders campaign for and regard as an equitable and efficient education system accessible to all citizens, and the series of reform policies that have been implemented by successive ministers in office. Our role as discourse analysts consists in blurring this line of inconsistencies between what politicians had been campaigning for and the actual policies they put in place in the wake of their appointments as top managers of public affairs.

5. 4. 2 Profiling of Informants:

As an initial step, political statements of influential Moroccan officials articulating their stances and visions of reform will be cited. These official statements of Moroccan politicians will serve as a starting point of analysis to identify research patterns which could be relevant to the previous line of quantitative analysis. We intend to employ a political discourse analysis to explore patterns in these statements pertinent to our research. PDA aspires to highlight how neoliberal values and principles are injected into the education system under the form of reform plans.

The second category of data to be analyzed consists of one-to-one individual interviews and recorded observations from focus groups. The interviews were conducted with different participants who are linked to the field of education. Participants who have been either directly in charge of or subjected to the implementation of the dispositions of recent reform plans; the national charter and the emergency plan in particular, and whose views and perspectives on reforms are worth considering. We believe that the views and impressions of

these actors can be employed as descriptive evaluations of these reform plans. Examples of these participants include headmasters of public and private schools, managers of higher academic institutions, and undergraduate students.

In a similar way to the quantitative data collection protocol, informants, prior to the actual sessions of interviewing, were notified about the objectives of the research in process, and they were as well informed that the responses they would share, would be strictly used for scientific purposes.

The listed questions took into account informants' fields of expertise and appealed to their personal experiences with recently implemented reforms. In more explicit terms, the questions sought to uncover what these reforms meant for them as professionals working in the field of education as well as subjects or recipients who have lived through the implementation of successive reforms plans, all calling for the promotion of equality, success, and efficiency.

5. 4. 3 Institutional Discourse Analysis:

Political discourse in Morocco is imbued with divergent socio-ideological narratives. This fact is most palpable in the field of education which, since early 1960's, has been a field of experiment of consecutive political reforms. Remarkably, it could be argued that each one of these periods of reform is remembered most by one political leader under whose supervision reform policies were designed and effected. Examples of these political leaders whose names invoke a specific reform strategy in the Moroccan history of educational reforms: Azzedine Laraki "Arabization", Mohammed Meziane Belfkih's 'national charter', Mohammed Akhchichen's 'emergency plan', and Said Amzazi's 'framework law 51.17'.

Given the fact that political discussions in Morocco often associate reform projects to political figures who concocted them, we felt tempted and intrigued to critically examine a

few of these politicians' statements. All in an attempt to highlight and to determine possible neoliberal features⁷¹ that could be inherent in these statements. Approaching political discourse this way is a contention on our part that neoliberalism as an ideological reality does exist, and that it indiscriminately guides all state social programs and public services; healthcare and education in particular.

Statements expressed by politicians placed on both extremes of the political spectrum will be discussed. In total, six political statements declared by Moroccan politicians will be cited. These are as follows:

5. 4. 4 Benkirane's Statements on Privatisation and the New Roles of the State:

Abdelilah Benkirane is a Moroccan politician who served as a *Chef de Gouvernement* -prime minister- of Morocco from 2011 to 2017 in the wake of the latest constitutional amendments in 2011. Benkirane was also the first politician to be appointed as a chief of government after his political party topped legislative elections in 2011.

According to the new Moroccan constitution, the office of the prime minister in Morocco has to be occupied by a member of the party that won the highest number of parliament seats (article 47). Both parliamentary elections of 2011 and 2016 were won by the Islamic Party 'Justice and Development' also known as the (PJD), and on top of which Benkirane was the General Secretary. Accordingly, the party's highest executive committee unanimously nominated Abdelilah Bekirane as prime minister in the wake of both elections.

Political commentators all seem to agree that the first term of Benkirane's government was characterized by the launching of a multitude of reform projects in different sectors. Benkirane wished to deliver on the promises he had made as an opposition leader. These

⁷¹ Accelerating privatization initiatives, generalizing the enterprise model and mode of management over public institutions, undermining the roles of state institutions in favor of private corporations, and subduing the pedagogical and academic offer to respond to the needs of the market and the economy as a whole.

promises included striving against all forms of rentier economy and corruption. Therefore, his visions of reform consisted in revisiting and reconfiguring social programs that advantaged and benefited rich categories rather than the poor ones. Poor categories in favour of whom these social programs had been devised in the first place.

Examples of domains that Benkirane considered to be urgent targets of reform included: The compensation fund subsidizing a variety of food and petroleum products, public retirement funds, the introduction of a contracting system as a new hiring instrument into different government sectors, and finally a massive deregulation of entire economic spheres all in favour of the private sector as a way of boosting the rate of foreign investments in Morocco.

In the field of education, two broad events marked Benkirane's government policies. First off, a systematic reduction of public funds directed to the field of education (see allocated funds 2000-2015, chapter 3), reductions which were typical measures that targeted most social services run by the state. Secondly, putting a halt to infrastructure and pedagogical projects subsumed under the emergency plan immediately after an open declaration of its failure to accomplish its programmed objectives by the then minister of education Mohammed Al-ouafa.

Following Al-ouafa's declaration in 2012, a state of educational confusion reigned within the educational scene as there were not any viable pedagogical alternatives to replace Xavier Roger's pedagogy of integration. In reaction to this situation, the ministry's pedagogical inspectorates urged primary and secondary teachers to revert to the former competency-based approach till new reforms would come into effect. It was not until April 2019 that a new framework law, which derived its dispositions from the strategic vision of reform 2015-2030, was adopted in the parliament.

In addition to tightening up budget laws and urging different ministerial departments to bring their expense bills down as much as possible (austerity programs), Benkirane did not show any reluctance in expressing his discontent with the exponential rates at which public funds allocated to sectors of education and healthcare rose. In a 2014 speech delivered at the African Development Bank (BAD) in celebration of 50 years of its establishment, Benkirane made a controversial statement which engendered a wave of criticisms from various socio-educational parties, but which revealed his government's reform logic with a great precision. Benkirane's statement was as follows:

It is high time the state (lifted its hand over) released a number of public service sectors such as education and healthcare. The state should not oversee (be in charge of) all public sectors; rather, its role should be limited to assisting the private sector willing to oversee these services⁷². (Benkirane, 2014)

Benkirane's seven-year of government policies remained faithful to the logic of austerity and economic deregulation. Successive budget laws emphasized reforms in different public and private sectors, particularly in domains of health, education, public investments...etc. The private sector benefited from a wide variety of economic facilities and arrangements such as: tax exemptions as, rescheduling loan deals, and accompanying corporations and businesses in financial difficulty.

The above statement is a concise summary of Benkirane's perceptions of what the roles of the state ought to be regarding the public management of socio-economic sectors. In addition to Benkirane's relentless calls to further improve the business climate through

⁷² "حان الوقت لكي ترفع الدولة يدها عن مجموعة من القطاعات الخدماتية، مثل الصحة والتعليم، فلا يجب أن تشرف على كل شيء، بل ينبغي أن يقتصر دورها على منح يد العون للقطاع الخاص الراغب في الإشراف على هذه الخدمات". من كلمة السيد رئيس الحكومة عبد الإله بن كيران خلال احتفال بنك التنمية الإفريقي بمرور نصف قرن على تأسيسه.

opening it up to foreign investments, accelerating the privatization of many public establishments, and reinforcing public-private partnerships, the government initiated new wave of policies which restructured professional relations amongst public institutions. These policies followed the private sector model and emphasized notions of competition, governance, productivity, and the management of human resources.

Two of Benkirane's most contentious government public reforms in education involved: a. The passing of a bill that introduced 'contracting' as the new employment norm to recruit state employees in different public sectors (particularly in sectors of education, healthcare, and territorial collectivities), b. Ceding another round of administrative services previously overseen and administered by the state to financial institutions and corporations.

Instances of public services passed over to corporations are: payment of public taxes (contracts of delegated management), the training of professionals, and paving the way for foreign investors to set up businesses in the field of education. Examples of foreign investors in the educational sector include: Turkish 'Al-fatih' chain of schools and the Lebanese Prime Minister Najib Miqati group of schools.

Processes of privatization in Morocco towards were initiated towards the end of the 1980's and the beginning of the 1990's. The sensitivity of the privatization processes often lead Moroccan politicians to imbue the discourse on these procedures with carefully selected notions of equity, solidarity, governance, and the common good. However, this was not the case with. The PJD leader seldom showed any kind embarrassment to target individuals and hold them responsible for the chronic failure of the educational system. In other words, instead of highlighting a long tradition of political mismanagement which led to the present conditions, Benkirane chose to nurture a populist discourse by vilifying a whole category of individuals by accusing them of blocking the course of reform.

Benkirane emphasized on at least three documented occasions⁷³ that the real issues in the field of education should not be limited to aspects relevant to which language ought to be the language of instruction or the amount of resources the state can allocate to bring about genuine reforms in education, the focus should rather shift towards evaluating teachers' performance, productivity, and commitment. Indeed, Benkirane's arguments were warmly received by a society which is on a constant look for corrupt individuals to put on the cross.

Before wrapping up our discussion about the former Moroccan Prime Minister Abdelilah Benkirane's statements and perceptions of reforms, we wish to cite another one of his controversial statements on the issue of Arabization of education at university level. A statement made in the wake of a political standoff between political forces over the framework law of education 51.17 in 2019. Benkirane blamed the university professoral staff and accused them of 'lacking the will to put in the necessary efforts to arabize academic content'. Benkirane openly declared in a presentation he gave at the 6th Arabic coalition conference on March 15th, 2019:

Let me be frank here and make the following revelation: When early generations of high school graduates, whose secondary education was completed in Arabic, had access to universities, university professors refused to administer classes in Arabic. The reason why this was not effected because it required much efforts that these professors refused to put in.

Even after his retirement, Benkirane remained consistent with his political visions and maintained a symbolic presence within the Moroccan political scene. On numerous occasions, Benkirane literally shook government unity and the coherence of its institutions by either attacking its political opponents (RNI or USFP Leaders), or expressing contentious

⁷³ Parliament. Feb, 2016, & the Arabic Coalition Conference, March, 2019.

statements with regards to a certain government project. We could cite by way of illustration Benkirane's denouncement of the passing of the alternate language instruction article included in the Framework law 50.17.

5. 4. 5 Said Amzazi's perception of the New Roles of Universities:

It is worth reiterating at this point that the purpose underlying this enumeration of statements made by Moroccan political leaders is to get an insight into the nature and the dynamics of political discourse of reform in Morocco. We aspire to accomplish this through weighing the degree of compatibility between state officials' views and perspectives of how they envision reform, and the reform action plans implemented on the ground in terms of sectoral policies and procedures.

A second key political figure whose visions regarding the field of education and educational reforms can undoubtedly inform us about the Moroccan state strategic policies of how the education system should be reconfigured and approached is Said Amzazi. He is the former president of Mohamed V University in Rabat and the current minister of education under Saad Eddine Othmani's government. Amzazi's distinguished academic and professional background qualified him to come into the position of minister of education in January 2018, following the sacking of his predecessor Mr. Mohammed Hassad over reports of failure to deliver on development projects known as 'Manarat Al-Mutawassit' in the northern region of the country.

Reinforcing employment by contract in the education sector, striving to pass a framework law that fosters alternate language instruction, and the conception of an entire national vocational training strategy were three challenges that Amzazi had to overcome. The ministry's resoluteness to maintain employment by contract as a new norm of hiring teachers as well as its insistence on passing the suggested framework law resulted in a relentless

resistance from almost all categories of society: contracted teachers, labor unions, political parties, members of parliament from both majority and opposition groups, and countless civic associations.

Amidst the turbulent conditions that have surrounded Amzazi's mission on top of the ministry of education, one statement which he made on multiple occasions, and which we deem pertinent to our analysis concerns the roles and functions of higher education institutions. In a conference held at the PPS (Progress and Socialism party) headquarters in February 2018, the minister of education made the following statement:

The roles of Moroccan universities back in the 1970's and 1980's were limited to forming elites that were meant to take over and run different government institutions. Nowadays, these roles must be reviewed and reconsidered. The roles of universities and other higher institutions must switch from procuring academic courses to catering for the market needs of their economic environments. This objective should be carried out in collaboration with the private sector, through first determining the particular needs of local (regional) businesses, and based on those needs, new programs of instruction with vocational modules at the core ought to emerge in order to both meet these needs, and hopefully contribute to the reduction of unemployment rates.

(Amzazi, PPS Hqs, 2018)

Amzazi seemed quite adamant with regards to which course of reforms the education system in Morocco should proceed through. He openly declared that the roles of universities shifted in a matter of three decades from being purely academic spaces of scientific research and training of state's socio-economic and political elites, to becoming 'business incubators' whose roles have gradually shifted towards assisting business partners in determining

regional and national market needs, training of staff, and the provision of professional support to incoming investments and local start-ups.

In addition to accelerating public-private partnerships linking educational institutions to their surrounding economic environments as well as strengthening the vocational dimension within school curricula, Amzazi does not seem to share the bleak views which numerous civil society organizations and political parties hold regarding the education system's efficiency and performance. Instead, he believes that the education system, with all its shortcomings, can still give rise to people's expectations, and can also 'recount many success stories'. In a cultural event held at a private business school in Fez (HEM), Amzazi defended this position by stating that: "Despite all forms of criticisms levelled against the education system, Moroccan students in top French colleges represent the largest minority of foreign students" (Amzazi, 2019).

Despite the fact that the majority of these post-secondary students who made it to top colleges abroad were economically-privileged students fortunate enough to have had access to private and mission schools in Morocco, and the fact that public school graduates represent a tiny percentage of these students according to official statistics (2017-2018 MEN indicators), Amzazi sounded satisfied in the conference with the way the education system functions, and with how the present forms of education (public, private, foreign) corresponds to how the Moroccan society is structured.

Amidst a long controversy sparked over the framework law 51.17 in March 2019, especially with regards to the article on alternate language instruction, the ministry of education posted an online announcement of results celebrating the names of six Moroccan high school students who topped the 27th Pan African Mathematical Olympiad held in Cape Town, South Africa. Two contestants Marwane chafi from the city of Temara and Inass Tiali Bouzidi from the city of Meknes respectively won the golden and silver medals in the general

order of winners, and a second golden medal for Inass Tiali Bouzidi since she figured as the top female winner in that same order; therefore earning her the title of ‘The Queen of African Mathematics’, (see Appendix, the Ministry News release).

As much significant as this event is in demonstrating Moroccan students’ scientific talent and academic abilities, I believe that the ministry’s news report is worthy of study and examination:

- Initially, all six students were high school students enrolled in the new French scientific streams generalized by Amzazi’s department over all secondary institutions. This fact comes in support of Amzazi’s position on the employment of French as a language of instruction of scientific subjects instead of Arabic in what was defined in the framework law as ‘alternate language instruction’.
- Secondly, four contestants out of six were private schools students. Such an indicator reveals the degree of efficiency of private schools compared to public ones, and it arguably plays to the private sector’s advantage since it reinforces views about the existing disparities in terms of performance and outcome between public and private schools. Statistically speaking, 66,67 % of participants in this competition were private school students compared to only 33,33 % of public school students taking part in this continental event. Statistics which more or less resemble our findings of students’ rates of access to limited-access institutions in the quantitative section of this chapter.

Another key statement which Amzazi made on a national TV program on April 7th of 2019 corresponds to the state’s intention to set up vocational poles in each of the twelve regions of the country to be named ‘cities of business and competence’. On that broadcast TV program, Amzazi declared that: “The OFPPT⁷⁴ institution affiliates -public vocational

⁷⁴ OFPPT: Vocational Training Directorate.

training centres- will be under the full control of the private sector in terms of determining its business needs and the training of required workforce [...] independently of any forms of state intervention” (2M channel, April 2019).

The strategic vocational roadmap that Amzazi presented on April 04th, in an official ministerial council overseen by the king, determines the roles that the education system will assume in the future vis-a-vis the economic fabric on a regional scale. In fact, Amzazi affirmed the Ministry of education’s plan to reform the system of orientation by expand its basis to cover primary and middle school students. Shedding more light on this novel procedure, the minister explained that 06th grade students will be oriented towards vocational institutions based on their teachers’ recommendations as well as on reports issued by orientation inspectors.

The remaining questions to figure out concern whether access into these vocational poles will be generalized to include students from the private sector and foreign mission schools as well, or whether such an access will be restricted to students from public schools per se.

5. 4. 6 Abdullah Saâf’s Criticism of the Faulty Reform Grounds of Education:

The significance of political discourse analysis lies in its ability to examine all types of discursive practices, be they formal statements, official reports, documented memoirs, referential texts, or implemented procedures or policies that are meant to accomplish specific objectives. Moreover, PDA enables social science researchers to examine the rhetorical and functional effects which political statements may have on the political and economic scenes in a particular country.

The third figure whose views and perceptions we wish to explore is Pr. Abdellah Saâf, a professor of political science, international law, and international relations at the Faculty of

Law, economics, and social studies in Rabat. Saâf currently supervises an active think tank of social research and studies - CERSS. It is an independent research institution and an affiliate of the Rabat Mohamed V University. This research institution ambitions to bring together prolific researchers focused on fields of social sciences in Morocco.

Pr. Saâf served as the minister of education under Abderrahman El Youssoufi's alternance government (1998-2002), and he is often remembered for two remarkable events:

- Firstly, assigning pedagogues and socio-cultural experts the task of composing a referential text that came to be known as 'the white book'. This referential text recommended and even feverishly supported a drastic revision that should eventually lead to a reform of every aspect of the educational system.

- Secondly, Saâf was a staunch opponent of the technocratic management approach that dominated the education sector at all levels. In fact, he recalled two incidents that he shared in a public conference held in 2016 by the Moroccan Association of political science in partnership with the Citizenship Forum and Public Policies magazine. We recount these two incidents in this respect because we believe their importance lies in their ability to allow us an insight into how much influence and decision-making capacity public officials actually hold once they are appointed on top of a public state ministries.

The two incidents share similar features in that they both address the issue of interference of external parties into the management of education policies. Such foreign intrusions could not go unnoticed and were met by counter firm acts of resistance, according to Saâf. He reiterated his condemnation of these foreign intrusions at the conference, years after his appointment on top of the ministry of education when he said:

I consistently turned down instructions on how to manage the education sector from one of King Mohammed IV's advisers, and I vehemently rejected the

idea of being instructed by someone who neither held a political responsibility nor was he under the obligation of answering to the public. (Saaf, 2016)

According to Saâf, subjecting educational policies to the ideological agendas of political parties or to what he referred to in the conference as ‘the whims of influential institutions’ has been a recurrent feature in the management of the education system. On another occasion, Saâf retorted in a televised interview when he was asked about politicians’ management by saying that: “politicians’ control and management of the education system is a form of pedagogic dictatorship” (Na.TV/ July 2016). In addition to this, Pr. Saâf called for a demystification of social perceptions about what decision-makers can or cannot do, he noted that:

The common notion of a one single ‘decision-maker’ is a mere illusion. The political decision-making structure is as complex and entwined as society itself. This basically means that a centralized authority [that conceives reform policies] is difficult to locate or determine, and part of this notion [central authority] is unrealistic or even mythical. (Saâf TV interview, 2016)

The second incident which Saâf recounted during the conference involved his rejection of the participation of employees from the ministry of education in a workshop organized by the World Bank in Paris. Saâf revealed that:

Taking part in these meetings and workshops was for these employees a usual and a taken-for-granted procedure, to such an extent that they did not even bother to inform ministers or refer to them for consent. This prompted me to issue directions to no longer take part in similar activities. The World Bank MENA branch could not allow this to go unnoticed. The WB president filed a complaint to King Mohammed VI following an official visit to Morocco, and told him that the ministry of national education in its second version froze all

contacts with the WB...and that this raised a serious issue (Saâf UR conf, July 2016).

Saâf's conference statements provides a significant view of the degree of influence politicians do have on the management of public affairs. His experiences and accounts as a former minister offers us a taste of the margins of reform elected officials within which they can operate.

Another aspect that Saâf cast light on during the televised interview concerns the functions which the education system is supposed to fulfil vis-à-vis the job market. Saâf criticized the often cited argument that the skyrocketing unemployment rate is a direct result of the inadequacy of the educational offer to job market needs. Saâf questioned the actual strength of this job market and the economy's capacity as a whole. He believed that the education system should not be held responsible for the defaults of the economic sectors. He said that: "A weak or unstructured economy should not be entirely blamed on the failures of the education system". Besides, he adds, "a rehabilitation of the economy should not be a pretext to instrumentalize the education system, and subdue its organizational policies and pedagogic philosophy to be at the service of the needs of the market" (TV interview).

5. 4. 7 Nabila Mounib on Unification and Generalization:

Another university professor and political leader whose views on the education system are worth examining is Nabila Mounib. She has been the general secretary of the *Parti Socialist Uni* (PSU) since 2012. She believes that bringing about genuine reforms in the education system is a prerequisite to achieving growth in other socio-economic sectors. In almost all of her statements about education, she criticizes the systematic degeneration of the education system at all levels; be they moral, academic or socio-economic. In all of the

PSU's proposed electoral programs, reforming the education system figures as a top priority that precedes all economic and political reforms.

In one of Ms. Mounib's recent reactions to the government's new employment-by-contract policy in the education sector, she declared: "Employment-by-contract as a new tool to recruit teachers aims at reinforcing professional fragility. This measure will itself have grave repercussions on the quality of pedagogical activities" (street interview, 2016). In another TV program (Mais encore, 2M) broadcast on Moroccan national TV in 2017, Mounib expounds on her argument by asserting that:

Back in our school days, a public school classroom embraced students who belonged to various social backgrounds, students whose parents were doctors, businessmen, peasants, technicians, retirees, state employees, or the unemployed. Unlike the situation of the education system today where public schools gather students from low socio-economic classes. (Mounib, 2017)

Mounib believes that privatizing the education system means denying middle and lower classes the means to achieve a 'social ascension'. Put in other words, the present educational reality where multiple school systems operating with various paces unquestionably reinforce social inequalities, and will affect the cohesion of society as a whole. The PSU party, similar to countless progressive organizations in Morocco, presents itself as a defender of the social interests of Moroccan middle and lower classes. It puts reforms of the education sector as a prerequisite to any other social or economic reform plans.

In Morocco, the membership base of the PSU and similar progressive organizations is made up of university students, private and public activists in leftist syndicates⁷⁵. Obviously, as it is the case in most countries, leftist union activists oftentimes share similar socio-

⁷⁵ Main socialist syndicates in Morocco include The UMT, the CDT, and The FDT.

economic concerns and demands. Examples of these common concerns that drive their causes and struggle include: the state's persistent policies of dismantling social services (healthcare and education) through their cession to private corporations, the deregulation of business and commercial transactions hence directly affecting citizens' purchasing power, and the relentless reinforcement of social disparities and inequalities enforced by a failing public education school.

Mounib's political position on the state's public policies echoes the attitudes and stances of a large number of Moroccan academics, human rights activists, and economists such as: Abdellah Al-aroui, Najib Akassbi, Khadija Ryadi, Mohammed Derrij, Abderrahmane Ben Amr, Mohammed Guessous, and Mohammed Sabila to mention a few. These academics and political activists along with citizens belonging to middle and lower social classes have been spearheading a popular front which relatively managed to resist, or at least, to slow down the implementation of these neoliberal policies in Morocco.

5. 4. 8 Nicolas Blancher IMF Delegation Chief in Morocco:

A "decade of turmoil" would perhaps be the appropriate way to describe the socio-economic and political situation in the Arab world since 2010. A sustained wave of protests swept across the Arab region and pushed people to take to the streets to protest against ruling regimes, and to demand immediate structural reforms. Conventional mainstream media heralded social media as the main instigator and organizational force behind the large crowds of protesters. Consequently, four Arab leaders were toppled, while others pledged to bring about immediate structural reforms, which in most cases took the form of constitutional amendments.

In Morocco, the year 2011 witnessed drastic socio-political changes as Moroccans headed to the polls to vote on a series constitutional amendments. The new constitution was

passed by a large majority, and new changes in the government structure were underway. The introduced amendments ambitioned to accelerate processes of authority decentralization launched by the state over the course of many years. This deconcentration of power sought to usher in a new model of government pivoting around on the principle of an ‘Advanced Regionalization’. In brief, socio-political forces (left and right) applauded the new constitutional reforms allocating new powers to elected councils and hailed the new reforms as a critical step in the construction of a modern Moroccan state.

In the midst of this intense climate, the first government under the new constitution was led by an Islamic party PDJ (Justice and Development party). It raised slogans of reforms and pledged to uproot corruption, nepotism, and all forms of the rentier state. These promising reform plans were able to rally popular support, including that of members of progressive parties. At first, the PJD leader who was nominated to be the chief of the government (as opposed to the prime minister) in the wake of elections, instantly launched a series of contentious reform programs. More precisely, Benkirane announced an immediate relocation of compensation subsidies, restructuring of public pension funds, publicizing names of owners of exploitation permits and licences operating in fields of transportation, mining, maritime fishing and sandpits.

The Arab Spring momentum considerably faded down throughout the years that followed 2011, and new opposition narratives started taking shape. The reform of public pension funds, the cession of state-run institutions to the private sector, and the adoption of austerity measures in four successive budget laws generated waves of discontent and condemnation, in particular from middle and lower classes. Opposition parties and most trade unions accused Benkirane’s government of blindly carrying through WB and IMF proposed reform programs.

In reaction to these accusations, government officials have often dismissed these accusations as unfounded and motivated by conspiracy theories. In a press conference held at the headquarters of the Moroccan News Agency -MAP- in 2018, Mr. Mohammed Ben Abdelkader, the cabinet minister charged with the reform of administration and civil service, laughed off these statements, and qualified them as insensible allegations (MAP, 2018).

Another similar reaction came from the minister of public affairs and governance Lahcen Daoudi. In a press conference with Nicolas Blancher - Deputy Division Chief in the Monetary and Capital Markets Department of the IMF, and the IMF delegation chief in Morocco -, Daoudi insisted on the importance of cooperating with both the WB and the IMF, and said that any criticisms levelled against this cooperation are inconvenient. He went on to declare that: “The IMF assists us with growth prospects and analyses of the economy, it also provides us with alternatives and recommendations on how to fix these crises, but we get to make our own choices” (Daoudi, 2018).

On April 03rd 2019, Nicolas Blancher held a press conference at the ministry of economy and finances in Rabat. The press conference addressed a number of economic issues relevant to recent government policies and their conspicuous impact on socio-economic stability. Issues regarding reforms envisioned in public service such as aspects of promotion, job security, employment by contract in public service, competitiveness of small and medium businesses, employment rates, the investment climate, and the privatization of public institutions. In this respect, Blancher declared:

The employment-by-contract procedure, recently implemented in the sector of education, is a part of a larger reform process that should involve the entire public service system. Other areas concerned with this reform include the

mobility of employees, the system of promotion, and the management of human resources. (Blancher, 2019)

Blancher insisted that a well-negotiated employment-by-contract system, a better management of human resources' mobility, and a review of the existing promotion system based on employees' seniority rather than productivity, are primordial reform measures that should guarantee a degree of efficiency within public service institutions and administration offices. Furthermore, Blancher expressed his concern with obstacles that he saw as detrimental to the progress of the economy, and which resulted in considerable losses of employment opportunities. These obstacles included: unskilled labour, financing accessibility, corruption and sustained governance plans, administrative bureaucracy, and other complexities inhibiting start-up businesses (ibid). After addressing all these current and hot issues, Blancher affirmed that:

The state is not capable of creating all employment needs in different sectors, therefore the private sector has to step in and contribute by generating more job opportunities. To achieve this end, efforts must be concerted to allow it (the private sector) to push for higher growth rates of the country's economy. (Blancher, 2019)

In conclusion, Blancher's statements represent, in line of this analysis, an additional perspective on the structure of the Moroccan economy, and on the impact that global financial institutions have on its configuration. In addition to the detailed examinations and diagnoses that both the IMF and the WB publish under the form of periodic reports, both institutions advocate structural economic reforms that break away with the welfare state model, and lay the grounds for new functions of government.

Under this new model, the state's roles are restricted to: setting up legislative frames that would facilitate a greater fluidity of transactions, allow the private sector to assume greater economic roles in terms of stimulating growth rates, therefore decreasing unemployment rates, setting up an ideal and competitive business climate capable of attracting foreign investments, and optimally running former public services (WB and IMF reports, 1995).

The sum of statements listed above seeks to essentially present political views of reform to the Moroccan economy and business climate in general, and to the management of public service sectors in particular. The rationale underpinning the enumeration of the political and economic views of national and international actors was to identify and highlight features of the Moroccan political and economic discourse of reform, and which principles are guiding this discourse, laying particular emphasis on the education sector.

The above examination of state officials' declarations sets the scene, on the one hand, for a possible comparison between forms of discourse the state constructs and articulates through its different institutions including state-owned mass media, government officials, business partners, economists and politicians, and the implemented policies derived from national plans and strategic visions, on the other.

5. 5 Qualitative Data Collection and Sample:

The next part of this qualitative analysis section will be more focused and practical in nature. It will attempt to: 1. Gauge the general public's receptiveness to the state's education reform plans on the ground. 2. To examine views of people who have either been directly affected by these policies such as parents and students, or who are themselves in charge of the implementation of these policies such as principals, instructors, and ministry officials. The underlying objective is to identify patterns or evaluative attitudes of individuals with

regards to the state's articulated institutional discourse, and to determine the degree of effectiveness this discourse has been in convincing people to submit to the government's education reform policies.

As previously mentioned, collected qualitative data comprises observations gathered from on-the-spot unscheduled interviews with various individuals. These include interviews with students and principals of public and private schools, a provincial director (a ministry delegate), teachers of different school levels, a high-ranking academy official, undergraduate students enrolled in vocational streams in public higher studies institutions ISTA, FST, EST, and a senior manager of a higher private institution (INFO HOUSE).

5. 5. 1 Protocol for Qualitative Interviews:

Questions addressed to informants covered areas discussed in previous chapters. The below table lists these interview questions as well as the research questions they were derived from. Interview Questions considered the social, educational, and professional profiles of informants, and sought to elicit individual/collective responses as objectively as possible. To guarantee a fair degree of conversational serendipity, informants were informed in advance about the motives driving this research, and that the notes and observations jotted down would be strictly used for scientific analysis.

TABLE I:

SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS DERIVED FROM RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Research Questions	Derivative Interview Questions
*Does the Moroccan state's official discourse on education reforms overlap with	A. Do implemented education policies match/echo ideals of success, equity, equality, and promotion articulated in

implemented policies and procedures on the ground? (compatibility)	national charters and visions of reforms? B. Do you think state officials, politicians, and economic stakeholders are partly /fully responsible for the successive failures of educational reforms?
*Does the current system of education allow for an equal and efficient access to educational and economic opportunities? (equality and efficiency)	A. Do you think that students in private and public institutions benefit from a similar quality of educational experiences? B. Can you list potential socioeconomic repercussions that may result because of this education system dualism?
*Does the present education system reinforce systemic socioeconomic disparities trough reproducing the same socioeconomic structures? (Reproduction)	A. Would do you support the idea that the Moroccan social structure is a creation and a reflection of the current education system in place? B. Would you say that the current system of education privilege a certain category of students over other? C. Is students' socio-economic background a determinant of their integration into a specific socioeconomic sphere?

Prior to the interview sessions, interview questions were determined and classified into conversational clusters. Precisely, two sets of interview questions were compiled. The first set involved descriptive questions whereas the second set comprised structural ones, and these are as follows:

The initial set of descriptive questions were meant to encourage informants to engage in conversations, and to ward off any potential reluctance from the part of participants. Examples of these conversational prompts involved questions about age, educational experiences, and grading school system...etc.

The ensuing group of questions consisted of structural and contrast questions. Put differently, these are questions that are open-ended and theme-focused, and ones that specifically addressed professionals –educators and managers- rather than ordinary individuals. Structural and contrast questions, as exemplified in the above table, are exploratory in nature, and they ambition to tap into research aspects that might have been overlooked in previous quantitative analyses.

A last pre-interview arrangement procedure involved the introduction and use of prompts in an attempt to remain consistent with the course of identified questions and outlined bullet points, and to provide informants with new venues to discuss raised issues at length.

5. 5. 2 Categories of Informants and In-depth Interviews:

Conducted interviews targeted individual and groups of informants. In individual informant interviews, each interviewee was asked three main questions at once. Besides, informants were allowed as much time as possible to dwell on the discussed points, and oftentimes clues were tossed in to encourage more facts and details. Meanwhile, notes were

written down in the form of bullet points for later processing (identification of research patterns).

Interviewed individuals were as follows: Mr. Mohamed Hadini, the provincial directorate of the Fez province (previously known as delegate of the Ministry of Education); Mr. Taleb Tlemçani founder and director of the “Magellan school group” (primary, middle, and high school levels) in Bouramanna, Fez; Ms. Michelle Hasbrouck, founder and director of “American School of Fez” (Tarik Immouzzar); Mr. Hassan Benmimoun, director of public high school “Arrazi” in Fez, and Ms. Latifi Idrissi, human resource manager at “Info House” & “Sup’ Management” schools located in Atlas, Fez.

With regards to the second category of interview questions, they were addressed to informants in ‘group sessions’. One central difference was that these interview questions did not involve individuals in charge of implementing educational policies; rather, they were addressed to students who had been subjected to these reforms and procedures. Two groups of sophomore students from two higher studies institutions, and who were enrolled in similar vocational streams (information systems and decisional statistics) discussed topics relevant to their personal and educational experiences. Similarly, observations were jotted down for subsequent data analysis. The two higher educational institutions were respectively; L’Ecole Supérieure de Technologie (Superior School of Technology) located in Tarik Immouzzar, and Info House School located in the Atlas area.

Being a student researcher and a high school teacher of English for over eleven years up to this point, I should mention that I had a certain pedagogical, professional, or personal rapport with each of the below individual informants. The nature of this rapport will be described every time an interview session is led.

Individual Interviews:

a. Mr. Mohamed Hadini is the provincial supervisor at the directorate of the Fez province (previously known as delegate of the Ministry of Education). He also happens to be the head of pedagogical research cell in the Fez provincial directorate. I have been an active member of this research group since 2017.

- **Researcher:** Would you say that the reform efforts deployed in the education sector since 2000 (The National Charter and the Emergency Plan) failed to achieve their outlined objectives.

- **Mr. Hadini:** To qualify all the achievements that the state along with other stakeholders accomplished then, would be inaccurate. In terms of infra-structure and educational offer, I can say that access to education institutions is at around 98% rate. Furthermore, the ministry in collaboration with other government sectors, have been implementing a promising program of financial assistance in favour of poor families in rural areas, to prompt them to enrol their children in nearby schools, with a particular emphasis on female students.

- **Researcher:** Knowing that you have so far served in at least three provincial directorates (Boulmane, Meknes, Sefrou), how would you evaluate students' overall educational performance?

- **Mr. Hadini:** Unfortunately, and based on international reports on education (TIMSS and PIRLS), we have reached an alarming situation. We can no longer afford to talk about an educational under-achievement, but rather a pedagogical failure. Therefore, the presence of pedagogical research groups to promote in-class pedagogical approaches, such as the one you are working within becomes crucial.

Commentary:

Mr. Hadini's buoyant views on implemented reform policies reveals an optimism in the future of education in Morocco provided that national social, economic, and political join in the cause, and concert their efforts to bring about genuine and efficient reforms in the whole pedagogical structure. He values, from a quantity perspective, all efforts deployed so far to generalize access to education to all Moroccans, but admits that the second colossal challenge that various political, economic, and pedagogic should direct their attention towards is that of curricular and pedagogical quality. His statement that: "Our students' educational levels has transitioned from a state of *Pedagogical Under-achievement* (التعثر التربوي) to one of *Pedagogical Failure* (الفشل التربوي) is quite revealing and telling.

b. Mr. Taleb Tlemçani founder and director of the "Magellan School Group" (primary, middle, and high school levels) located in Bouramanna, Fez.

- **Researcher:** What are your views on education reforms in Morocco? And would you say that the presence of educational private school institutions can be a true factor of positive change?

- **Mr. Tlemçani:** At Magellan School Group, we are committed to providing a high-quality education to our students. We see ourselves as a national establishment concerned with the literal implementation of all aspects of education reforms. Furthermore, the private sector sees itself as a true partner of, and in complete harmony with the public sector. Both sectors cater for Moroccan students' educational needs without any bias. We implement the ministry's instructions, circulars, and projects to the letter.

- **Researcher:** Do you consider yourself in competition with other schools, be them public or private, over the number of enrolled students (or clients to use a business jargon)? And would

you say that the educational service that you are providing is accessible to all Moroccan families?

- **Mr. Tlemçani:** As I said earlier, we are a private institution that provides a public service. The element of “business competition” is a reality between different institutions. Yet, we believe that competition can constitute a driving force for all institutions to fulfil our educational mission in the best possible way. I insist on the fact that the educational private institutions do not see themselves as an independent entity; but as a body of national enterprises entrusted with the provision of a public service, to the extent that in the event of a student’s failing to pay his/her monthly fees, the institution would have no right to exclude that student (below 15), and deny him/her their constitutional right to get an education. As for charging individuals, remember that we do not receive any forms of financial support from any other parties including the state, and we are obliged to find ways to cover administrative and pedagogical staff expenses.

Commentary:

The founder and pedagogical director of the “Magellan School Group” is in accord with the state’s line of reforms. He seems supportive of the fact that schools can function the way enterprises do. As for notions of competition and productivity, Mr. Tlemçani believes that a competitive ground can unleash schools’ potential and augment their productivity rates. However, and as far as the issue of accessibility was concerned, the informant justified school fees by the establishments’ needs to cover their expenses, and support in-class and extracurricular projects that would benefit students’ learning.

c. M. Michelle Hasbrouck, founder and director of “American School of Fez”.

I had the chance to teach at the American school of Fes (AMICITIA) for two quarters as a middle and high school teacher of an elective class known as “Middle-Eastern and North African Cultures”. The course was an opportunity for Moroccan and foreign students to tap into different aspects of cultures that students knew little of or nothing about. During this time, Miss Hasbrouck was kind enough to allow me access to the various façades of a standard-model of American schools.

The following examples are but a few observations worth sharing prior to the transcription of the interview with the school’s founder and director: Amicitia’s yearly pedagogical in-school programs and out-of-projects are discussed and determined a year in advance, yet school principals have the responsibility of further developing these projects with concerned parties, and virtually reminding staff of upcoming events through weekly updates. Moreover, every Wednesday afternoon, the administrative and pedagogical staff formally meet to raise and discuss issues, and take part in workshops in what is known as weekly PD (Professional Development) meetings. Finally, teachers’ payments depend on how much active and committed teachers are to attending and applying new pedagogical methods in class, and how far they have progressed personally and professionally.

- **Researcher:** You have been in Morocco as an American school director for over 16 years now, how would you evaluate your educational mission and objectives in Morocco?

- **Ms. Michelle:** It has been a thrilling experience. We are proud to have served Moroccan students and Moroccan families all these years, and we will continue to do so for years to come. Many of our school graduates have had the chance to complete their college studies in North American and European universities. We are still in contact with them, and we still support them in every way we can.

- **Researcher:** Do you consider *Amicitia* to be a Moroccan or an American school?

- **Ms. Michelle:** I wish to answer this question by reading you our school's mission of statement posted on the wall right behind me, and by the way, it is posted online on our website at everyone's convenience. It reads:

“The American School of Fes – exists to provide a tri-lingual, American-style education characterized by excellence in academics, technology, and the arts for preschool through high school, honoring beautiful, traditional aspects of the culture of Fes while preparing students to impact Morocco and the entire world...We provide an American high school diploma accredited by the NCA Commission on Accreditation and School Improvement, NWAC, SACS Commission on Accreditation and School Improvement under AdvancED and we work with the Moroccan Ministry of Education. Founded on American academic standards, our instructional practice provides students the opportunity to learn through creative performance arts, the use of innovative technology and experiences beyond the classroom. We aim to achieve this through the following: Academic Excellence, Commitment to Diversity, Character Development”⁷⁶.

Commentary:

Ms. Michelle Hasbrouck's decision to invest in the education sector in Morocco was not a random move. The tempting fiscal and administrative (ref) facilities spread out by government institutions for local as well as foreign investors, render the sector of education an attractive field for investment and profits. In Morocco, there are over twenty principal

⁷⁶ <http://www.americanschoolfes.com/VisionofEducation.html>

international schools with affiliates in many other cities.⁷⁷ Specifically, there are American, French, and Spanish schooling systems which provide a variety of foreign educational offers for both national citizens and expatriates. While the ministry requires these institutions to administer classes of history and Arabic language as a way of keeping Moroccan students hooked to their origins and country heritage, students' immersion into foreign modes of life and cultures remarkably boundless.

c. Mr. Hassan Ben Mimoun, a director of a public high school, "Arrazi" in Fez.

Adopting a holistic interview approach entails eliciting information from every potential source that may assist in forwarding our research process as well as enhancing the quality of, and lending more scientific credibility to the research findings altogether. Therefore, invoking another perspective of an administration employee, whose professional life has pivoted around the implementation of reform policies in their most concrete forms, public high school director Mr. Hassan Ben Mimoun.

- **Researcher:** The education system has been subjected to a long series of reforms since the independence, but they seem to have all met the same fate. Having lived through numerous reform initiatives?

- **Mr. Ben Mimoun:** I have working at the education sector since 1982. I am on my last year before retirement. I worked as a middle school teacher, and then, after two-year professional training, I was appointed a high school teacher of biology. A few years later, I was assigned an administrative mission as a principal for three years, and from then on, the element of seniority kicked in, and I was therefore appointed as a high school headmaster up to this day.

⁷⁷ <http://www.expatsquotes.com/guides/morocco/education/international-schools-in-morocco.htm>

Going back to your question, I can confidently tell you that the question of reform has been a chronic issue since the first day I set foot in a classroom. As far as I can remember, reform of the educational sector has been a fertile ground for settlements of political accounts between different feuding parties.

Reform, for me, has always been a matter of political decision. I believed that the history of political face-offs between opposition leftist parties on the one hand, and parties who allied with the state's governing bodies have significantly affected the course of the national education sector, in terms of what to teach, and how much financial resources to allocate, and who get to plan reform strategies. In a nutshell, all implemented reform projects looked promising in theory, however, when you compare the end-results to the objectives set before the launching those reforms, you grow baffled at how starkly different initial goals and end-results are.

Commentary:

Mr. Ben Mimoun's views are reflective of those of a large portion of people, in particular, employees in the education sector. It is this cyclical pattern of discourse about reform in the education system that has led us to question state officials' intentions of reforms, and dive into the complexities of these intentions. Mr. Ben Mimoun expressed his optimism in the future and did not rule out the possibility of a genuine reform so long as there are true leaders and responsible educational actors (educators, pedagogues, policy-makers). Finally, Mr. Ben Mimoun could not wrap up his statement without highlighting the fact that the purely statistical and technical approach that state officials have adopted to address issues in the education system will not generate the envisioned outcomes, unless pedagogues and experts in the field of education take over the reins of reform.

e. Ms. Latifi Idrissi: the Human Resource Manager at “Info House” & “Sup’ Management” schools located in Atlas, Fez.

As a researcher, I was allowed access to Info House School, and I have had the chance to teach for a whole school semester. The objectives were manifold. In addition to broadening my teaching experience, and getting a first-hand experience of what teaching at a Moroccan private higher institution looks like, in terms of its organizational structure, pedagogical offer, vocational prospects, and in terms of its interactions with both its students/clients and external formal government institutions (The Ministry of Education, The National Bureau of Vocational Training, and Fiscal authorities).

Ms. Latifa Idrissi, who also happens to be a sibling of the Info House and Sup’ Management schools’ founders, graciously agreed to share a few of her thoughts, and answer questions on what the concept of “educational reform” meant to her as a human resource manager, and which reforms should the government prioritize at the present time in order to improve different layers of the education system.

- **Researcher:** A “failing system” is probably a recurrent description of our national education system. As a human resource manager, do you see this description as fitting? In your opinion, what areas should the state focus on in order to overcome this bleak situation?

- **Ms. Idrissi:** I have grown wary of the word reform. Politicians and country’s rulers have been using this word as a punch line to realize political achievements. I think that the situation of the Moroccan education system is alarming, and that people in charge should know that if things are left the way they are today, we will have an inflation of unemployed people, which will as a result lead to economic and political crises.

- **Researcher** : Again I wish to address you as a professional, or as a Human Resource Manager, do you believe that a public and private higher institutions can co-exist, and actually reinforce each other's presence in terms of exchange of expertise, pedagogical collaboration, and research funding ?

- **Ms. Idrissi**: As I told you on a previous occasion, the private sector of higher education in Morocco is not well-structured. (Using an ironic tone) When it comes to collecting due taxes, authorities are in a constant contact with private institutions, and we are oftentimes called to pay second rounds of taxes (revisions) following audit reports. However, we (private institutions) are left on our own unassisted both financially and in terms of pedagogical designing. Private schools depend on their own means and resources to design syllabi and provide professional trainings for instructors. We receive pedagogical modules detailing pedagogical structure of each major and stream, but that is it. To make matter worse, many of our enrolled students complain to us about the relatively high fees we charge them for majors and specialties that they can study in state vocational centres for free. Finally, state authorities reinforce discrimination and fragility when they deny private institutions' graduates access to public employment job offers; therefore, intentionally or unintentionally devaluing the quality and credibility of these diplomas.

Commentary:

Ms. Idrissi's views on the complexities that the educational private sector faces in Morocco reveal a part of the crisis in the education system. While the process of privatization seems to be an ongoing strategic plan by the Moroccan state, the pedagogical and legal organization of this sector is still a huge issue that must be addressed by educational authorities.

For private school investors, the business character of private educational institutions prompting them to view students as clients, and deploying marketing efforts to tempt as many students as possible to enroll in their educational courses is met with a tacit resistance from the part of different categories of society, and an indifference from state authorities. A society that is still skeptical about the educational offers that the private higher educational sector provides, and a state which seems more focused on primary and secondary level privatization.

Semi-structured Group Interviews:

Group semi-structured interviews is the format we settled on to pursue the investigation of our research questions. Semi-structured interviews, as their name indicates, allow interviewees a relative margin to express themselves freely on a list of points that the interviewer determines in advance. The gathered observations were screened, and are below listed in the form of recurrent answers that represent the views of the majority. Similarly to individual interviews, group semi-structured interviews will be queued with brief commentaries highlighting major raised points.

a. Students of Computer Studies and Decisional Statistics at the EST:

Ecole Supérieure de Technologie is a higher vocational institution affiliated with University Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah University, Located in Fez, Morocco. As a researcher, I had the privilege to teach a Business English one-semester course for three consecutive years. In the first two years (2016-2018), I taught two undergraduate vocational streams (STID & Management Techniques). In the year that followed, the EST put me in charge of two higher undergraduate levels; namely two “*Licences Professionnelles*” (Bachelor of Science streams), the first one was “*Tanneries’ Industry*” and the second one was “*Renewable Energies*”. For the sake of this research, I was settled on moderating an

interview with the first year STID stream (Decisional Statistics and Computational Programming).

- **Moderator:** Following your high school graduation, were you able to accomplish your goals? Meaning, did you access the higher institutions you had been hoping you would?

- **Group Recurrent Answers:** Not really! a couple of months before our graduation, we applied for almost every regulated-access higher institutions such as medicals schools, engineering schools, and schools abroad we were hoping we could stand a chance studying in. But, we realized at the end that our scores, modest compared to scores of other students, especially private school graduates, were not going to qualify us to pass the early stages of candidacy selection. Eventually, we were content to have had at least the opportunity to access a higher vocational institute such as the EST. However, we are still planning to try out next year admittance examinations hoping to stand a chance and get access to these schools.

- **Moderator:** Were you able to easily adapt to this new system of higher studies? What were the main challenges that you faced in the first two months of studies as far as programs of instruction are concerned?

- **Group Recurrent Answers:** Adapting to a new system based on units and modules was not a detrimental issue for most students. Little by little, most of us got familiar with its basics. However, what we have all been suffering from was the issue of languages, both French and English. Since French is the language of instruction of higher university studies, many of our classmates were forced to drop out of *EST* before even taking first semester exams, and they had to squander a whole year pending the following university entry to enrol in an Arabic-administered major in either judicial or social sciences.

Another issue that some students (public school students) faced in their early days was the incapacity to fit in an English class. This was due to the fact that, as graduates of public

high schools, they never had the chance to study the English language, instead they had other foreign language courses, namely: German, Spanish, or Italian.

A final issue that concerned all students was that of future job prospects. Most of us have doubt about the capacity of the local economy to generate job offers with descriptions that would fit our academic profiles. This insecurity is further reinforced when we realize that people with lower qualifications and academic standards have better chances of integrating the economy compared to graduates of higher institutions such as engineers, projects' managers, and experts in programming and computational fields.

Commentary:

EST first-year STID students were subjected to a semi-structured interview in which they were invited to reflect on a number of education-related points. While there were countless individual issues, we saw it befitting to enumerate only the most recurrent and frequent perceptions, and even aspiring to narrow these down to the most commonly articulated ones.

On top of the list of educational concerns, there figured three main points. Firstly the issue of French as a language of instruction. Secondly, the issue of English (Functional and Technical) as a primordial unit of instruction in higher university studies, and the question of why the ministry of education would force students to study a language that would inhibit them to pursue their instruction and research in higher studies. And finally, students couldn't help but express their skepticism regarding the future of their trainings, and whether the regional industrial and economic fabric would be able to absorb outpouring lines of university graduates.

b. Students of Computer Programing and management at “*Info House School*”:

The final category of informants consists of students who follow their higher studies in a private educational school “Info House”. These are 1st year students of Programming and

Management. The motive underlying my selection of this group is that their training is quite similar to those studying at the EST, and even the list of queries addressed to these private school students resembles those posed to the public EST students. The motive underlying these choices is to compare views of these two categories of students, and establish a degree of objectivity and non-biased perceptions.

- **Moderator:** By a show of hands, how many among you are public school graduates (seven out of 19 students raised their hands)? And did you willingly enrol in a private higher institution?

- **Informants:** A little while before our graduation, we applied for many public higher institutions (access-regulated institutions), and we even postulated for studies abroad. However, we ended up getting low scores that did not qualify us to access these institutions, and in attempt to get a similar quality of instruction and avoid “Going to the Faculty”, we enrolled in a private higher institution. As for our initial impressions regarding programs of instruction, the evaluation system, and future job prospects; we think that the private schooling system has an advantage over public university system and that studies are structured, more flexible, and adapted to the needs of the economy.

We have better access to resources and trainings, and thanks to “School Twinning” initiatives, Info-House school students can pursue their studies abroad and get a double-degree recognized by institutions in both countries. Nevertheless, we still have fears about future job prospects as the professional and economic scene in Morocco does not look that promising. Eventually, we feel that our educational status as private school students has always been a target of criticism compared to that of public institutions from the part of society as well as business corporations.

Commentary:

The observations and perceptions advanced by most Info-House students all converge on precise points that were discussed in previous chapters. These fall within realms of privatization, competition, and market-oriented education. Private higher institutions' students expressed a line of concerns regarding the many layers of private education (a high or low standards' type of education), forms of instruction they receive, the social pressure they feel under regarding the scientific value of their degrees, and job prospects in both the business-industrial sector and state employment.

Info-house students echoed relatively similar concerns to those expressed by STID students at the EST. Apart from the opportunity of receiving a second simultaneous degree from a European school under the Federation for Education in Europe (FEDE) program, all other aspects of education seem to overlap with those at the EST. These include a similar predominately public teaching staff, similar modules of instruction, and a parallel organizational structure. In conclusion, both structure, organization, and content of education at the EST have been replicated in the private education at Info-house school. The only probable distinct variable that we could single out of the two group discussions was the monthly school fees Info-house school students had to pay at the end of every month.

Conclusion:

Summary and Implications:

The study in hand allowed for the examination of countless issues raised within the Moroccan education system. Issues that have had substantial impeding effects on reform processes since 1957. In broad terms, the study endeavored to tap into and highlight the socioeconomic and political determinants that have shaped the course of educational reforms in Morocco. Moreover, the research sought to highlight discursual discrepancies marking sociopolitical calls of reforms exigitg an equal, efficient, and well-structured system of education on the one hand, and the global economic constraints policy-makers are compelled to take into consideration when devising local plans and policies, on the other.

While chapter two presents a synchronic account of the sociopolitical conditions that characterized succeeding reform initiatives since the protectorate regime and all up to the mid 1980's, chapter three carries out discourse analyses of referential documents meant to steer educational sectoral policies. The texts or articles drawn from documents such as the National Charter to Education and Training, the Emergency Plan, and the Strategic Vision 2015-2030 offered insights into how congruent these referential reform texts are with implemented plans and policies, and how much leverage reports and memoranda issued by IFIs have on these policies.

Besides studying forms of influence which reports and recommendations by International Financial Institutions may exert on domestic policies both economic and political, chapter three shifts its focus to cover another equally significant research aspect: constituents of the Moroccan social structure. The underlying objective is to highlight the mutual interactive character involving public educational policies on the one hand, and the constitution of the Moroccan social structure on the other. Upon analyses supported by

literature, the second part of chapter three sought to test out the correspondence between implemented reform policies and the reproduction of the Moroccan social structure.

Chapter four employs an entirely different analytical approach as it looks into the socioeconomic functions of a crucial educational instrument: The curriculum. Drawing on concepts and notions developed by the American educational theorist Michael Apple and the Canadian cultural critic Henry Giroux, the fourth chapter sought to infer the pedagogical goals underpinning school practices and socioeconomic thought processes governing authorities have sought to construct in students. Practices that have been contextualized within programs of instruction. To this end, chapter four enumerates a series of textbook lessons which dates back to the protectorate regime period going all the way up to the 2010's.

In response to one of the hypotheses formed at the outset of this study regarding the roles that knowledge construction -conveyed through different components of educational curricula- could assume during processes of knowledge normalization. The selected textbook lessons demonstrated an evident correlation between the state's political visions and economic interests, and the pedagogical orientations set in educational curricula. Therefore, it should be well-evidenced to conclude that educational practices in Moroccan schools and universities have never been neutral acts of government, and that these have since the protectorate regime reflected carefully planned out political strategies and visions.

The few lesson samples put to study in this chapter relatively mirrored tendencies of ruling authorities to control the educational input served to students in schools and universities. Whereas colonial authorities aspired to produce a generation of individuals that would defend the political and economic interests of French residents, later programs of instruction seemed more vocationally inclined and more concerned with both the imparting and the reinforcement of neoliberal values of privatization, entrepreneurship, deregulation of financial markets, and the liberalization of economies.

Not only does chapter four comment on the pedagogical content the presented in the studied lesson samples, but it has also allowed for the drawing of a comparison between past and present textbooks in terms of language register, educational activities, and didactic methods. Since the mid 1980's, syllabus designers have grown more concerned with the updating of curricula, school textbooks in particular, in order to render the instructional content compatible with the new reforms and guidelines. The chapter wraps up its analyses with an emphasis on the neoliberal free-market values that newly updated textbooks have grown imbued with. Values which post-1990's generations have gradually adapted to, and into whose characters they have become hardwired.

Chapter five takes to the street and ambitions to link theory to practice. Assessing how deeply ingrained neoliberal values are in people's discourse and perceptions constituted one of many objectives set in this chapter. Therefore, two supplementary research approaches were put to use as a way of bridging reality on the ground with the variety of discourse analyses and discussions laid out through the different chapters of this study.

The initial part of chapter five proceeds with the quantitative measurement of series of topics through the means of a questionnaire. Respondents' answers of the 20 questions formed a rich pool of data. Data that proved to be useful as far as testing the validity of hypotheses, and the analysis of the research questions were concerned. The three main questionnaire topics respectively were: education, school curricula, and economy and social Background.

The second part of chapter five employed a qualitative research approach. It started out with a discussion of a set of recent statements made by authority figures who have been involved in affairs pertinent to the education system. Official statements of figures ranging from prime ministers, former or current ministers, to working professionals and students. Furthermore, a set of brief structured interviews - individual and group interviews – were

conducted and noted down. The objective motivating our reaching out to these interviewees was to identify patterns relevant to our previous analyses on the socioeconomic transformations of education systems, and to determine how well-established free-market values of privatization, entrepreneurial competition, and deregulation of global economies have grown in people's perceptions and discourse.

Findings drawn from processed data as indicated in different sections of chapter five corroborate hypotheses formulated at the introduction. On the one hand, the political motives of education officials, and those driving the state by the same token, have indeed undergone a dramatic shift since mid-1980's, from being policy formulators and overseers of the education order, to guarantors of implementation of strategic socioeconomic policies, with very little room for change or creativity. In fact, public officials who have attempted to think outside the box, and sought to come up with alternative reform models were openly reprimanded by higher authorities, and were exhorted to accelerate the reform process that had been initiated by their predecessors.

The current Moroccan minister of education and training himself insisted on numerous occasions educational reform is a continuum, and that the present reform project entitled the Strategic Vision 2015-2030 derives its core essence and bases its entire reform logic on the previous reform project: The National Charter for Education and Training. Moreover, the state's insistence on the establishment of 'Cities of professions and skills' in each of the twelve regions of Morocco in April 2019, is another indicator of the nature of the drastic leaps Morocco is taking.

Put in other words, the current reform efforts invested in the education system do grant more value to entrepreneurial and vocational streams, and literally subdue the pedagogical and academic offers to the logic of supply and demand. Meaning that, unless the economy determines that a certain academic major or specialty, the perennity and 'survival'

of academic courses and programs of instructions should depend on the immediate or subsequent needs of the economy.

Based on the statistical results drawn from our quantitative analysis, especially with regard to the subsections interrogating students from limited-access higher institutions (Medical School, ENCG, ENSA, and 2nd Bac PC respondents), evidence indicates that the Moroccan system of education contributes to the reproduction of the social structure by a large proportion. The uneven competition between the public and the private education sectors constitute hampers the forming of similar and equitable spaces where students could be allowed an equal access to pedagogical offer and to economic opportunity. Hence; lending weight and credibility to criticisms questioning motives and principles of reforms: Quality, Equity, and Promotion.

Unlike what the general public assumes that ‘only rich families get to enroll their children in private schools’, research results show that private schools’ largest ‘base of clients’ consists mainly from lower under upper middle class families with very small variations between different interrogated private schools. As for public schools’ student demographics, the study reports that students from economically underprivileged populations, earning 3.500 MD (380\$) or less, constitute the widest social group attending state-funded schools.

Eventually, our research concludes that the American and the French mission schools in Fez are attended by students mostly belonging to high-income families, families where both parents’ incomes total 25.000 MD (2.800\$) or more. Most students who were interrogated on site of these two schools, with the exception of students who studied at a private or public government school, failed to respond to most of the questions posed in the questionnaire since the large majority of these students had very little experience dealing with Moroccan programs of instruction.

Limitations and Future Research Directions:

The initial technical issues we encountered throughout the stages of this research experience were manifold. Firstly, the scarcity of literature on the researched subject posed a real challenge as we have not been able to lay our hands on any available research resources apart from one critical study carried out in 1983 by the Moroccan researcher Laarbi Ibaaqil's: *L'école Marocaine : Une Machine de Rêve*. Secondly, the reluctance of a few respondents to identify themselves with underprivileged social categories might have relatively affected the results of processed data in some rubrics. Still, the generated statistics remain within the norms of acceptable margins of errors of academic research set between 04 % and 08 % at the 95 % confidence level.

The intertwined character of education, society, and economy renders any analyses or discussions of educational reforms, divorced from the socioeconomic and political conditions in which they take place, both incomplete and unsubstantiated. Put differently, the state's insistence on the necessity of correlating the educational offer with the economic needs of the job market signifies a reinforcement of vocational and entrepreneurial streams as well as granting economic entities more educational authority to decide on which majors and specialties could be maintained and which ones should be discarded.

Despite the fact that official political and educational discourse strongly opposes all forms of socioeconomic discriminations against students, and insists that all citizens must be allowed access to an equal and efficient educational opportunity, we realize that students who benefited from access to medical and engineering schools mostly belonged to families with high economic means, according to the generated findings. Students who may unquestionably be bright, but also students who took advantage of systemic flaws that may have as well debilitated chances of public school students. Therefore, the Moroccan education system indeed contributes to the reproduction of the Moroccan social structure.

In conclusion, education systems constitute fertile grounds for researchers of educational sociology in general, and those looking into fields of research relevant to Critical Reproduction Theories, in particular. Researchers one of whose objectives consists in tracing the evolutionary course of socio-political action, and getting a grasp of how human societies have managed to traverse this course. This study aspires to identify how the enforcement of a global wave of reform policies since the end of 1970's have thrust world political systems into a new model of government based on neoliberal principles of liberalization of economies, privatization, and a deregulation of market transactions.

In the case of Morocco, governments have openly aligned with the neoliberal model of government since 1984 through the introduction of structural reform plans and the passing of privatization laws. Government institutions, political and economic, have been closely coordinating with International Financial Institutions (IFIs) on matters of public policy designing and the challenges impeding the implementation of these policies.

Such conditions partly explain the failure of succeeding reform initiatives since the 1980's to deliver on the objectives they set. In more explicit terms, educational reform initiatives have been constantly faced with the dilemma of conciliating between the local socio-political demands of the people – demands of a free and equitable system of education that guarantees an educational offer to all Moroccan citizens regardless of their ethnic, socio-cultural, and economic backgrounds -, and the economic action plans put forward by IFIs as a way of reducing budgetary deficit and boosting economic growth.

Whereas the neoliberalization of world economies partly accounts for the failure of succeeding reform of education in Morocco as mentioned shortly, another significant factor of reform failure is the relentless politicization of the educational sector since 1957 by the ruling elite, though it has been established in chapters 2 and 4 that the politicizing of the education system has been a common practice the protectorate regime.

The history of political discords between the rulers of independent Morocco on the one hand and the leaders of *The Haraka Wataniya* - the National Movement - on the other has literally held the education system a hostage. The governing structure and the socialist militants turned the educational sector into a battle zone where both parties settled their accounts.

Whereas the education system represented the socialist parties a space from which they derived their strength, and where the revolutionary project they strove to bring about gained momentum, the ruling elite approached the educational sector as a socio-political force to be reckoned; and therefore one which required drastic reforms. These facts are evidenced in the final report issued in 2006 by the National Commission for Truth, Justice, and reconciliation covering a period in Moroccan political history stretching from 1956 through 1999.

The report details different episodes of power abuse ranging from arbitrary detentions, the fatal ending of several political militants, to questionable political decisions that gave rise to a number of social revolts. Revolts many of which originated from public schools and universities.

The present study is a modest attempt to generate an academic account of the socio-political and economic factors that have affected processes of educational reforms in Morocco since 1956. The study starts out with the conception of a theoretical frame that expounds on concepts relevant to theories of reproduction, hidden curriculum, and power relations (*Rapports de Force*).

The ensuing chapter contextualize these concepts through the presentation of a series of analyses starting off with a historical account of educational reforms in Morocco since 1956. Subsequently, the study carries out a discourse analysis of referential reform texts on the one hand, and compares these texts with implemented educational policies on the other.

The two final chapters continue this course of structural examinations by further employing quantitative and qualitative research approaches. The former approach founds its analyses on responses from questionnaires handed to participants, mainly students of secondary schools and higher studies' institutions. The questionnaire sought to examine students' perceptions on a number of issues ranging from the system's dual reality of access to public and private educational institutions, questions of meritocracy, public-private programs of instruction, equal economic opportunities to mention a few.

The qualitative part, on the other hand, consisted of a series of individual and group interviews with students and professionals alike. The objective was to measure how well established and normalized the current neoliberal order is, and to detect socioeconomic reproduction patterns among interviewed participants.

REFERENCES:

- Adorno, T. W., & Horkheimer, M. (2016). *Dialectic of enlightenment*. London: Verso.
- Al-Fadala, A. (n.d.). K-12 Reform in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Countries: Challenges and Policy Recommendations. Retrieved from https://www.wise-qatar.org/app/uploads/2019/04/appli-gcc_2016-03-03.pdf
- Althusser, L. (2014). *On the reproduction of capitalism : ideology and ideological state apparatuses*. London ; New York: Verso.
- Anter, A. and Tribe, K. (2014). *Max Weber's theory of the modern state : origins, structure and significance*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Apple, M. W. (2001). Creating profits by creating failures: standards, markets, and inequality in education. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 5(2–3), 103–118.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13603110010020840>
- Apple, M. W. (2006). *Educating the “right” way : markets, standards, God, and inequality*. New York: Routledge.
- Apple, M. W. (2009). *Ideology and curriculum*. New York ; London: Routledge. falmer.
- Apple, M. W. (2013). *Knowledge, power, and education : the selected works of Michael W. Apple*. New York, Ny: Routledge, Cop.
- Apple, M. W. (2014). *Official knowledge : democratic education in a conservative age*. New York: Routledge.
- Apple, M. W. (2015). *Education and Power*. Taylor & Francis.
- Apple, M. W., Kenway, J., & Singh, M. (2007). *Globalizing education : policies, pedagogies, & politics*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Arnove (2005). *To What Ends: Educational Reform Around the World*. *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, p.79. Available at:

- <http://www.repository.law.indiana.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1290&context=ijgls> [Accessed 28 Nov. 2019].
- Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (2011). *The social construction of reality : a treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. New York: Open Road Media.
- Bloch, R., & Morris, H. O. (1986). *Unholy trinity*. Santa Cruz, Ca.: Scream/Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1979). Les trois états du capital culturel. *Actes de La Recherche En Sciences Sociales*, 30(1), 3–6. <https://doi.org/10.3406/arss.1979.2654>
- Bourdieu, P., & Jean Claude Passeron. (1979). *The inheritors : French students and their relation to culture*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Nice, R. (1998). *Acts of resistance : against the tyranny of the market*. New York: New Press.
- Bourdieu, P., Jean Claude Passeron, Nice, R., & Thomas Burton Bottomore. (2014). *Reproduction in education, society, and culture*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Bourdieu, P., Monique De Saint-Martin, Clough, L.C. and Stanford University Press (2010). *The state nobility : elite schools in the field of power*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, Dr.
- Bourdieu's Class Theory. (2017). Retrieved April 29, 2019, from Catalyst-journal.com website: <https://catalyst-journal.com/vol1/no2/bourdieu-class-theory-riley>
- Bourqia, R. (2016). Repenser et refonder l'école au Maroc : la Vision stratégique 2015-2030. *Revue Internationale d'éducation de Sèvres*, (71), 18–24. <https://doi.org/http://journals.openedition.org/ries/4551>
- Boyer, J.-D. (2016). La sociologie d'Émile Durkheim. Une transposition manquée de la méthode des sciences de la nature. *Revue Des Sciences Sociales*, (56), 118–125. <https://doi.org/http://journals.openedition.org/revss/420>

- Corruption: Oxfam Report. (2015). Africa Research Bulletin: Economic, Financial and Technical Series, 52(10), 21024B-21024B. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6346.2015.06715.x>
- Costigan, A. T., & Grey, L. (2015). Demythologizing educational reforms : responses to the political and corporate takeover of education. New York: Routledge.
- D. Pooley, J. (2016). Sociology of Knowledge. The International Encyclopedia of Communication Theory and Philosophy, 1–8.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118766804.wbiect209>
- D. Reed-Donahay, Locating Bourdieu. Retrieved November 28, 2019, from Fabula.org website: <http://www.fabula.org/actualites/article10543.php>
- Dag Einar Thorsen and Lie, A. (2007). What is Neoliberalism? [online] Available at: <http://folk.uio.no/daget/What%20is%20Neo-Liberalism%2010-11-06.pdf> [Accessed 1 May 2019].
- David Harvey: Marxism, Capitalism and the Geographical Imagination. (2010). Retrieved November 28, 2019, from New Political Economy website:
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13563460601068859>
- Derrida, J., & Caputo, J. D. (2008). Deconstruction in a nutshell : a conversation with Jacques Derrida. New York: Fordham Univ. Press.
- Derrida, J., Bass, A., & Henri Ronse. (1981). Positions. Chicago, Ill.: University Of Chicago Press.
- Derrida, J., Chakravorty, G., Butler, J. P., & Johns. (2016). Of grammatology. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Dworkin, A. Ballantine, J (2013). The sociology of education. Sociopedia.
<http://www.sagepub.net/isa/resources/pdf/Education2013.pdf>

- E. L, M. (1961). Les institutions du Maroc indépendant et le « modèle français ». *Tiers-Monde*, 2(6), 169–182. <https://doi.org/10.3406/tiers.1961.1267>
- Émile Durkheim, & Simpson, G. (1963). *Emile Durkheim; [selections from his work]*,. New York, Crowell.
- Etherington, B. (2016). An answer to the question: What is decolonization? Frantz fanon's the wretched of the earth and Jean-Paul sartre's critique of dialectical reason. Retrieved November 28, 2019, from Philpapers.org website: <https://philpapers.org/rec/ETHAAT-3>
- Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical discourse analysis : the critical study of language*. London: Routledge.
- Gad Yair. (2009). *Pierre Bourdieu : the last musketeer of the French Revolution*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Galal, A. (2008). *The road not traveled : education reform in the Middle East and North Africa*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Gazzotti, Lorena (2018): *International Migrations and Local Governance : A Global Perspective*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Georges Hardy, & Janet Patricia Little. (2005). *Une conquête morale : l'enseignement en A.O.F. Paris ; Budapest ; Kinshasa: L'harmattan, Dl*.
- Giroux, H. A. (2005). *Border corssing : cultural workers and the politics of education*. New York: Routledge.
- Giroux, H. A., & Giroux, S. S. (2006). *Challenging Neoliberalism's New World Order: The Promise of Critical Pedagogy*. *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies*.
- Guazzone, L., & Pioppi, D. (2009). *The Arab state and neo-liberal globalization : the restructuring of state power in the Middle East*. Reading: Ithaca Press. (Meriam Catusse)

- Guessous, M. 'They are Willing to produce New Generations of Hyenas (jackasses)'. Med
Socialist Union paper on November 12th, 1989 – N : 2290
- Hardy, G. (1920). *Le problème Solaire au Maroc*. Casablanca Press
- Harvey, D. (2008). *Spaces of hope*. Berkeley: Univ. Of California Press.
- Harvey, D. (2019). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Johannesburg: Mtm.
- Jean-Pierre Chauffour. (2018). *Morocco 2040 : emerging by investing in intangible capital*.
Washington, Dc: World Bank Group.
- Jo, T.-H. (2005). Neoliberalism as an asocial ideology and strategy in education. *Forum for
Social Economics*, 35(1), 37–58. Retrieved from
<https://ideas.repec.org/a/spr/fosec/v35y2005i1p37-58.html>
- Kean Birch, & Vlad Mykhnenko. (2010). *The rise and fall of neoliberalism : the collapse of
an economic order?* London ; New York: Zed Books ; New York.
- Kettler, D., & Volker Meja. (1997). *Planning for democracy : Karl Mannheim, the elite, and
the reconstruction of the state*.
- Khariss M, B. S. (2015). *The Moroccan Middle Class from Yesterday to Today: Definition
and Evolving*. *Business and Economics Journal*, retrieved from :
<https://doi.org/10.4172/2151-6219.1000153>
- King Hassan II Speech at the parliament on April 08th, 1988
- Klages, M. (2015). *Literary theory : a guide for the perplexed*. London, Uk: New York, Ny.
- Kraev, E. (2017). *Towards Adequate Analysis and Modeling of Structural Adjustment
Programs: An Analytical Framework with Application to Ghana*. Umd.Edu.
<https://doi.org/http://hdl.handle.net/1903/2017>
- L'Organisation Administrative au Maroc. (n.d.). Retrieved from
<http://www.efmaroc.org/cea/pdf/dosg3.pdf>

- Lacroix, T., & Amandine Desille. (2018). International migrations and local governance : a global perspective. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lopreato, J. (1964). A Functionalist Reappraisal of Pareto's Sociology. *American Journal of Sociology*, 69(6), 639–646. <https://doi.org/10.1086/223694>
- Liddicoat, Anthony. (2015). The interface between macro and micro-level language policy and the place of language pedagogies. *International Journal of Pedagogies and Learning*. 9. 118-129. 10.1080/18334105.2014.11082025.
- Marx, Karl. (1932) *The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*. Progress Publishers.
- Mannheim, K., & Kecskemeti, P. (2017). *Essays on the sociology of knowledge*. London: Forgotten Books.
- Marty, P. (1925). *Le Maroc de demain*. Paris Comité De L'afrique Française.
- Marx, K. (1932). *Economic and philosophic manuscripts of 1844*. London: Moscow.
- Marx, K., & Levitsky, S. L. (2009). *Das kapital : a critique of political economy*. Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing ; New York.
- Michael Moriarty (2006) Ideology and literature, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 11:1, 43-60, DOI: 10.1080/13569310500395875
- Mohammed Abed al-Jabri. (2019). Retrieved November 28, 2019, from Ibn-rushd.org website: <https://www.ibnrushd.org/pages/int/Awards/2008/documents/cv-en.html>
- Mundy, K. E., Green, A., Lingard, B., & Verger, A. (2016). *The handbook of global education policy*. Chichester, West Sussex, Uk: Wiley Blackwell.
- Pierre Vermeren, « École, élite et pouvoir », *Cahiers de la recherche sur l'éducation et les savoirs*, 2 | 2003, 282-289

- Poole, W., Sen, V., & Fallon, G. (n.d.). Manufacturing Consent For Privatization in Public Education: The Rise of a Social Finance Network in Canada. Retrieved from <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1121385.pdf>
- Rai, A. (2019). Neoliberalism Globalization and The Commodification of Global Culture - Etalkinghead. Retrieved November 28, 2019, from Etalkinghead website:
- Riddell, J. B. (1992). Things Fall Apart Again: Structural Adjustment Programs in Sub-Saharan Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 30(1), 53–68.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022278x00007722>
- Saaf, A. (1999). Maroc : l'Esperance d'état moderne. Casablanca : Afrique Orient.
- Samoff, J., Carrol, B. From manpower planning to the knowledge era : World Bank policies on higher education in Africa. Paris: Unesco Forum On Higher Education, Research And Knowledge, Division Of Higher Education, Unesco.
- Silva, E. B. (2016). Unity and Fragmentation of the Habitus. *The Sociological Review*, 64(1), 166–183. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954x.12346>
- Sim, S. (2012). Addicted to profit : reclaiming our lives from the free market. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Storm, L. (2010). Democratization in Morocco the political elite and struggles for power in the post-independence state. London Routledge.
- Wolff, R. D. (2005). Ideological State Apparatuses, Consumerism, and U.S. Capitalism: Lessons for the Left. *Rethinking Marxism*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/08935690500046785>
- مكي، مروي. Mekki Merrouni. (1996). 1994-1956 /الإصلاح التعليمي بالمغرب، 1956-1994. Kingdom of Morocco, University Mohammed V, Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences, Rabat.

محمد عابد الجابري. أضواء على مشكل التعليم بالمغرب. دار النشر المغربية: الدار البيضاء. 1985

Webography

A Dynamic Model of Cultural Reproduction¹ | American Journal of Sociology: Vol 121, No

4. (2016). Retrieved November 28, 2019, from American Journal of Sociology

website: <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/684012>

Bedmar, L.V (2014) : Educational Reforms in Morocco: Evolution and Current Status.

Retrieved from : <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1071171.pdf>

Educating the Global Citizen. (2019). Retrieved November 28, 2019, from

<http://www.eurekaselect.com> website: <http://www.eurekaselect.com/51466/volume/1>

Education Policies in Morocco: Can the Government Fix What It Broke? (2017, October 5).

Retrieved from Arab Reform Initiative website: [https://www.arab-](https://www.arab-reform.net/publication/education-policies-in-morocco-can-the-government-fix-what-it-broke/)

[reform.net/publication/education-policies-in-morocco-can-the-government-fix-what-it-broke/](https://www.arab-reform.net/publication/education-policies-in-morocco-can-the-government-fix-what-it-broke/)

Education-Enseignement-Généralités. (2019). Retrieved November 29, 2019, from

Abhatoo.net.ma website: [http://www.abhatoo.net.ma/maalama-](http://www.abhatoo.net.ma/maalama-bibliographique/developpement-economique-et-social/developpement-social/education-enseignement/education-enseignement-generalites)

[bibliographique/developpement-economique-et-social/developpement-social/education-enseignement/education-enseignement-generalites](http://www.abhatoo.net.ma/maalama-bibliographique/developpement-economique-et-social/developpement-social/education-enseignement/education-enseignement-generalites)

EU integration with North Africa : trade negotiations and democracy deficits in Morocco

(Book, 2009) [WorldCat.org]. (2009). Retrieved December 5, 2019, from

Worldcat.org website: <https://www.worldcat.org/title/eu-integration-with-north-africa-trade-negotiations-and-democracy-deficits-in-morocco/oclc/232981021>

<http://studymore.org.uk/xybou.htm#MalcolmHabitusFieldCapital>

<http://davidharvey.org/reading-capital/>

<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/106091468761400992/pdf/multi0page.pdf>

<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/106091468761400992/pdf/multi0page.pdf> (WB January 1994)

<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/276361468324016299/pdf/multi0page.pdf> (WB April 1992)

<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/328331468758094505/pdf/multi0page.pdf>

http://www.csefrs.ma/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/R_analytique_ar.pdf

<http://www.imf.org/en/About/Factsheets/Sheets/2016/08/01/18/48/Crisis-Lending>

<https://books.openedition.org/editionsbnf/263>

<https://www.etaalkinghead.com/archives/neoliberalism-globalization-and-the-commodification-of-global-culture-2005-12-16.html>

https://www.un.org/development/desa/dpad/wpcontent/uploads/sites/45/WESS_2017_ch3.pdf

Maghreb Confidentiel (1994). MAROC : LES ENTREPRENEURS MAROCAINS AU

MICROSCOPE DE SAID TANGEAoui - n° 200 du 15/09/1994 - Maghreb

Confidentiel. [online] Maghreb Confidentiel. Available at:

<https://www.africaintelligence.fr/MC-/economie/1994/09/15/les-entrepreneurs-marocains-au-microscope-de-said-tangeaoui,27121-BRE>.

Maintaining Momentum on Education Reform in Morocco. (2013). Retrieved December 5, 2019, from World Bank website:

<https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2013/09/11/maintaining-momentum-on-education-reform-in-morocco>

Storefront & WooCommerce. (2019). Fundamentals of Sociology – Stationary “N”

Stationery. Retrieved November 28, 2019, from Stationarystationery.com website:

<https://www.stationarystationery.com/product/fundamentals-of-sociology/>

The Analytical Report : The Implementation of the National Charter for Education and Training 2000 – 2013, Accomplishments, Obstacles, Challenges.

<https://www.csefrs.ma/wp-content/uploads/2009/01/vol-2Analytique-VF1.pdf>

Truth and Reconciliation in Morocco. (2011, April 25). Retrieved from International Center for Transitional Justice website: <https://www.ictj.org/publication/truth-and-reconciliation-morocco>

كتاب أضواء على مشكل التعليم بالمغرب -الدكتور محمد عابد الجابري Retrieved November 29, 2019, from Blogspot.com website: <https://brahimelharram.blogspot.com/2014/11/blog-post.html>

الكوراجي، محمد : التعليم في المغرب في عهد "الحماية" الفرنسية بين الفرنسية وسلخ الهوية Accessed 29 Nov.

Available at: <https://www.alukah.net/social/0/112376/>

APPENDIX

(1) QUESTIONNAIRE:

Deconstructing Neoliberal Paradigms Inherent in the Moroccan Educational Discourse

Explanatory Notes:

Coverage

The following questionnaire seeks to examine the correspondence of Moroccan discourse of education to the reality on the ground, and how past and present policies of reform have led to the emergence of new societal models, each having its own cultural capital, forms of schooling, and inequitable chances of access to the economic opportunities.

Who should answer this questionnaire ?

This questionnaire is intended for high school students studying at both private and public high schools, and students of higher **public** institutions ; in particular, students of Medical School, ENSA, and ENCG.

The questions

Questions target personal profiles of respondents (age, place of birth, parents' occupation), and enquire about their perceptual opinions on issues related to meritocracy, the roles of the state, the quality of their programs, and their level of satisfaction with the acquired skills in language and other academic areas.

* Scale questions indicate:

1. Strongly disagree	2. disagree	3 .Neither agree Nor Disagree	4. Agree	5. Strongly Agree
----------------------	-------------	-------------------------------	----------	-------------------

Confidentiality and the use of data

Respondents should rest assured that the answers included in this questionnaire will remain confidential, and that they will be strictly used for aggregate analysis in view of coming up with scientific conclusions to either support or refute this research hypotheses.

In case you have any concerns or complaints please do not hesitate to contact :
+212.6.23.67.88.22 or to email on : laayadid@gmail.com

Section A

Please provide the following information about yourself :

1. Gender of respondents: ☐ Male ☐ Female
2. Age Range : ☐ 13 - 18 ☐ 19 - 27 ☐ 28 - 35
3. Level of Studies : ☐ Secondary ☐ Undergraduate ☐ Post-graduate
4. Educational Institution : ☐ Public ☐ Private
5. Living area / Neighbourhood : _____.
6. Are you currently employed : ☐ Yes ☐ No
7. Do both of your parents work : ☐ Yes ☐ No
8. Father's occupation _____ Mother's occupation _____

Section B

State your opinion on the following issues. Please circle the number that best describes your judgement. Each scale item indicates :

1. Strongly disagree	2. Disagree	3. Neither agree Nor Disagree	4. Agree	5. Strongly Agree
----------------------	-------------	-------------------------------	----------	-------------------

Topic : Education

Strongly Disagree <...> Strongly Agree

It is **my opinion** that...

9. Public schools are as efficient as Private schools

1 2 3 4 5

10. Studies at Private schools are more efficient than studies at Public schools

1 2 3 4 5

11. Private and public school students have equal: learning conditions and equal educational opportunities.

1 2 3 4 5

12. Private school students have better language and communication skills than public school students.

1 2 3 4 5

Section C

Topic : School Curricula

Strongly Disagree <...> Strongly Agree

It is **my opinion** that...

13. Public school textbooks are not as informative and instructional as Private schools'

1 2 3 4 5

14. Private schools have more logistical support (a theater room, clubs, a multi-media space, wifi access...) and offer more extra-curricular activities (arts, sports, excursions...) than public schools.

1 2 3 4 5

15. Public school courses equip students with critical thinking skills, out-of-school projects, and in-class creativity spaces.

1 2 3 4 5

Section D

Topic : Economy and Social background

Strongly Disagree <...> Strongly Agree

It is **my opinion** that...

16. Private and public school graduates have equal chances of integrating the economy (Job Prospects).

1 2 3 4 5

17. Private school graduates are privileged over Public students graduates during job interviews.

1 2 3 4 5

18. Vocational streams in public secondary schools will help students integrate the economy

1 2 3 4 5

19. Corporations value skills that public schools, under the current system, do not provide

1 2 3 4 5

20. My schoolmates and I share similar living conditions (we live in similar neighborhoods, experience social and economic issues, we share the same concerns, we have a common culture...)

1 2 3 4 5

(2) A Ministry News release



السلطة الفلسطينية
وزارة التربية والتعليم
والتعليم العالي والبحث العلمي



السلطة الفلسطينية
وزارة التربية والتعليم
والتعليم العالي والبحث العلمي

بلاغ صحفي

تتويج الفريق الوطني في الأولمبياد الإفريقية في الرياضيات 2019

بكاب تاون - جنوب إفريقيا

حقق فريقنا الوطني نتائج باهرة في الدورة السابعة والعشرين من الأولمبياد الإفريقية في الرياضيات، التي نظمت بكاب تاون - جنوب إفريقيا، ما بين 31 مارس و07 أبريل 2019.

وتتويج فريقنا بالميدالية الذهبية بعد حصوله على الرتبة الأولى (147 نقطة) على صعيد ترتيب الدول المشاركة، متبوعاً بجنوب إفريقيا (142 نقطة، الميدالية الفضية) ثم تونس (133 نقطة، الميدالية النحاسية).

وقد شارك في هذه التظاهرة العلمية 12 بلداً بـ 62 مشاركاً (ة)، من بينهم بلادنا بفريق ضم ستة تلاميذ (3 إناث و3 ذكور)، شعبة علوم رياضية - خيار فرنسية، حققوا خلالها إنجازاً متميزاً، حيث كانت الميدالية الذهبية من نصيب التلميذ مروان شافي، كما أحرز كل من التلاميذ البوزيدي التياي إيناس ومريم الخطري وزباد الدين أمزيل على ميداليات فضية، لتحصد التلميذة البوزيدي التياي إيناس ميدالية ذهبية في الترتيب الخاص بالإناث متوجة بلقب ملكة الرياضيات الإفريقية 2019، فيما عادت الميدالية النحاسية للتلميذين خولة المداح والورغي آدم.

وينتمي أعضاء الفريق الوطني إلى جهات مختلفة كما يوضح ذلك الجدول الآتي:

الاسم والنسب	الشعبة	المؤسسة	المديرية الإقليمية	الجهة
خولة المداح	علوم رياضية (خيار - فرنسية)	محمد السادس (عمومية)	وادي الذهب	الداخلية - وادي الذهب
مريم الخطري	علوم رياضية (خيار - فرنسية)	سواء 5 (خصوصية)	الحي الحسني	الداخلية - البيضاء - سطات
مروان شافي	علوم رياضية (خيار - فرنسية)	المقريري (خصوصية)	الصخوريات تمار	الرباط - سلا - القنيطرة
زباد الدين أمزيل	علوم رياضية (خيار - فرنسية)	عبد المالك السعدي (عمومية)	القنيطرة	الرباط - سلا - القنيطرة
الورغي آدم	علوم رياضية (خيار - فرنسية)	أصدقاء العلوم (خصوصية)	تطوان	طنجة - تطوان - الحسيمة
البوزيدي التياي إيناس	علوم رياضية (خيار - فرنسية)	المامونية (خصوصية)	مكناس	فاس - مكناس

وبهذه المناسبة السعيدة، فإن وزارة التربية الوطنية والتكوين المهني والتعليم العالي والبحث العلمي وOCP، المحتضن الرسمي لمشاركة بلادنا في هذه التظاهرة العلمية، يهنئان جميع المتوجات والمتوجين والمؤطرين الذين ساهموا على إعدادهم لهذه التظاهرة العلمية الدولية وأستاذاتهم وأساتذتهم.

A Sociological Deconstruction of Neoliberal Paradigms Inherent in the Moroccan Educational Discourse

Introduction:

Numerous experiences around the world have shown that any human society aspiring to economic development and the foundation of balanced and sustainable human relations must necessarily endow its educational system with the utmost attention and care and that without these sine qua non conditions, all progress cannot but be illusory and bogus. The examples in that sense are plethoric and some south Asian countries are there to confirm, while the counter examples of the countries that neglected these conditions and relied mainly on their material or natural wealth are also there to affirm the fragility of their economic and value systems.

It is nowonder why all societies and countries around the world struggle day in day out to find the best strategies either to maintain and improve an already successful educational system, or, to attempt to find other models or copy other systems that have proven their efficiency elsewhere, the case of France at this level is a case in point.

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY, STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND METHODOLOGY.

The Objective of the study:

The study in hand qualifies itself as an investigative research project of decades of failing reform initiatives in the Moroccan field of education. Through the employment of a multitude of research approaches, the study aspires to achieve two objectives: Firstly, to highlight the socio-economic and political factors underlying the successive failures of implemented reform policies. Secondly, to examine the impact or, lack thereof, that education system policies in Morocco might have on the shaping and the constitution of the social structure.

Statement of the problem:

Official discourse about educational reforms in Morocco is imbued with notions of education quality, social justice, equity, and equal access to economic opportunity. This line of values and principles grows evident once we examine referential texts of educational reform such as the national charter for education and training (2000-2009) or the strategic vision (2015-2030). The reality on the ground, however, shows an entirely different course of reform action.

We contend that reform policies in the field of education go hand in hand with a reform logic that hails free-market principles of privatization, economy liberalization, and business deregulation as promising alternatives to salvage an education system in crisis. One effect of these policies is that the Moroccan social structure has been the subject of a classification wherein a number of educational offers is provided to individuals in accordance with the socio-economic backgrounds they belong to.

A situation that advantages specific social categories that have access to capital in its different forms - economic, social, and cultural - to the detriment of

other less fortunate classes which are ‘doomed’ to a vocational course of instruction. A fact that ultimately leads to a reproduction of the socioeconomic structure, and which becomes at odds with principles of social justice, equity, and inclusiveness guiding educational reform.

Main Chapters and Areas of Research

Chapter One:

The first chapter serves as a theoretical preamble paving the way for the development of a conceptual framework. A framework within which examinations of research questions will be analyzed. The chapter will expound on a variety of concepts and notions key to our analysis such as : ‘deconstruction’, ‘state’, ‘power relations’, ‘ideology’, ‘reproduction’, and ‘neoliberalism’. Moreover, the chapter endeavours to determine grounds where the above concepts and theories intersect and converge.

On another level, chapter one plans to offer elaborate analyses of the impact that policies of privatization have had on the Moroccan education system. Furthermore, it shall attempt to demonstrate how school curricula have been the subject of relentless ideological tensions and competing power relations.

Chapter Two:

While the first chapter aspires to set up a coherent conceptual frame of analysis employing for this matter an array of concepts derived from critical theories of reproduction, the second chapter shifts the course of discussion to address contentious aspects distinct to the education reform discourse. Initially, the chapter draws on reform plans introduced into systems of education in countries belonging to the GCC Gulf countries, and lays out a comparison between the course of reform action in these countries and reform plans implemented in Morocco.

The chapter starts with a brief examination of statistical indicators of educational efficiency (TIMSS, PIRLS, PISA) in Arab and North African education

systems, and gradually narrows its focus to address the Moroccan system of education. However, and as much accurate as the statistical approach may be in highlighting structural flaws and systemic lacunae impeding reform of education systems, we reckoned that it would be necessary if not crucial to address our research questions from pluri-disciplinary vantage points.

Put differently, getting a full grasp of the dynamics blocking, or at least, slowing down reform initiatives in Morocco required a historical synthesis of the sociopolitical conditions that led up to the adoption of these reform projects. Therefore, the second chapter offers glimpses into these conditions as well as a chronological progression of these projects.

Once again, the study takes on a more focused turn as the second part of this chapter draws on a series of documents and reports issued by International organizations. Reports which arguably have had a substantial leverage on Moroccan educational reform policies since 1979. It is worth noting at this stage that there exists an endless number of documents addressing the situation of the education reforms of Morocco. Periodic reports that are issued on an annual basis by national and international basis aiming to highlight factors of failure, and to suggest recommendations to better manage the educational sector for better outcomes.

Chapter Three:

The last three chapters of this study take a practical turn as they attempt to look into implemented educational reform policies, and demonstrate how the economic and political dimensions become indispensable forces to reckon with in any educational visions of reform.

The third chapter employs a discourse analysis approach that places emphasis on referential texts. In more concrete terms, the chapter examines

examples of articles present in *The National Charter of Education and Training* (2000-2009) as well as in *The Strategic Vision 2015-2030*. Articles that lay focus on ‘alternate language education’ and the integration of ‘vocational instruction’ into the system of education.

The second part of chapter three offers a sketchy analysis of the Moroccan society based on local literature. This analysis, based on findings drawn from American and Moroccan studies, is meant to introduce and identify the different social classes constituting the Moroccan social fabric. The objective of chapter three is twofold : Firstly, to determine the compatibility of state educational policies with referential reform texts. Secondly, to detect the degree to which the Moroccan education system contributes to the shaping and reproduction of the Moroccan structure.

Chapter Four :

Chapter four carries on its investigation of patterns of reproduction inherent in the Moroccan educational discourse. Whereas chapter three examines perceptions of educational reforms in referential texts and endeavours to demonstrate how the education system is being restructured and reconfigured following the enterprise model, chapter four employs a theme-based or content-based discourse analysis of textbook samples that dates back to 1923 onwards.

By studying samples of lessons selected from a variety of textbooks used in Moroccan schools at different periods of pre and post-independence Morocco, chapter four seeks to capture and identify the socio-educational properties forming the dominant pedagogical discourse during these periods. Discoursal properties that often aligned, as it shall be demonstrated, with the political will of the ruling elites and, at later periods, the global economic agendas of international financial organizations.

Chapter Five:

Chapter five represents the final practical part of this study. It differs from its two preceding chapters in that while chapter three and four appear to be more focused on the textual and the thematic properties of educational discourse in Morocco, chapter five takes on an on-site approach to the study of the impact of educational reform policies on Moroccan students. In more explicit terms, a fieldwork study using quantitative and qualitative research methods is carried out in order to measure Moroccan students' receptivity of, and the eventual adaptability to the implemented reform policies.

The quantitative and qualitative research procedures aim to examine the perceptions of students from high school and higher institutions. The explored fields in the quantitative part of this chapter involve aspects related to school performance, fluency in foreign languages, curriculum content, and institutional organization. As for the qualitative part, the research elicits and analyzes impressions and views of students about the system of education as a whole. The issues raised look into questions of equality, academic meritocracy, social equity, and curricular efficiency.

Findings, Originality and Significance of the Study.

Following a multifaceted research approach involving discursive, quantitative, and qualitative analyses of textual as well as systemic properties of the educational discourse in Morocco, we came to the following conclusions:

- The Moroccan education system in its present form contributes to the classification and the reproduction of society through its varied pedagogical offer. This is evidence by the presence of a variety of education sectors (mission, private, public, and religious).
- Official discourse of educational reform (referential texts) celebrating qualities of equity, citizenship, and inclusiveness does not correspond to implemented reform policies. Policies that promote free market ideals of privatization, economy liberalization, and entrepreneurship.
- Moroccan programs of instruction, textbooks in particular, reinforce a pedagogical discourse, which derives its conceptual substance from a global neoliberal mode of thought. Inculcating concepts such as competency, skill, proficiency, vocational instruction, and professional abilities into programs of instruction gives credence and credibility to this claim, as it has been showcased in chapter four.

The originality of this study lies in the fact that it is a timely research that would hopefully help in the current national debate about the crisis in the Moroccan educational system. The Major higher education reform related to what is known as “the Bachelor” –and that the current minister of education intends to implement starting from the next academic year—is there to confirm the need for such pieces of research.