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**The Educational Governance for Democratic Citizenship
Education in Morocco: Theory and Practice**

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fulfillment of the requirements
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Thesis Summary

Citizenship has been sparked recently by a number of political and social events and trends throughout the world (the Arab Spring; civil and sectarian war; refugee crisis; migration and cross border mobility). These events and others have made clear that the health and stability of a modern democracy depends, not only on the justice of its 'basic structure' (Rawl, 1993), but also on the values and attitudes of its citizens: e.g., their sense of identity, and how they view potentially competing forms of national, regional, ethnic or religious identities; their ability to tolerate and work together with others who are different from themselves; their desire to participate in the political process in order to promote the public good and hold political authorities accountable; their willingness to show self-restraint and exercise personal responsibility in their economic demands, and in personal choices which affect their health and the environment. Without citizens who possess these qualities, democracies become difficult to govern, even unstable.

It is widely recognized that a basic task of schooling is to prepare each new generation for their responsibilities as citizens. As such, the need to create a knowledgeable and responsible citizenry was one of the major reasons for establishing a public school system, and for making education mandatory. Citizenship education is not just a matter of learning the basic facts about the institutions and procedures of political life; it also involves acquiring a range of dispositions, skills, competencies, and loyalties which are intimately bound up with the practice of democratic citizenship. Children acquire these virtues and loyalties not just (or even primarily) in civics classes. Rather, they are inculcated throughout the educational system.

This study seeks to identify how citizenship is interpreted in educational policies and practiced in and outside of the school context by teachers and students in Morocco. It mainly explores the perceptions of the various stakeholders groups (policy makers, teachers, students) of their conceptions to citizenship, identity and citizenship education to help in identifying where citizenship education in Morocco is located in the continuum of citizenship and whether Liberal minimal or communitarian maximal values prevail in policy and practice. The ongoing political developments in the MENA region with the Arab Spring that manifest a low trust in politics and civic apathy demonstrate the importance of searching the relationship between politics, citizen identity formation and citizenship education. The thesis sets as its research objectives to describe how citizenship is framed in policy documents and textbooks and taught in the classroom and practiced in society; to identify the multiple factors most importantly social and political, in which this educational process takes place. Consequently, this study wishes to set the educational process of citizenship and citizenship education in a larger theoretical framework, examining it from several parallel prisms such as theories of ideology, pedagogy, curriculum and social and political contexts.

The study revolves around five key research questions that concern the different perceptions of citizenship and citizenship education that are held by the different stakeholders:

1. How is citizenship and citizenship education conceptualized within the Moroccan official discourse in terms of definition, objectives and expected outcomes; how are they transformed during implementation in practice?

2. How is citizenship expressed through the curriculum; what is the approach being adopted by the state to inculcate citizenship in its students; is it in favor of a nationalist approach or more globalized one; do the textbooks cultivate the skills of the 21st century?
3. How school related civic activities develop students' knowledge of citizenship and stimulate active participation and social change?\
4. What aspects of citizenship education are prioritized in the policymakers and teachers perception of citizenship and what are their aspirations for a good citizen?
5. How much do students know about citizenship related concepts; what are the factors affecting them; does their citizenship identity apply to the well defined Marshallian citizenship criteria; and what are the reasons and consequences of their attitude towards their country? Is it justified?

To address the first question, I selected the Strategic Vision for Reform 2015-2030. Framed by global and regional trends related to the Vision 2030 Agenda in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) after the Arab Spring, as well as existing national-level research on the implementation of Morocco's previous education reform (i.e., The National Education and Training Charter; The Analytical Report on the Implementation of the National Education and Training Charter). This research question will analyze policy messaging and ideological underpinnings of the new focus on developing Moroccan youth as active citizens. Specifically, the analysis concentrates on The Strategic Vision for Reform, chapter 3 ("For a school that

develops the individual and society”), lever 18 (“Enact a society of citizenship, democracy and equality”), arguably initiating significant new meanings and directions for policy formation related to Moroccan youth within the scope of formal and non-formal education. Drawing on policy analysis of these sections of the reform documentation, I examine the various recommendations that reference national Moroccan citizenship education. In analyzing these new meanings and directives regarding Moroccan citizenship education, I am able to better frame what is arguably the main conception of the Moroccan citizen and consider the potential challenges in the implementation of the reform within the social, cultural, economic and political context of Morocco.

The second question about the social studies curriculum was explored through textbook analysis. Instead of being viewed as a collection of study plans, syllabic and teaching subjects, the curriculum becomes the outcome of a process reflecting a political and societal agreement about the role of education in cultivating the desired society of the future (Tedesco et al, 2014). This question investigates citizenship education of primary school social studies curriculum in Morocco with reference to pedagogy documents, the White Book and teacher’s guide documents. I examine the citizenship conceptions from the 4th, 5th and 6th grade textbooks. The selection of materials is based on the fact that students are exposed for the first time to explicit citizenship issues beyond their home province and that certain habits, practices, a set of skills and a way of life are nurtured from an early childhood age. Drawing on a qualitative content analysis, I explore the extent to which particular civic issues and values are prioritized or excluded, the extent to which scales of active participation (social and political) are presented or hidden, and the extent to which national, global/cosmopolitan social identities are promoted.

The third question explores the role of non-formal education in citizenship learning and behavioral change. The study focuses on one extracurricular program entitled ‘The Friends of Nature’ that was provided in a Moroccan private middle school. The activity is conducted in a private school named ‘LAMZIBRI’ in the capital city of Rabat-Salé, Morocco, providing education from primary to secondary level (from age 5 to age 17). The school provides students with a variety of extracurricular activities in terms of school clubs including sport clubs, art clubs (Music, Theater and Drama), scientific clubs (Mental Calculus) and environmental clubs (The Friends of Nature). All extracurricular activities in the school are totally voluntary and do not affect academic school grades. ‘The Friends of Nature’ is an extracurricular activity developed by the school and moderated by two teachers (life and earth science, and social studies) to promote agency for social ecological transformation. Adopting a qualitative research method approach, data consisted of thirty (n30) students from 7th, 8th and 9th grades and two teachers (social studies and life and earth science teacher).

Data were collected over the course of three months through multiple data collection tools, namely observation, student focus group discussions and teachers interviews. The activity helps engage students in a series of environmental activities, where they have opportunities to identify environmental problems, to promote education for sustainable development and to improve their environmentally conscious behavior that motivates them to willingly participate and take actions for preserving nature in their community; and to develop creative solutions for this problem. The data were analyzed using a content analysis method. I have chosen secondary school students following Piaget’s theory of cognitive development that posits the fact that children over 11 years old have reached the last stage, the formal operational stage, which is

characterized by acquisition of the ability to think abstractly, reason logically and draw conclusions from the information available.

The fourth question examines how teachers perceive and understand citizenship based on their personal experiences. Also, I attempt to identify the extent to which these beliefs, perceptions, and understandings are manifested in the classroom and influence the students' views and attitudes in real life. The research reported in this study embodied qualitative data gathered via interviews with six (6) teachers from one private (Lamzibri) and four (4) public (Lala Aisha) schools in Rabat, Morocco. The teacher population for the study was defined as all teachers teaching civic related school subjects to the students in secondary schools. In addition, interviews carried out with three (3) policymakers, who are members of the ministerial committee assigned to draft the national curriculum and instructional materials for the Arabic language within the framework of the National Program for Reading activity under the new vision 2030 reform. Collecting information from policymakers will complement the data to be obtained from document analysis. With regard to the policymakers, selection was limited due to the small number of the population and was based on availability. Consequently, the sampling selection process was purposeful, since the data were chosen based on the assumption that the study of these samples can provide the richest and broadest information.

Finally, the fifth research question compares the ways in which public and private university students in Morocco approach the controversial relationship between citizenship and identity. By revealing students' self identification and the role socio-economic factors have in this process, we seek to gain knowledge about the extent to which citizenship is perceived as a

legal status as opposed to membership in a political community and how the transformation inherent in global market capitalism and the distribution of resources affect the youth's behaviors and attitudes towards social action. For this study, I select contexts in which issues of citizenship and identities are contested and an enhanced "us" versus "they" dynamics are explicitly raised. The sample consisted of 150 students, representing the public and private dichotomy divide through four differently located Moroccan universities, namely Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Mohammed V University, Al-Akhawayn University and International University of Rabat. The universities were selected on the basis of specific criteria related to national ranking (top universities in Morocco), diverse socio-economic standards (private and public), and different geographic lines (Rabat, Fes, Ifrane). The focus on adolescents reflects an analytically relevant picture, as this age group has already developed a coherent understanding of citizenship norms and values and is likely to be affected by developmental trends (Dalton, 2007). At this age, adolescents are more aware of differences and other political concepts and many of them already participate in civil and political society's activities. Using a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods, the study drew on two main data sources namely semi-structured interviews and questionnaire that is distributed online (using Google form).

The research design for this study entailed a mixed method approach to understand a complex social phenomenon, citizenship education in Morocco, which is socially constructed. In order to capture a comprehensive understanding of citizenship education and citizen formation, the research included two dimensions: national official discourse and educational practice. As a way of investigating official discourse, document analysis using qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis was used mainly to understand the government's perspective on citizenship

education and to determine how educational materials which are utilized in education practice described the good citizen. Interviews using an interpretivist methodology, with policy makers, teachers and students provided additional information in order to gauge educators' perceived rationales and implementing citizenship education. Hence, this research provides a comprehensive study of the policy, school, and classroom level, combining interviews and observations with the study of documents.

The study revealed that the education policies introduced by the 'National Charter of Education' and the 'Strategic Vision for Reform 2015-2030' have a particular vision for the relationship between the citizen and the state that combines characteristics from both the minimal and maximal versions of citizenship (McLaughlin, 1992). However, the content of the documents with respect to citizenship education seems to reflect a tension between the two perspectives. Banks (2004) argues that citizenship education confronts a dilemma because there are significant gaps between the lessons taught in school about ideal democratic values and social practice and institutional structures. The NCTE and Vision 2030 stress the need to educate a virtuous and patriotic citizen, proud of their belonging and aware of their rights and duties towards their country, community and family and ready to serve the country. At the same time, the NCTE and Vision 2030 recognize the need to make autonomous and creative citizens who are capable of taking part in the development of their country. These aspirations have been reflected in the content that students are expected to cover in the updated curriculum, which is basically geared towards making an 'informed' citizen as well as developing positive attitudes for the good practices of active citizenship. Yet, the optimal presence of the maximal version in

the curriculum is faced with contradictory pedagogical practices that hamper critical citizenship education.

The preparation of young people for the exercise of their rights and the undertaking of their responsibilities as good citizens is partly related to the potential state's visions for citizen formation. Do students in Morocco learn how to participate in public decision-making? Are they taught to see themselves as individual actors who work with others to create a better society? Are they taught the skills they need to think for themselves and to govern collectively? I would like to believe that they do but the results of my analysis have shown that teaching and learning - in both public and private schools - do not always conform to democratic goals and ideals. If being a good citizen requires thinking critically and acquiring behavioral competencies and skills to promote active engagement in order to succeed in school and life, then, that foundation of citizenship is at odds with trends in global education policies that have been shifting away from preparing active citizens and towards performance and more narrow goals of career preparation and individual economic gain. Pressures from policy makers, business groups, parents and a broad cultural shift in educational priorities have resulted in schools being seen as conduits for individual success in standardized assessments; therefore, opportunities aimed at exploring active citizenship have been crowded out.

At this point, I come to the conclusion that goals and practices represented in the classroom and curricula seek to build a personally responsible citizen (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) kind by emphasizing either good character (honesty, integrity, self-discipline, hard work, and compassion by engaging students in volunteer community service) or technical knowledge of

legislatures and how government works. These are all desirable traits for people living in a community but they are not about democratic citizenship. Far less common are aspirations for teaching students to think about root causes of injustice or challenge existing social, economic, and political norms as a means for strengthening democracy. Efforts to pursue some conceptions of personal responsibility might even undermine efforts to prepare participatory and justice oriented citizens. Obedience and loyalty, for example, may work against the kind of independent thinking that effective democracy requires.

Analysis of this research reveals that citizenship education needs to be carefully addressed and applied. Undoubtedly, many factors of policy, curriculum, school and community context, and others contribute to citizenship education. Nevertheless, what teachers do and how they behave in the classroom needs special attention. While teacher education programs and textbooks may encourage active student engagement and thinking and put the learner at the center of the learning process, the teachers' daily realities and behaviors in the classroom do not always reflect this ideal and are sometimes contradictory to the ideals of citizenship education outlined in the official documents. It is crucial to admit the existence of a 'pedagogical paradox'. There is a need for space to develop and reflect on teachers' educational philosophies regarding citizenship values as their character traits can influence the students much more than any transfer of knowledge. Given that teachers' own philosophies on education play a critical role in implementing citizenship education in their classrooms, it is important to provide opportunities where teachers can learn and explore the values of citizenship education and sustainable development through training or individual research. Borrowing Freire's (1987) suggestion, Reilly and Niens (2014) argue that in order to develop critical dialogic discourse in citizenship

education, “teachers need more than subject knowledge and methodological expertise – they must develop a clear political understanding of the issues explored, which necessitates time for critical reflection and opportunities for discourse amongst teachers themselves” (p. 69). As this argument indicates, I believe not only teacher training that provides knowledge and methodological implications but also provision of time/resources to critically reflect on their own educational philosophy and values should be expanded.

Second, the results of the present research also suggest that among the several challenges that need to be considered for effective citizenship education is the quality of instruction. The decade of education with the National Charter made Morocco engaged in ambitious policy programs to expand school enrollment, especially at the lower levels. However, the increase in the number of students has been accompanied with a decrease of educational quality since increased enrollments require increased resources. The decline in quality has been further aggravated by ‘Madrassat Annajah’ which aims at increasing the students’ pass rate nationwide. The results of such policy have had negative consequences on the students’ performance and values. The students’ performance is getting poorer as indicated by TIMSS, PIRLS (2011) and Pisa (2019) results as while the values such as violence, disinterest, irresponsibility and cheating are getting more widely spread. There is a persistent need to adopt educational programs that nurture positive values such as responsibility, autonomy and hard work by making academic success a meaningful experience and a matter of merit. Furthermore, it is important to give due attention to the classroom discussion. For example, the integration of the current events into classroom discussions can be very effective in conveying political literacy. However, Vercellotti and Matto (2012) and Niemi and Junn (1998) suggest that the discussion of the current events

may require some reinforcement through educational materials like readings throughout the political articles and simulations through role playing, mock elections, and mock trials in order to trigger political attitudes.

Third, one of the primary issues that should be of major concern for the policy makers and curriculum developers is the ‘disconnect with reality’ present in the Moroccan textbooks. References in the textbooks to the civic concepts related to civic society and systems, civic principles, identities and civic participation remain disconnected from the contradictions reflected by the political and social realities. For instance, most textbooks at the primary levels, do not address the prevalence of serious deviations in the Moroccan society from democracy such as corruption, the absence of transparency and public accountability (Faour, 2013). Similarly, though efforts are made to promote the Universal Declaration of Human Rights explicitly in the textbooks, they do not necessarily reflect the reality of the human rights conditions in the Moroccan society. Moreover, it is important to select civic content that lends itself to practical implementation inside and outside the classroom instead of being merely theoretical. This issue has, in fact, been stressed by the different teachers who insisted on the fact that what is presented in the textbooks in terms of civic content remains isolated information students have to restate to the teachers in the exams.

Last but not least, while the concept of citizenship education places a high value on civic engagement, there seems to be little evidence for concern about taking actions as active citizens in the documents and implementation. Indeed, volunteering is the most frequently mentioned action. Accordingly, it is necessary to suggest a variety of active ways of involvement besides

donating and volunteering. Schools should be more inclusive of the different agents of citizenship education. The proposition calls for more effective opening on the social environment and the broadening of the scope of the pedagogical interventions, regardless of any political considerations; reference here is to the different associations and civil society organizations. In addition, different aspects of the school life, most notably the school clubs, extracurricular activities and events should be enhanced and reinforced by taking the necessary measures that would help teachers invest time and energy for an effective and dynamic role of these clubs. Research shows that attending meetings, service learning, meeting with community leaders, and field trips, can enlighten students about civic engagement, especially if the curriculum is directly linked to the experience (Youniss & Yates, 1997). It is assumed that through their participation in the program, students will meaningfully develop various citizenship values and dispositions such as leadership, effective communication, critical thinking, and writing skills and others.

The present thesis is organized into six chapters. Chapter one deals with contested meanings attached to citizenship and citizenship education and explores how the concepts have evolved within a human rights framework, which promotes positive values and attitudes that enable young people to see the reciprocity between pursuing fulfillment of rights and upholding the rights of others. It also suggests that discussion regarding citizenship has changed over time and implications of the 21st century, including increased globalization and trans-nationality, are evidence that citizenship and identity can no longer be viewed in relation to the nation-state. The chapter underlines the globalization debate as a new pressing phenomenon with important implications for school and learning. It also identifies some of the problems and challenges that globalization has brought, especially for our planet's ecology and sustainability, with an urgent

need to consider global citizenship education because it is about becoming informed citizens, developing skills of enquiry, communication, participation and responsible action.

Chapter two examines citizenship education in Morocco and how key principles such as citizenship and activism have been formulated through examining the social, political, economic and cultural contextual factors. The evolution of citizenship education has been parallel to key political changes in the history of the Moroccan kingdom. These could be classified into three periods: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial. The chapter also introduces the Moroccan National Charter of Education, the Moroccan Constitution 2011 and the Strategic Vision for Reform 2015-2030 and provides a critical analysis of them for the purpose of exploring the ideals underpinning citizenship education in the Moroccan educational reform. The developments in education are discussed and some recent research is used to interrogate these developments further.

Chapter three underlines important debate about the socio-cultural and political context for the Arab Spring to understand the meaning behind citizens' demands for citizenship. The so-called Arab Spring is a historical world and regional phenomenon that makes ordinary people speak out for freedom and fundamental citizenship rights as well as their aspirations for the establishment of a democratic regime after decades of authoritarian rule and brutality in their respective countries. The chapter reflects on the different forms of social mobilization and collective action especially within the frame of a civil society perspective to develop active and engaged citizens; also examines citizenship education approach in the MENA region. The chapter also discusses the government promotion of citizenship education in the MENA as well

as the vision 2030 educational reforms, which evolved around key competencies and skills of “literacy and numeracy, as well as analytical problem-solving and other high level cognitive, interpersonal and social skills needed to promote human rights, gender equality, peace and nonviolence and appreciation of cultural diversity through education for sustainable development and global citizenship education” (UNESCO, 2015).

Chapter four outlines the methodology and describes the research design adopted in this study. The chapter begins with research objectives and questions. Then, it proceeds with a discussion of the mixed method approach, data collection and analysis and further discusses the limitations of the methodological approach.

Chapter five discusses the research findings in this study by presenting the major themes and addressing the main research questions based on the information obtained from the data collected and in light of the review of the literature and theoretical framework described. Through interviews, observations, questionnaire and documentary analysis, I sought to explore citizenship discourse and how it relates to citizenship education expressed through the overt and covert educational policies, curricula and textbooks. To be able to examine the conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education among the different stakeholders involved in this research, I looked at three groups: policymakers, teachers and students and analyzed their understandings of citizenship related issues such as democratic values and principles, citizen formation, political deficit, youth civic engagement, national unity and global citizenship education. A discussion of the implications of these findings will be presented in the final Discussion and Implications chapter (six). The thesis concludes with synthesis and concluding remarks of the study and

review of its key contributions in terms of how it builds upon the existing knowledge base of young people's active citizenship. The last chapter also links the findings to the research questions, outlines the study's limitations and possible future directions.

**THE EDUCATIONAL GOVERNANCE FOR DEMOCRATIC
CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN MOROCCO: THEORY AND PRACTICE**

Hajar IDRISSE
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THESIS DEFENSE JURY

THE EDUCATIONAL GOVERNANCE FOR DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN MOROCCO: THEORY AND PRACTICE

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DEDICATION

To my dearest parents for all the sacrifices they made for me

To my lovely sisters, Hind and Loubna

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explored the core features of citizenship education in Morocco focusing on rationales, contents, and implementation held by different stakeholders from a critical perspective. The thesis sets as its research objectives to describe how citizenship is framed in policy documents and textbooks and taught in the classroom and practiced in society; to identify the multiple factors most importantly social and political, in which this educational process takes place. Consequently, this study wished to set the educational process of citizenship and citizenship education in a larger theoretical framework, examining it from several parallel prisms such as theories of ideology, pedagogy, curriculum and social and political contexts. The present study is exploratory in nature. It adopted an embedded mixed research design that makes use of both quantitative and qualitative data, with priority assigned to the qualitative data type to explore new dimensions of experience and to cover all stakeholders' inputs.

The theoretical framework was mainly guided by world views of critical theory, social constructivism and interpretivism to examine how individuals make sense of their reality as socially constructed through social interaction between people and as shaped by historical, social, political and economic contexts and how they understand concepts such as citizenship. For the purpose of triangulation, I decided to use a multi-method approach, which combines individual interviews with policy makers and teachers; focus group interviews with students, observations, questionnaire and documentary analysis of official policy documents, curricula, textbooks, teachers' guides.

This study's main finding is the identification of a stark disparity between the conceptions of citizenship that are promoted in the official discourse and the actual practice in the classroom and society. This disparity results in the dominance of a personally responsible citizen interpretation which focuses on knowing rights and responsibilities, technical knowledge of legislatures and how government works, acquiring good character (honesty, loyalty, integrity, self-discipline, hard work, and compassion by engaging students in volunteer community service); however, critical thinking skills are neglected.

Following the scholarly discourse surrounding this topic, this study contributes to the understanding that not only is there a gap regarding the citizenship experiences and opportunities to which the students are exposed, but that the fundamental meaning of the term good and active citizenship is interpreted and promoted in a varying fashion. This study advances four primary

recommendations. First, the need for continued curriculum development and design of citizenship education studies related courses and content. Second, the need for pre-service and in-service training for teachers of citizenship education related courses, including teacher education and professional development programs. Third, the importance of experiential learning, among other forms of pedagogy and instructional practices, in furthering the goals of citizenship education. Fourth, the need for class projects, extracurricular and other experiential learning opportunities (such as fieldwork service-learning, or community programs) to cultivate student interest in citizenship education.

ABSTRACT (Arabic)

مقتضب

ناقشت هذه الأطروحة السمات الأساسية لمفهوم التربية على المواطنة في المغرب انطلاقاً من منظورها الشامل والنقدي من خلال مجموعة من المحددات: السياسات التربوية، صناع القرار، المعلمين والمتعلمين، البرامج والمناهج.

وكما يندرج هذا البحث في إطار محاولة رصد مدى تأثير برامج التربية على المواطنة كما توجهه السياسة التعليمية المنبثقة عن الميثاق الوطني للتربية والتكوين على معارف ومواقف وسلوكيات المتعلمين وكذا مدى ارتباطها بالمحيط العام داخل المؤسسة التعليمية والمجتمع وبالخلفية الاجتماعية والثقافية التي ينحدر منها المتعلم.

هذه الدراسة استكشافية في عمقها، حيث تبنت تصميمًا بحثيًا اعتمد على عدة محاور. أولاً، جمع المعطيات باستخدام مقاربات ومخرجات علمية زاجت بين الكم والكيف. ولغرض التثليث، قررت استخدام أساليب تجمع بين المقابلات الفردية مع أصحاب القرار، صانعي السياسات، المعلمين. وكذا المقابلات الجماعية مع التلاميذ، الملاحظات، الاستبيان، التحليل الوثائقي. ثانياً، تحليل البيانات المحصل عليها بالاعتماد على طرق متنوعة. وقد خلص هذا البحث إلى استنتاج مفاده أن الأهداف والكفايات المتعلقة بالتربية على المواطنة متناقضة مع الممارسات البيداغوجية داخل الفصول الدراسية والتي قد تؤدي إلى تقويض الجهود المبذولة لتكوين مواطنين يتسمون بالمشاركة الفعالة والإنتاجية.

تشير نتائج هذه الدراسة إلى أن المتعلمين قد تمكنوا من اكتساب المفاهيم المرتبطة بالمواطنة. كما أبان المتعلمون عن مواقف إيجابية اتجاه وطنهم وعن مواقف تدعم المساواة السياسية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية بين الجنسين وبين مختلف المجموعات الإثنية التي قد يتكون منها المجتمع مع ذلك، تظهر نفس النتائج ضعفاً على مستوى معرفتهم بما يمكن أن يشكل تهديداً للديمقراطية، كما أبانت الدراسة عن ضعف المشاركة السياسية والمدنية للمتعلمين وارتباط هذا الضعف بالمحيط العام للمدرسة والمجتمع اللذان قلما يوفران للشباب فرصاً للمشاركة السياسية حتى يتسنى لهم الإقبال عليها فيما بعد.

وأخيراً خلص هذا البحث إلى أن المتغيرات المرتبطة بالتربية على المواطنة تدخل في علاقات ثنائية تتفاعل مع بعضها البعض ينتج عنها علاقة تأثير وتأثر. فمعرفة المتعلمين بمبادئ ومفاهيم المواطنة تتفاعل مع مواقفهم اتجاه الوطن واتجاه المساواة بين الجنسين وكذا اتجاه الفئات العرقية المكونة للمجتمع المغربي، كما تتفاعل أيضاً مع مشاركتهم في الحياة العامة والسياسية والتي بدورها تتأثر بمحيطهم الأسري والمدرسي والمجتمعي

ABSTRACT (French)

Résumé

Cette thèse a exploré les principales caractéristiques de l'éducation à la citoyenneté au Maroc en se concentrant sur les justifications, les contenus et la mise en œuvre détenus par différentes parties prenantes dans une perspective critique. La thèse se fixe comme objectifs de recherche de décrire comment la citoyenneté est encadrée dans les documents politiques et les manuels et enseignée en classe et pratiquée dans la société ; identifier les multiples facteurs, surtout sociaux et politiques, dans lesquels se déroule ce processus éducatif. Par conséquent, cette étude a souhaité situer le processus éducatif de la citoyenneté et l'éducation à la citoyenneté dans un cadre théorique plus large, en l'examinant à partir de plusieurs prismes parallèles tels que les théories de l'idéologie, de la pédagogie, du curriculum et des contextes sociaux et politiques. La présente étude est de nature exploratoire. Il a adopté une conception de recherche mixte intégrée qui utilise à la fois des données quantitatives et qualitatives, la priorité étant attribuée au type de données qualitatives pour explorer de nouvelles dimensions de l'expérience et couvrir les contributions de toutes les parties prenantes.

Le cadre théorique a été principalement guidé par les visions du monde de la théorie critique, du constructivisme social et de l'interprétivisme pour examiner comment les individus donnent un sens à leur réalité telle qu'elle est socialement construite à travers l'interaction sociale entre les personnes et telle qu'elle est façonnée par les contextes historiques, sociaux, politiques et économiques et comment ils comprennent notions telles que la citoyenneté. Aux fins de la triangulation, j'ai décidé d'utiliser une approche multi-méthodes, qui combine des entretiens individuels avec des décideurs politiques et des enseignants ; entretiens de groupe avec des étudiants, observations, questionnaire et analyse documentaire de documents politiques officiels, programmes d'études, manuels, guides des enseignants.

Le principal constat de cette étude est l'identification d'une forte disparité entre les conceptions de la citoyenneté qui sont promues dans le discours officiel et la pratique réelle en classe et dans la société. Cette disparité se traduit par la prédominance d'une interprétation citoyenne personnellement responsable qui met l'accent sur la connaissance des droits et des responsabilités, la connaissance technique des assemblées législatives et du fonctionnement du

gouvernement, l'acquisition d'une bonne moralité (honnêteté, loyauté, intégrité, autodiscipline, travail acharné et compassion en s'engageant étudiants en service communautaire bénévole); cependant, les compétences de pensée critique sont négligées.

À la suite du discours scientifique entourant ce sujet, cette étude contribue à comprendre qu'il existe non seulement un écart concernant les expériences et les opportunités de citoyenneté auxquelles les étudiants sont exposés, mais que le sens fondamental du terme bonne et citoyenneté active est interprété et promu de façon variable. Cette étude avance quatre recommandations principales. Premièrement, la nécessité de poursuivre l'élaboration de programmes et la conception de cours et de contenus liés aux études d'éducation à la citoyenneté. Deuxièmement, la nécessité d'une formation initiale et continue pour les enseignants des cours liés à l'éducation à la citoyenneté, y compris des programmes de formation des enseignants et de développement professionnel. Troisièmement, l'importance de l'apprentissage par l'expérience, parmi d'autres formes de pédagogie et de pratiques pédagogiques, dans la poursuite des objectifs de l'éducation à la citoyenneté. Quatrièmement, le besoin de projets de classe, d'opportunités d'apprentissage parascolaire et d'autres possibilités d'apprentissage expérientiel (telles que l'apprentissage par le service sur le terrain ou les programmes communautaires) pour cultiver l'intérêt des élèves pour l'éducation à la citoyenneté.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAQDAS: Computer Assisted Data Analysis Software

CEDAW: Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CITI: Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative

CSEFRS: The Higher Council for Education, Training and Scientific Research

CSO: Civil Society Organization

ESD: Education for Sustainable Development

GCE: Global Citizenship Education

GCED: Global Citizenship Education

HCA: Hermeneutic Content Analysis

HCETSR: Higher Council for Education, Training and Scientific Research

HRE: Human Rights Education

MENA: Middle East and North Africa

NAFTA: The North American Free Trade Agreement

NCET: The National Charter for Education and Training reform

NCSS: The National Council for the Social Studies

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

NISSEM: Networking to Integrate SDG Target 4.7 and SEL into Educational Materials

OECD: The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

PIRLS: Progress in International Reading Literacy Study

PISA: International Student Assessment

SECRET: the Special Commission for the Reform of Education and Training

SDG: Sustainable Development Goals

TIMSS: Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study

UNCRC: United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

UNESCO: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNDP: The United Nations Development Programme

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Recent years have witnessed an upsurge of interest in the social orientation of living together and building society. Human beings are social beings that need each other, and have some responsibility not only for themselves but also for other people and for society. It is not only about a recognition of humanity (Nussbaum, 1997), but also about building communities and social cohesion in society (Putnam, 2000), about living together in a culturally diverse world (Banks, 2004; 2017), about taking responsibility for a global world (Appiah, 2005). Accordingly, this requires attention for equality, empathy, tolerance, solidarity, care, respect, democracy, and so on. This means that citizenship education is becoming very relevant not in the form of abstract moral values but as values embedded in social, cultural and political practices. Then, the features of the good citizen take a new shape, driven by the need to equip both the individual and the society with the adequate values, skills and competencies deemed necessary for more active citizenship.

Contemporary debates about the role of citizens in processes of development have often focused on institutionally-orchestrated forms of participation. As part of democracy promotion initiatives, state governments and numerous international organizations launched and carried out projects aimed at assisting the democratization efforts especially with the new destructive challenges and demands for social and political arrangements that go beyond the systems currently in place. Nevertheless, the spread of democratic institutions has been accompanied by public skepticism or apathy expressed in declining membership of political parties, low trust in politicians, and low voter turn-out. Thus, the meanings of citizenship as membership of a political

community have changed, so the emphasis on rights, duties, participation and identities has altered (Dalton, 2008a). Examining the new norms of citizenship, Dalton (2008b) argues that new patterns of citizenship have been developed among the youth and definition of what a good citizen means changed as well. More specifically, Dalton asserts that if in the past a good citizen meant to obey the laws, to pay taxes, to trust the government, to vote, to be a member of a political party, at present due to changing social conditions, being a good citizen means being an active, participatory and engaged citizen, leading from volunteerism to active citizenship, from charity to social entrepreneurship, from paternalism to community based action (Tisch & Weber, 2010).

In times of rapid social change, it is not surprising that education as an agency of socialization is particularly affected. One of society's key institutions for building, communicating, legitimizing, debating and reconstructing the different forms of citizenship, nationalism, unity in diversity and even global and cosmopolitan and planetary citizen identities is the school through citizenship education. Citizenship education without a critical view of democracy and society is more about social control rather than social change whereas the real challenge for citizenship education is to be relevant to the inculcation of an open, participatory democratic culture that contributes to individual and collective agency (Moir & Crowther, 2017). In that sense, citizenship education has been argued to be one of the most easily and swiftly controllable subjects that should help to implement state policy and disseminate the appropriate ideology (Kalmus & Pavelson, 2002). It is conceived of as the finest tool of indoctrination the state can use to instill chosen values in children at a very young age.

Citizenship education in most parts of the Arab World flourishes in a socio-political landscape that is geared toward the deconstruction of nationalism and loyalty as the narrative of

the nation through re-envisioning citizenship as both a constitutional and a necessity within the milieu of the Arab culture (Abdul-Jabbar, 2016). However, the so-called Arab Spring process which has led to great and unexpected transformation in the greater MENA over the last couple of years has changed socio-political structures and had, and continues to have a profound effect on citizenship education and citizen formation.

Morocco is no exception to the wave. The developments of loyalty, sense of belonging, community feelings, social solidarity and civic mindedness have always been guiding ideals in the Moroccan education policy since independence in 1956. These educational aspirations promote an ongoing discussion about educational reforms. However, the intervention of the World Bank report in 1995 on the drastic situation of the Moroccan educational system, led the Moroccan King, late Hassan II, to appoint the Special Commission for the Reform of Education and Training (SCRET) in 1996 in an attempt to meet those insisting requirements necessary for the economic and social development of the country that faced problems of poverty, unemployment, drop out and high rates of illiteracy especially among rural girls. In 2000, the commission launched the National Charter for Education and Training reform (NCET) which has been considered the most important education reform launched since Moroccan independence, placing “learners in general and children in particular, at the core of the reflective and pedagogical action. From this perspective, it has to offer to the children of Morocco the conditions that are necessary for their development and accomplishment” (NCET, 2000). The charter provides the roadmap for the Moroccan educational system in general and forwarding a series of recommendations towards their realization.

The conceptualization of citizenship has equally gained a new framework within the charter, which has brought about new insights and directions. A country previously comfortable with the notions of conventional citizenship that favor civic knowledge and stress submissiveness and blind loyalty (Laroui, 2016), became witness to the expansion of initiatives that advocated active citizenship with the aim to nurture a citizen who is personally responsible (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) virtuous, participatory and loyal. This conceptualization has become part of the curriculum from primary school to secondary education and is implemented through an integrated approach. In terms of the time allocated for instruction, Morocco allocates up to one-hour per/week, taught in alternation between the other two subject components within the social studies course, namely history and geography. No citizenship education is taught below fourth grade or after tenth grade.

However, fifteen years later, it seems quite legitimate to ask whether the decade of education has come to realize some of its objectives vis-a-vis citizenship education, especially when data from international reports and national surveys is considered (e.g. TIMSS, PIRLS). The release of these reports caused a great stir among Moroccan institutional and social spheres. In 2008, the state responded according to the king's recommendations, where he urged the government to reconsider the reform of education in depth. For this reason, the High Council for Education announced the Emergency Reform 2009-2012 plan with the aim to accelerate the implementation of reform according to what had been stipulated by the NCET. Unfortunately, paradoxes to the objectives of the NCET transcend the students' behaviors to reach the general school climate. The school, which is considered by the charter as the cradle for experiencing democratic practices by young people, turns out to be an arena where they might experience various anti-democratic behaviors; there is widespread public concern about the perceived rise of a range of risky and

problematic behavior such as alcohol consumption, drug taking and sexual behavior amongst some young people.

On the one hand, the aims of policy reform evoke a maximal conception of citizenship education, and on the other, the interpretation and impact of policy in practice, reflects a more minimal or ‘personally responsible’ approach. Hence, the outcomes of the decade of education were not encouraging, and the reform unanimously approved by all actors, partners and stakeholders failed for many reasons. Most important were: the lack of adjustment to the needs of the labor market, the high unemployment rate, the lack of trained and skilled teachers who possess the right pedagogical tools to deliver educational targets, a focus on memorization over critical thinking and the lack of cooperation with civil society organizations (Chafi et al, 2016; Hamouchi et al, 2012).

Inspired by the Arab Spring, Morocco adopted a new constitution in 2011, which gave special attention to a set of shared national values. While certainly rhetorically reflecting the main tenets of citizenship and values education, there was not an immediate parallel education policy reform to enact this constitutional reform. There have been a number of critical assessments on the lack of implementation of citizenship and values education. For example, the Chairman of the Higher Council for Education, Training and Scientific Research (CSEFRS), Omar Azziman, presented a report on the evaluation of the educational system at a press conference and said “results revealed shocking facts and our education is in danger especially with a degradation of values.” By the same token, the report stresses “there is a huge disparity between the discourse on values, rights and obligations and day-to-day practices”. The report comes as a response to

certain conditions of cheating, violence, gender inequality, harassment and the violation of human rights that have proliferated within the Moroccan school.

Indeed, a recommitment to the civic mission of schools requires a reassessment of the Moroccan educational system, and an investigation of the citizenship curriculum. As a result, the Higher Council of Education, Training and Scientific Research presented the Strategic Vision for Reform of the Moroccan school 2015-2030, known under its title as Vision 2030. The document articulates 23 priority projects including the promotion of values education, life skills and personality development. Based on a participatory approach, this vision is meant to build a new school that promotes fairness and equality of opportunities, a quality education for all, and the integration of the individual and his social progress. The reform depicts a Moroccan citizen as someone who ‘adheres to the religious, national and institutional foundations of Morocco; is committed to the national identity with its diverse components; is proud of belonging to this nation state and able to strike a balance between his rights and duties’ (CSEFRS, 2015, p.9). Citizenship in the new reform also includes the requirement that students must be equipped with civic values and dispositions, as well as values of equality, tolerance, openness to universal values, respect the right of diversity, and fully aware of his rights and responsibilities towards the family, the community and the nation at large; and involved in the democratic life and social development of his country (CSEFRS, 2015, p. 9). In this way, the constructed narrative of the new vision reform offers more of a minimalist perspective on national citizenship (McLaughlin, 1992). It focuses again on the teaching of procedural knowledge and adopts a liberal-communitarian perspective, which has been associated with the personally responsible citizen (Kahne & Westheimer, 2004).

In a context like Morocco, which is in the process of a post Arab Spring democratic transition, global shifts suggest a (re)imagination of the traditional, national and patriotic student who is blindly prescribed to unquestion versions of truth and show pride and sense of belonging. Citizenship, in the era of globalization and information technology, emphasized community participation focused not just on legal rights, but citizens being active social subjects, defining their rights, and struggling for these rights to be recognized. Moreover, globalization has brought a new focus to education policy and practice, where interventions of global citizenship education (GCED) and education for sustainable development (ESD) take place in recognition of our global interdependence and shared rights and responsibilities as global citizens. Parts of these reforms have underscored the need to “cultivate the 21st century citizen” (Pashby, 2011) in order to increase educational and economic competitiveness on a global scale and meet the needs of the ever more linguistic and culturally diverse student population (Spring, 2006). These emphases on preparing the 21st century citizen for the global age are present at the international level, with a growing enthusiasm for educating for global citizenship and global competence (OECD, 2018; UNESCO, 2015). Current global education reforms are thus embedded in an increasingly universalized web of ideas, models and visions that are shared among a range of political actors and which aim to promote values-based and action-oriented education to face social challenges and function productively in an interdependent world community (Engel, 2009; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Schriewer, 2000).

Within all these different theories and aspirations for citizen formation, the dominance of a personally responsible interpretation of citizenship in the Moroccan educational system presents a fundamental challenge for its potential to develop a participative democracy and a more socially just world. However, to understand the dominance of this interpretation we need to understand

the wider context from which this dominance arises. This study seeks to identify how citizenship is interpreted in educational policies and practiced in and outside of the school context by teachers and students in Morocco. It mainly explores the perceptions of the various stakeholders groups (policy makers, teachers, students) of their conceptions to citizenship, identity and citizenship education to help in identifying where citizenship education in Morocco is located in the continuum of citizenship and whether Liberal minimal or communitarian maximal values prevail in policy and practice. The ongoing political developments in the MENA region with the Arab Spring that manifest a low trust in politics and civic apathy demonstrate the importance of searching the relationship between politics, citizen identity formation and citizenship education. The thesis sets as its research objectives to describe how citizenship is framed in policy documents and textbooks and taught in the classroom and practiced in society; to identify the multiple factors most importantly social and political, in which this educational process takes place. Consequently, this study wishes to set the educational process of citizenship and citizenship education in a larger theoretical framework, examining it from several parallel prisms such as theories of ideology, pedagogy, curriculum and social and political contexts.

The study revolves around five key research questions that concern the different perceptions of citizenship and citizenship education that are held by the different stakeholders:

1. How is citizenship and citizenship education conceptualized within the Moroccan official discourse in terms of definition, objectives and expected outcomes; how are they transformed during implementation in practice?

2. How is citizenship expressed through the curriculum; what is the approach being adopted by the state to inculcate citizenship in its students; is it in favor of a nationalist approach or more globalized one; do the textbooks cultivate the skills of the 21st century?
3. How school related civic activities develop students' knowledge of citizenship and stimulate active participation and social change?
4. What aspects of citizenship education are prioritized in the policymakers and teachers perception of citizenship and what are their aspirations for a good citizen?
5. How much do students know about citizenship related concepts; what are the factors affecting them; does their citizenship identity apply to the well defined Marshallian citizenship criteria; and what are the reasons and consequences of their attitude towards their country? Is it justified?

To address the first question, I selected the Strategic Vision for Reform 2015-2030. Framed by global and regional trends related to the Vision 2030 Agenda in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) after the Arab Spring, as well as existing national-level research on the implementation of Morocco's previous education reform (i.e., The National Education and Training Charter; The Analytical Report on the Implementation of the National Education and Training Charter). This research question will analyze policy messaging and ideological underpinnings of the new focus on developing Moroccan youth as active citizens. Specifically, the analysis concentrates on chapter 3 ("For a school that develops the individual and society"), lever 18 ("Enact a society of citizenship, democracy and equality"), arguably initiating significant

new meanings and directions for policy formation related to Moroccan youth within the scope of formal and non-formal education. The second research question addresses the curriculum and textbooks, which are considered as essential transmitters of the state's official and in fact ideal version of citizenship. This question investigates citizenship education of primary school social studies curriculum in Morocco with reference to pedagogy documents and teacher's guide documents. I explore the extent to which particular civic issues and values are prioritized or excluded, the extent to which scales of active participation (social and political) are presented or hidden, and the extent to which national, global/cosmopolitan social identities are promoted.

The third question explores the role of non-formal education in citizenship learning and behavioral change. The study focuses on one extracurricular program entitled 'The Friends of Nature' that was provided in a Moroccan private middle school that attempts to develop active citizenship and global citizenship. Data consisted of thirty (n30) students from 7th, 8th and 9th grades and two teachers (social studies and life and earth science teacher). The Fourth question examines how teachers perceive and understand citizenship based on their personal experiences. Also, I attempt to identify the extent to which these beliefs, perceptions, and understandings are manifested in the classroom and influence the students' views and attitudes in real life. Data for this question are gathered via interviews with six (6) teachers from one private (Lamzibri) and four (4) public (Lala Aisha) schools in Rabat, Morocco. In addition, interviews were carried out with three (3) policymakers, who are members of the ministerial committee assigned to draft the national curriculum and instructional materials for the Arabic language within the framework of the National Program for Reading activity under the new vision 2030 reform.

Finally, the fifth research question compares the ways in which public and private university students in Morocco approach the controversial relationship between citizenship and identity. By revealing students' self identification and the role socio-economic factors have in this process, I seek to gain knowledge about the extent to which citizenship is perceived as a legal status as opposed to membership in a political community and how the transformation inherent in global market capitalism and the distribution of resources affect the youth's behaviors and attitudes towards social action. I selected contexts in which issues of citizenship and identities are contested and an enhanced "us" versus "they" dynamics are explicitly raised. The sample represented the public and private dichotomy divide through four differently located Moroccan universities, namely Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Mohammed V University, Al-Akhawayn University and International University of Rabat.

The present study is exploratory in nature. It adopts an embedded mixed research design that makes use of both quantitative and qualitative data, with priority assigned to the qualitative data type to explore new dimensions of experience and to cover all stakeholders' inputs. As Lincoln and Guba (1985) pointed out, both qualitative and quantitative research methods emphasize truth, consistency, applicability, and neutrality while taking different procedural approaches to assure quality. The choice of a mixed-method design can also be attributed to its practicality because it allows "the use of numbers and words...inductive and deductive thinking... and employ skills in observing people as well as recording behavior" (Creswell, 2006, p.10). The theoretical framework is mainly guided by world views of critical theory, social constructivism and interpretivism to examine how individuals make sense of their reality as socially constructed through social interaction between people and as shaped by historical, social, political and economic contexts and how they understand concepts such as citizenship. For the

purpose of triangulation, I decided to use a multi-method approach (Flick, 2014), which combines individual interviews with policy makers and teachers; focus group interviews with students, observations, questionnaire and documentary analysis of official policy documents, curricula, textbooks, teachers guides .

The motivation to embark on this study emerged from the observed deficiency in Moroccan student's civic knowledge as well as their negative behavioral dispositions and social values that undermine democracy and pluralism. In addition, there is a dearth of literature within empirical studies on the conception of citizenship and citizenship education among the different stakeholders in Morocco. This research contributes to the knowledge base about understanding citizenship education in the Moroccan context, which had previously been overlooked. Since the current global discourse on citizenship education is dominated by Western voices (Parmenter, 2011), this research contributes to widening scope by presenting the case that is not yet prominently shared in the global discourse. It also provides a conceptual framework to understand citizenship education in practice by capturing competing ideological foundations. The study therefore will help policy makers and academicians in addressing the gaps by way of creating the possibility of a rigorous data based approach to a number of questions in this field with implications for policy and educational practice. For example, a curriculum developer can utilize the information in this study to develop quality contents for citizenship education by adding critical reflections. Education policy makers can employ the results and recommendations of this study to develop educational policy or national curricula reflecting challenges and issues that educators confront in implementing citizenship education. The study will also show the relevance of the citizenship education subject in matters of socio-economic development at various levels in the community.

The present thesis is organized into six chapters. Chapter one deals with contested meanings attached to citizenship and citizenship education and explores how the concepts have evolved within a human rights framework, which promotes positive values and attitudes that enable young people to see the reciprocity between pursuing fulfillment of rights and upholding the rights of others. It also suggests that discussion regarding citizenship has changed over time and implications of the 21st century, including increased globalization and trans-nationality, are evidence that citizenship and identity can no longer be viewed in relation to the nation-state. The chapter underlines the globalization debate as a new pressing phenomenon with important implications for school and learning. It also identifies some of the problems and challenges that globalization has brought, especially for our planet's ecology and sustainability, with an urgent need to consider global citizenship education because it is about becoming informed citizens, developing skills of enquiry, communication, participation and responsible action.

Chapter two examines citizenship education in Morocco and how key principles such as citizenship and activism have been formulated through examining the social, political, economic and cultural contextual factors. The evolution of citizenship education has been parallel to key political changes in the history of the Moroccan kingdom. These could be classified into three periods: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial. The chapter also introduces the Moroccan National Charter of Education, the Moroccan Constitution 2011 and the Strategic Vision for Reform 2015-2030 and provides a critical analysis of them for the purpose of exploring the ideals underpinning citizenship education in the Moroccan educational reform. The developments in education are discussed and some recent research is used to interrogate these developments further.

Chapter three underlines important debate about the socio-cultural and political context for the Arab Spring to understand the meaning behind citizens' demands for citizenship. The so-called Arab Spring is a historical world and regional phenomenon that makes ordinary people speak out for freedom and fundamental citizenship rights as well as their aspirations for the establishment of a democratic regime after decades of authoritarian rule and brutality in their respective countries (Bellin, 2012). The chapter reflects on the different forms of social mobilization and collective action especially within the frame of a civil society perspective to develop active and engaged citizens; also examines citizenship education approach in the MENA region. The chapter also discusses the government promotion of citizenship education in the MENA as well as the vision 2030 educational reforms, which evolved around key competencies and skills of "literacy and numeracy, as well as analytical problem-solving and other high level cognitive, interpersonal and social skills needed to promote human rights, gender equality, peace and nonviolence and appreciation of cultural diversity through education for sustainable development and global citizenship education" (UNESCO, 2015).

Chapter four outlines the methodology and describes the research design adopted in this study. The chapter begins with research objectives and questions. Then, it proceeds with a discussion of the mixed method approach, data collection and analysis and further discusses the limitations of the methodological approach.

Chapter five discusses the research findings in this study by presenting the major themes and addressing the main research questions based on the information obtained from the data collected and in light of the review of the literature and theoretical framework described. Through

interviews, observations, questionnaire and documentary analysis, I sought to explore citizenship discourse and how it relates to citizenship education expressed through the overt and covert educational policies, curricula and textbooks. To be able to examine the conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education among the different stakeholders involved in this research, I looked at three groups: policymakers, teachers and students and analyzed their understandings of citizenship related issues such as democratic values and principles, citizen formation, political deficit, youth civic engagement, national unity and global citizenship education. A discussion of the implications of these findings will be presented in the final Discussion and Implications chapter (six). The thesis concludes with synthesis and concluding remarks of the study and review of its key contributions in terms of how it builds upon the existing knowledge base of young people's active citizenship. The last chapter also links the findings to the research questions, outlines the study's limitations and possible future directions.

CHAPTER ONE: Citizenship, Citizenship Education and Global Citizenship Education: Contested meanings

1.1. Introduction

Politicians, historians, educators and policy makers spend much time debating the multiple definitions that will drive democracy forward in the 21st century. This chapter deals with contested meanings attached to citizenship and citizenship education and explores how the concepts have evolved within a human rights framework, which promotes positive values and attitudes that enable young people to see the reciprocity between pursuing fulfillment of rights and upholding the rights of others. It also suggests that discussion regarding citizenship has changed over time and implications of the 21st century, including increased globalization and trans-nationality, are evidence that citizenship and identity can no longer be viewed in relation to the nation-state. If we accept that globalization is a new reality rather than a misnomer for other older processes, we must acknowledge that it affects all of our lives, in terms of identity, participation, rights and responsibilities (Delanty, 2000). The chapter underlines the globalization debate as a new pressing phenomenon with important implications for school and learning. It also identifies some of the problems and challenges that globalization has brought, especially for our planet's ecology and sustainability, with an urgent need to consider global citizenship education because it is about becoming informed citizens, developing skills of enquiry, communication, participation and responsible action. The chapter will suggest that effective citizenship education should be informed by a set of values and attitudes based on human rights; should facilitate participation; should enable plural and global concepts of identity and must be rooted in democratic ideals that transcend the nation state.

1.2. Citizenship

The last decade of the 20th century and the beginning years of the third millennium have shown a parallel shift in the development thought, contributing to the rise of citizenship as an emerging discourse area of debate for academics (Heater, 2004). According to Kymlicka and Norman (1994, p.352) “there has been an explosion of interest in the concept of citizenship among political theorists” and “citizenship has become the buzzword among thinkers on all points of the political spectrum”. The Western understanding of citizenship can be traced back to the Athenians, Spartans, and Romans (Horrach, 2009; Preuss, 2003) and has evolved throughout history, taking a plethora of meanings across societies. The Aristotelian concept of citizenship found its roots in the Greek term ‘Polites’ a member of a Greek ‘Polis’ or city state. Greek citizenship was exclusive and believed that people were allowed to participate in public life, with only some was qualifying as ‘politai’ or citizens regarding their natural station in life. To be a citizen of Athens it was necessary to be genealogy born of Athenian citizen family, a male aged 20 or over, a patriarch of a household, a warrior – possessing the arms and ability to fight, and a master of the labor of others – notably slaves (Finley & Finley, 1983). Citizenship was “neither a right to be claimed nor a status to be conferred on by anybody outside the established ranks of the class, no matter how worthy such an outsider might be” (Heater, 2004, p.5). All these requirements stand for eligibility to participate in the political life of the city. Many other groups of people who were classified as second class citizens lived in ancient Athens, Sparta and Rome – including children, women, slaves and foreign visitors. The question of membership became relevant such as who should have the privilege of voting for the office-bearers, and what rights were granted to the poor members of the community.

This ancient understanding was revived in the eighteenth century with bourgeoisie class and church ideology as the defining character of citizenship. The absolute monarch and Catholic Church exercised ultimate authority over the state and his subjects. A good citizen must be a catholic, contribute to the prosperity of the country, overlook selfishness and be involved or at least interested in public affairs (Merrick, 1987). The other category subjects lacked any juridical existence because of the ideology of absolutism and had to obey the monarch, the representative of God and the source of justice in this world, because this was a divine ordination. This presumption implied that Jansenists, Protestants and Jews were non-conformists and were not really citizens in good standing (Merrick, 1987, p.52). Then the French Revolution marked another important breakthrough and went on to form the basis of the modern concept of citizenship, where civil mobilization by the middle class, who requested the right to participate in political decisions, caused a change of perspective about who was considered a citizen both within and beyond French borders (Horrach, 2009). The revolution caused a shift from blind belief in the hierarchical social structure manifested in the feudal system to a call for a more egalitarian polity. According to Machiavelli, the citizen is endowed with the capacity for self-governance and has the manly and martial qualities necessary to defend the polity against any internal turmoil or external attacks.

The revolution was understood as the foundation of the nation state and the development of the modern institution of national citizenship. Burbaker (1989, p.47) claimed that the Revolution as a bourgeois revolution, created a general membership status based on equality before the law. As a democratic revolution, it revived the classical conception of active political citizenship but transformed it from a special into what was, in principle if not yet in practice, a general status. The pervasive fear of enemies grounded in the experience of wars and struggles leads to more

exclusionary forms of citizenship. Burbaker (1989, p. 43) for instance argues that a nation-state is “the state for a particular, bounded, sovereign nation to which foreigners, by definition do not belong”. By developing the legal national citizenry, citizen and foreigner turned out to be correlative, mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories. Henceforth, as a national revolution, it sharpened boundaries -and antagonisms-between the members of different nation-states. And as a state-strengthening revolution, it ‘immediatized’ and codified state-membership. National citizenship as we know it bears the stamp of all these developments (Burbaker, 1989).

To conclude, citizenship has evolved along three main dimensions (Cohen, 1999; Kymlicka & Norman, 2000; Carens, 2000). The first is legal in which the individual and the nation state are bound together by reciprocal civil, social and political rights. Following the classic reference VT.H.Marshall (1950), “citizenship may be divided into three sets of rights: civil, political and social. Civil rights secure a person’s liberty, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to justice, to own property and conclude constructs”. Moreover, “political rights cover the rights to vote and to be elected as a representative of a political institution” (p.3). Furthermore, “social rights are a person’s rights to an adequate standard of living embodied in the welfare and educational system of society” (p.3). The second dimension of citizenship considers citizens as political agents, actively participating in a society's political institutions. This form of active citizenship is at the core of discussions about participation in democratic societies. The third dimension refers to membership in a political community. Within the current political philosophy, citizenship can be defined in terms of broad theoretical approaches: Liberalism, Neoliberalism, and Republican/Communitarian. Each has different understandings of what citizenship comprises and attributes different rights and obligations to citizens which influence how citizenship education is viewed in terms of goals and expectations in educating for democratic citizenship.

1.2.1. Citizenship Models: Liberalism and Republican

In the 20th century, Liberalism was seen as an alternative to a variety of collectivist authoritarian positions, and especially to socialism. When socialism became discredited with the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, liberalism appeared to emerge as the undisputed political perspective (Honohan, 2017). The focus on the formal status of citizenship, in which citizens act to advance their own interests in terms of equal access to universal rights, has been influenced by political theorists in the liberal tradition. Citizenship in this tradition is a universal, formal legal status, with certain rights and duties, which transcends the differences between individuals. The obligations of citizenship in this model have traditionally been seen as fairly thin, amounting to obeying the laws, paying taxes, serving on juries, voting in elections and other quite determinate duties that do not affect the character or identity of the individual. In addition, freedom and respect for individual citizens led to the development of egalitarianism, which implies social and economic equality and accordingly state led redistribution and social justice. In this view, the main responsibility of each individual is respecting the law, the freedom of others and being active in the pursuit of private wealth. John Rawls, one of the main representatives of Liberalism, affirmed that citizens need the same primary goods and they should agree on a political conception of justice that states “all social primary goods-liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the bases of self-respect are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any or all of these goods is to the advantage of the least favored” (Rawls, 2009, p. 302-303).

Liberal thinkers such as Hobbes, Montesquieu and Locke put less emphasis on citizenship as a practice in the political sphere. Walzer (1989) stated that while the protection of citizens

refers to private life, the political community is only a necessary framework instead of the source of a common life. Therefore, the notion of community is reduced to an arena where different groups compete only for their private interests (Mouffe, 1992). Habermas (1994) claimed that the liberal perspective positions individuals as external to the state, as private persons that only contribute to its preservation, in the form of duties or to receive rights and benefits from the state. This passivity of political participation reinforces the status quo, pointing to citizenship's suitability as a hegemonic strategy. The focus on promoting a liberal democratic citizenry can be seen in the light of some political worries about the future of democracy. Considering a decline among youths in political participation, civic literacy, values and competencies (Ekman & Amna, 2012; Mouffe, 2009), are claimed to be missing in this conception due to the lack of commitment to principles of common good. Cohen (2013, p.33) explains that "due to the fact that sacrifices are a required part of citizenship in the modern nation state, there is a need to promote a feeling of identification between the individual citizen and the state." Thus, this liberal doctrine has been challenged by what has been called communitarian and republican approaches that emphasize the community of the common good over individual interests.

The Republican model is essentially rooted in the historical experiences from Athenian democracy and Republican Rome to the Italian city-states and is at the heart of philosophical conceptions of such authors as Aristotle, Tacitus, Cicero, Machiavelli, Harrington and Rousseau. Participation in public life was the virtue that distinguished a true citizen from that who cannot justly claim the title. A citizen within the republican tradition must not belong 'just to himself' but also to 'the polis, the city-state (Bellamy, 2008, p.34). Drawing back to citizenship practices in ancient Greece, the community was perceived as the very core of life and the polis is given priority over the individual (Heater, 1990). During the renaissance time, political theorists and

philosophers like Rousseau and Machiavelli prioritized commitment and obligation towards the political community and encouraged political participation and social engagement as the citizen's responsibility (Faulks, 2000; Heater, 1990). Here, the citizenship practice is not a duty but rather an expression of membership, identity and a sense of belonging to a political community. In this vision, "active citizens are the shapers of the public realm, constitute the state and their civic fulfillment is equated with democratic vitality" (Tam, 2010, p.11). Leadership and courage were regarded as very important to the quality of republicanism. The responsibility of citizenship, therefore, is to contribute actively to the commonwealth and to recognize at times that individual interests might need to be subjugated to a higher common good.

Rousseau (1994/1762) outlined three mechanisms through which the individual will gain freedom and equality: through the social contract that regulates citizens' rights and duties, the general will as a representation of the population's interests, and life as a virtuous citizen. He argued that the general will require certain homogeneity among the citizenry: "the further the social bond is stretched; the weaker it gets (...)" (Rousseau, Book II, chapter 9). In other words, individuals find true emancipation and freedom only in virtue of being an active member of the political community. Republican and communitarian models both advocate greater involvement and community values and both approaches offer a thick conception of citizenship that requires citizens to be politically active, voice their views in public and commit to the public good. With globalization, the capacity of political communities to protect or realize freedom has been undermined. Exercises of power by powerful states and international economic actors make more significant differences in security of non-domination and self-government. Today, the world is facing new challenges by national minorities who claim territorial autonomy and social justice

and by international migrations that create large populations of non-citizen residents inside state territories. These challenges put the viability of liberal and republican citizenship in question.

1.1.2. Citizenship from an Arab-Islamic Perspective

The contrasting paradigms of citizenship in the ancient Greek and Roman philosophy influenced the development of citizenship theories in the West more than in the Eastern world. Only after the Arab-Islamic quest did Arab scholars come across the different conceptualizations of citizenship in Ancient time. In Arabic terminology, the term citizenship, often translated as ‘El Muwattana’ was coined in the 20th century, based on ‘wata:n’ which refers to “the place where a person lives in and feels acquainted in the sense that they develop a kind of intimate affection and bonding with it. This can also include the homeland or any other place; not necessarily the place of birth or upbringing or even where the family and relatives are” (Ibn Al Affili, 1994; Mous et al., 2015). The ‘alif’ added after the first radical of the verb ‘wattana’ is defined by Arab grammarians as ‘alif al-musharakah’, denoting a sense of sharing the same place of residence with a group of ‘fellow countrymen’ in contrast to the *ajnabi*, or non-Arab foreigners (Parolin, 2007).

The terms ‘citizen’ and ‘muwa:tin’ share the common feature of being dependent on a relation with a place (namely the city) more than with an authority. However, ‘muwa:tin’ does not immediately entail the idea of a status and rights enjoyed by the subject inherently captured by ‘citizen’ (Parolin, 2007). Rather, it is limited to the simple distinction between the national and the foreigner, as Lewis (1996) puts it, ‘muwa:tin’ relates to a republican more than to a liberal ideal of citizenship, being closer to the concepts of homeland and nation than to the concepts of

liberties and rights. In the 20th century, the status of muwaṭṭin developed some civil and political implications as individual political rights began to take root. In legal terms, the equation of ‘citizen’ and muwaṭṭin is generally established, even if the contents of citizenship vary according to each country’s system (Parolin, 2007).

Approaching citizenship through membership within an Islamic framework seems a viable and promising option. The traditional Arab social structure was based on kin and brotherhood as an incentive for devotion that Islam wants to establish among Muslims (Abderrahmane, 2006) and guided by the principle of ‘ʿataklī:f’ (obligation of duties), which refers to the individuals’ responsibility in beholding their duties towards their homeland and towards their fellow citizens (El Fassi, 1952). With the Hijra of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina, the settlement manifested the most successful forms of citizenship with their religious fellows ‘ʿalʿansa:r’ since it embodied all forms of sacrifice, altruism, and brotherhood. It was also truly reflected in the principles of justice, equality, and respect for human dignity (Parolin, 2007). Al Afghani (1968) argued that citizenship in Islam is global in nature because it is built upon unanimity of faith and religion and can extend the barriers of the nation state to include humanity.

Other Arab scholars like El Kawakibi (cited in Funatsu, 2006) believed that a sense of belonging to a nation is what motivates citizens to participate and the nationalist discourse was the driving force behind the liberation of the Arab region from colonization. Ibn Achour (1999 cited in Abu Al Majd, 2010) also viewed citizenship as encompassing the emancipatory element that would free Islamic countries from the pressure of their autocratic governments to resist change and break the dogmatic public opinion propagated by the principle of ‘brotherhood’. He

prioritized the acquisition of full citizenship rights and criticized the traditional Islamic theories of heritage, and unconditional loyalty to the state.

El Jabri (2008) claimed that citizenship conception is too weak in the Arab world due to the authoritarian political reality prevailing in the Arab world where the necessary conditions of rights and freedoms which citizenship presupposes are not yet met in the region. Laroui (2016) suggested education and literacy as the only way to cultivate active citizenship and its values and principles within people to fully grasp their belonging to a state. To enjoy citizenship, citizens should know the boundaries of their freedom and act on this basis; otherwise, there must always be someone to restrain that freedom leading to a state of 'subjecthood' and not citizenship. Boutaleb (2000) stressed the point that rights are not endowed but deserved. A citizen should fulfill duties first to deserve enjoying rights, leading to the rise of democracy.

1.2.3. Identity and Nationalism

The recent upsurge of theoretical interest in citizenship over the last decade has significantly shaped a growing sensitivity to identity development. Social identity has become fundamental to explaining attitudes and behavior change through social influence (Reynolds et al., 2015). Who am I and who are we, are questions which attracted voluminous research within the field of psychology and social sciences and approved to be contesting and challenging. Studies began with Erikson's (1950-1968) theoretical expositions of ego identity formation of adolescents (represented by identity achievement and identity confusion), which enjoyed great popularity and then extended by Marcia's (1966) empirical operationalization of identity status paradigm that proposed a broader model based on exploration and commitment. Research into identity asserts

that it is a dynamic process that continues to develop throughout the lifespan and is influenced by both external and internal factors revolving around class, sexuality, ethnicity, race and gender, political environment, economics and geographical position. It is significant to contextualize that the conceptualization of identity has gone through requisite transformations principally shifting from understanding it as a fixed and stable entity that people create based on their interactions with the environment and thereafter carry with them from one context to another, to understanding identity as being dynamic, hybrid, fragmented, multiple, constructed and reconstructed (Fenwick & Farrell, 2012, p.52).

Erikson and other researchers (Ashmore & Jussim, 1997; Schwartz, 2001; Sharma & Sharma, 2010; Stryker, 1980) conceptualized identity as an individual versus societal phenomenon, tapping into cognitive, cultural and social aspects and encompassing different levels of analysis: ego, personal and social. The self is the primary actor in the identity formation process, classifying itself in particular ways in relation to other social categories that will produce identity at the end due to interaction (Stets & Burke, 2000). With interaction, identities recognize the existence of other identities as performing similar social roles, leading to the birth of a constructive relationship; not necessarily a positive one but a self-merging process is considered. Once people accept sharing various features with other people, their identity becomes collective and the nature of the group becomes the defining feature of the new self identity (Stets & Burke, 2000). Conferring on this debate, we can focus on social identity theory that sees self, identity and identity formation from a group membership perspective. Tajfel & Turner (1985) establish a definition of the group as a collection of individuals who perceive themselves as members of the same category, who attach a certain emotional value to this definition of themselves and who

have reached a certain degree of consensus regarding the evaluation of their group and their belonging to it.

Social identity and categorization focuses on the psychological salience of group membership (Reynolds, 2015). More specifically, it is defined as the part of an individual's self-concept that results from the consciousness of belonging to a social group and the value and emotional significance that they possess attach to that belonging. Nationalistic citizenship developed during the French Revolution as a counter hegemonic strategy, where the nation was established as a secular entity that would replace the monarch or feudal systems, with the people as the sovereign (Faulks, 2000). The revolution has yielded a notion of a nation as a political community, making it the source of state sovereignty and granting it the right of political self-determination. Smith (1991, p. 14) defined national identity in terms of 'we' and 'they,' as it accommodates collective ethnic, cultural, and political identities, temporal and spatial continuity and differentiation, and changes in political, economic, and cultural activities.

The process of national identification involves defining otherness or its relation to an external object outside of the group, which in turn transforms the individual itself (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). The definition of 'otherness' has been used as a tool by the West to justify the exploitation of defined 'others' (McLaren, 1995). Following Edward Said's theoretical framework of Orientalism, European particularism has been presented as superior, neutral, rational and progressive --to justify policies of colonialism, imperialism and civilizing missions of the west--, while the other orient is represented as inferior, mystical, backward and irrational. Ironically, oppressed or marginalized groups have drowned an essentialist identity construction that has allowed them to regain their capacity for shaping their identity that was previously taken

from them in the process of colonialism (Spivak,1988). Laclau (1992) and Miller (2000) suggest that minorities in their struggle to define their identities should draw on a universal principle to advocate their political demands, mainly through citizenship. However, conflation between nationality and citizenship raised questions about whether nationality functions similarly as religion in providing a bond with a community.

The power of globalization to transcend borders, however, has made human activities in economic, political, social and cultural domains increasingly interconnected and interdependent both within and between nation-states (Giddens, 2002). Since then, many theories have been proposed to describe the development path countries have taken to maintain the struggle between being open for development and preserving national identity and cultural heritage, and the roles of state and education in such struggles. Again, this raises the question about how citizenship can be re-conceptualized so that it goes beyond the universal pretensions of nationalism and liberalism and becomes the “product of diversity rather than an instrument for dominant groups to accommodate diversity” (Isin & Wood, 1999, p.69). Within this framework, in addition to identifying with their nation-state, people are urged “to live together in increasingly diverse local communities and an interdependent world” and foster multiple (local, national, and global) citizenships (Osler & Starkey, 2003, p. 243).

On the contrary, many countries have increased their control over national education and curricula “to play a fundamental part in defining the national community and supplying a sense of continuity and purpose to the very existence of the nation-state” (Guibernau, 2007, p. 31). While encouraging students to develop a global outlook, citizenship education curricula in the United States (Scott & Cogan, 2008), England (Andrews & Mycock, 2007), South Korea (So,

Kim, & Lee, 2012), Japan (Otsu, 2008) did not replace their national curricula with global education but stress the importance of learning about national and local institutions, cultures and traditions, and how they relate to other countries. In practical terms, inclusive forms of citizenship education have received international attention.

The Middle East region suffers from an identity crisis (Kumaraswamy, 2006), and the legacy of the colonial period could be cited as the most important reason for the lack of strong national identity in the region. Colonialism and the division of the Arab world into separate states in the aftermath of World War I has been the main motive behind Arab nationalism and the emergence of efforts seeking Arab unity. These efforts have failed, however, because “the individual regimes were never able to agree on what type of unity they should strive for and on what type of institutional structures it should be based” (Owen 2003, p.231). The presence of rival ethnic, sectarian and religious affiliation seeking to expand their spheres of influence and autonomy in these countries poses a serious threat to creating a sense of national unity. Tribal identity is also strong in some parts of the Middle East. For example, in Yemen and Jordan “tribes have permanent offices of leadership, and rituals and procedures for installing and rejecting leaders” (Weir, 2007, p.307).

This identity crisis is also relevant to a failed nation building in most Middle East countries. Because of the need to recognize the ethnic, sectarian and religious identities, “a pluralist democracy that is built upon ethnic or religious identities” (Çakmak & Ustaoglu, 2015, p. 26) appears to be a widely accepted solution in the region. However, this model failed in Lebanon; and the recent developments in the aftermath of the Arab Spring changes also revealed that tribal, sectarian and ethnic allegiances proved to be stronger, making an introduction of a citizenship-

based identity almost impossible to achieve. In the absence of political legitimacy, diverse ethnic, religious, sectarian and linguistic groups have developed a culture of distrust, resulting in emergence of “militant political and religious groups” (AHDR, 2009, p. 54). Consequently, among others, the failure of the civic action during the Arab Spring to ensure lasting change in the MENA region can be attributed to the lack of a strong national identity and absence of a strong nation and state tradition that left the diverse groups disunited.

1.3. Globalization Theories and Global Citizenship Education

Globalization as a new reality affects all of our lives in terms of identity, participation, status differentiations, equality and inequality (Delanty, 2000). It also involves rights and responsibilities of citizens but on a global rather than nation-state basis. Globalization is a multifaceted ideological and politically charged process that describes the complex series of social, economical, technological and even military changes that move investments, good, services, business and people beyond national and domestic boundaries into a larger international realm which, in turn, has the effect of increasing the interdependence and interconnectedness between various people, cultures, ethnic groups, government entities, and organizations from different locations into a wider global arena (Held et al., 1999). Globalization has evidence almost everywhere around the world from advertising to policy making. In Latin America, for example, rainforests are destroyed with the use of logging equipment designed and built in North America and owned by companies registered there. Oil is extracted from countries across Africa, the Middle East and elsewhere by corporations with globally recognized names. Clothes brands sold for tens of dollars in the West are manufactured in less prosperous countries often by children, who receive a few cents for their labor. This emphasizes dependency theory, where the centers

are specialized in the production of industrial goods, while the peripheries were left to produce primary goods.

Following this reality, globalization invites us to question whether the nation state is still a relevant political reference point for notions of citizenship, or whether we need to revisit the spatial dimensions in which citizenship operates. While there are many definitions, this definition seeks to bring together the many contradictory theories of globalization into rigorous analytical framework. Held et al. (1999) analytical framework is constructed by developing a three part typology of theories of globalization consisting of hyper-globalist, Sceptic, and transformationalist categories. First, hyper-globalists argue that “contemporary globalization defines a new era in which people everywhere are increasingly subject to the disciplines of the global marketplace” (Ibid, p.2). Given the significance of the global capitalist and free market place, multinational enterprises and non-governmental organizations are key political actors. Among this trend are adherents of what Halliday labels 'hegemonic optimism'. “Hegemonic optimism is, not to over-simplify, the view of the major leaders of the OECD states, it is the world view proclaimed in the house journals of global hegemony - the Economist, International Herald Tribune, the Financial Times” (Halliday, 2001, p. 3-1).

Second, Sceptics particularly structuralists Marxists (Callinicos et al., 1994; Hirst & Thompson, 1996) ostensibly argue that “globalization is a myth which conceals the reality of an international economy (Anglo-American) increasingly segmented into three major regional blocs in which national governments remain very powerful” (Held et al.,1999, p.2). In other words, they contend that a number of regional trading blocs are emerging in the Americas (NAFTA and MERCOSUR), in Europe and in Asia (ASEAN), suggesting that there has been a growing trend

towards 'regionalization' in trade, social movements, and politics leading to greater polarization between 'developed' and 'developing' countries in addition to a greater significance for nation-states in managing the problems pertaining to capitalism and free-market economies (Held et al., 1999; Held & McGrew, 2007; Tikly, 2001). Sceptics would maintain that this tendency has always been inherent to capitalism and that what others call 'globalization' is simply a new mode of Western imperialism dominated by the needs and requirements of finance capital.

Despite increasing internationalization, which involves mobility of students and faculty, widespread policy borrowing, and attempts to enhance the international dimension of curricula at secondary and post-secondary levels (Tikly, 2001), North–South inequalities have not been eroded. The Sceptics see the process of internationalization and global economic integration as primarily Western projects intended to further the primacy and supremacy of the West. It is worth noting that not all opponents of corporate capitalism are pessimistic about the future in terms of international mobilization for rights. They claim that today's movement has developed a new level of solidarity with a very broad membership: a genuine people's movement which has been drawn together around the primary theme of globalization (Kingsnorth, 2003). This view resonates with Delanty's (2000) conviction that globalization has opened up new opportunities for participatory politics.

Finally, transformationalists such as Rosenau (1997) or Giddens (1990) argue that globalization, as the transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions through certainly the progress of technology, occurs as “states and societies across the globe are experiencing a process of profound change as they try to adapt to a more interconnected but highly uncertain world” (Held et al., 1999, p.2). Within this framework, transformationalists say, it is a

long-term historical process with pre-modern forms. So, there may have been trade and migration, for instance between Asia, the Middle-East and fringes of Europe way back in pre-modern times. But technological and political changes since the Second World war have led to an unprecedented growth in the extent (stretching of social, political and economic activities across geographical space), velocity (the acceleration of global interactions and processes due to world-wide systems of transport and communication, which speed up the diffusion of ideas, goods, information, capital, and people), and intensity (growing ‘magnitude’ of interconnectedness in areas such as the flows of trade, investment, finance, migration, or culture) of things like global media communications, economic interdependency between countries, international political organizations, etc (Held et al., 1999). Thus, it implies a widening, deepening and speeding up of processes of worldwide connectivity. In arguing that globalization is transforming or reconstituting the power and authority of national governments, they reject both the globalists’ rhetoric of the end of the sovereign nation state and the Sceptics claim that nothing much has changed. With respect to education, they assume that the educational policy is not only affected by globalization, but that it is additionally becoming one of the principal mechanisms by which global forces affect the daily lives of national populations (Tikly, 2001).

No one can deny that globalization points overwhelmingly to the problems of increasing instability, continuing warfare, and growing inequality. All these factors have political implications and can be seen to pose a challenge for social democracy. Growing economic interconnectedness is undeniable and challenges for education in terms of understanding who we are, or developing global perspectives and insights into how we can manage becomes a reality to face. During the latter part of the twentieth century, and at the beginning of the twenty-first, citizens are urged to ‘think globally and to act locally’ and youths are said to be willing and able

so to do. As global citizens, young people need global awareness to be able to recognize their common humanity and to make connections between their own lives and those of others (Osler & Starkey, 2005). Education for democratic participation and particularly cosmopolitan democracy, in this context, is a moral imperative.

1.3.1. Global Citizenship Education Theories

The twenty first century could arguably be defined as the age of global crisis, challenging society's ability to adequately address them or resolve them. Social challenges such as political instabilities, civil war, immigration and racism have long been on the international political agenda but are being heightened by the recent economic crisis, refugee crisis, cross-border mobility and climate change. The rise of corporate capitalism and neoliberal globalization, the rapid economic growth and consumerism in industrialized countries, the internationalization of trade and finance, access to information, knowledge and values through the new digital media, increased migration and environmental degradation have transformed traditional conceptions and practices of citizenship. It is therefore of critical importance to deeply question the political nature of the concept and ask: who is the global citizen? How to promote global citizenship?

Citizenship education which has recently been criticized for its focus on a traditional centered approach and a strictly legalized version based on knowledge transmission of civic oriented rights and responsibilities, cultivating patriotism and national identification in schools (Osler & Vincent, 2002), global citizenship as part of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) declaration has become a renewed paradigm of citizenship that challenges hierarchical binaries of the global vs local, self-centered vs other-centered, citizen of the nation vs citizen of the world. Following Barrow's (2017, p.164) definition, global citizenship "does not mean loyalty to a global

government the way citizenship typically means participation in and loyalty to a country or nation-state. At the core of global citizenship education is recognition of our world's shared humanity". This aims to empower learners to engage and assume active roles both locally and globally to face and resolve global problems (UNESCO, 2013).

Three conceptions of global citizenship education (GCED) can be distinguished from the literature and referred to as the neoliberal, humanistic and critical transformative approaches (Aktas et al., 2017; Pais & Costa, 2017; Shultz, 2007). Underlying the economically neoliberal agenda is the goal of linking global citizenship to global economic participation, where Shultz (2007) argues that a global citizen is "one who is a successful participant in a liberal economy driven by capitalism and technology". Following this approach, the purpose of education "is not framed in terms of criticizing, raising questions, imagining alternatives for today's political arrangements" (Pais & Costa, 2017, p.5) but focuses on the values of the market for the structuring of human relations. While encouraging students to assume that "their position of {economic} privilege is a natural position and a sign of success" (Shultz, 2007, p. 252), awareness of power dynamics, unequal relationships and resource distribution perpetuates critiques on the neoliberal discourse.

The humanistic perspective of global citizenship on the other hand emphasizes the principles of social justice, human rights, equality and diversity. It advocates a humanitarian responsibility to challenge the hegemony of economic globalization to build solidarity across the marginalized group to fight oppression (Caruana, 2014; Sperandio et al., 2010; Stoner et al., 2014). Although apparently opposing each other, the neoliberal and humanistic discourses are seen increasingly indistinguishable (Marshall, 2011) and arguably promoting a soft approach to

GCED (Andreotti, 2006; 2007). Drawing on Spivak's work, Andreotti (2007) suggests that this soft approach is often mediated by international organizations, which run an on-going epistemic violence of imperialism of the so-called 'First World' over the 'Third World', which is encouraged through development discourse to 'catch up' and become more civilized; in effect becoming more 'global'/'globalized'.

The critical transformative perspective on global citizenship education (Andreotti, 2006; Nieto, 2018; Shultz, 2007) challenges the neoliberal and humanistic discourses and considers the underlying problems to be one of 'inequality and injustice', stemming from a series of "complex structures, systems, assumptions, power relations and attitudes that create and maintain exploitation and enforced disempowerment and tend to eliminate difference" (Andreotti, 2006, p. 46). A global citizen according to the critical transformative perspective pertains to Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) type of justice oriented citizen who bears a stronger critical awareness of power dynamics and aims to transform unjust socio-political relations and erode the conception of binary North and South. Larsen (2014) proposes a framework consisting of two sides: awareness/analysis (including self-awareness, global awareness, and responsibility awareness) and engagement/action (including self-action, civic action, and social justice action). Both sides are necessary for challenging the perpetuating global power structures. Thus, unlike neoliberalism's market driven idea of education, critical global citizenship education offers a transformational learning process that emphasizes critical thinking, dialogue and reflection, something that for Freire (1970) is essential for seeing the world in a profoundly different way and taking action against the oppressive elements of reality.

Nowadays, the promotion of global citizenship education (GCED) has become a common feature of school reforms in several countries around the world (Engel, 2014; Lee & Leung, 2006; Myers, 2006; Pashby, 2013) reflecting a shift from citizenship approaches focusing on the national to bringing the world into the classroom or send the students into the world by addressing topics of global concern or allowing new experiences as participation in extracurricular activities, volunteer study abroad programs, learning languages (Andreotti & Souza, 2012). As a result, this educational re-orientation enhances the achievement of sustainable development competences by students since teaching and learning processes turn into a trans-disciplinary and problem-based, incorporating ecological, economic and cultural aspects into the whole process (Lambrechts et al., 2016).

There are several reasons and rationales for educational systems to develop students' global citizenship skills. As global interconnectedness has intensified, issues around the world have become part of everyone's life. Communities are becoming culturally diverse and have to negotiate a politics of difference that is not locally evident but potentially spans the globe (Rizvi, 2009). Therefore, learning to live together as a cornerstone of global citizenship education aims to support a pro-social behavior and life skills such as empathy, cooperation and conflict resolution, gender sensitivity, respect for human rights and responsibilities, sustainable management of the environment and disaster risk reduction, that will help students build safe, peaceful and caring societies (Sinclair & Bernard, 2016). Global citizenship education can also bring civic improvements as it provides the students with the opportunity to think and analyze real-life issues critically so that they can, for example, identify biases, vote in elections in a fairly way, demand accountability of their government and consider the impact of their actions on their communities; be able to solve problems so that they can propose or review policies to address

social challenges; be able to work with others and communicate effectively orally and in writing so that they can share their opinions publicly and propose new policy (Saavedra & Opfer, 2012).

Countries have different emphases as a result of diverse socio-economic, political, and historical contexts. Australia, for example, has developed education specific policy documents to support a focus on learning about and for global citizenship. According to Education Service Australia (2011), the main values and attitudes that a student, who acts as a global citizen needs to demonstrate are empathy; a commitment to social justice and equity; a respect for diversity; a concern for the environment and sustainable development, and a belief that people can make a difference (Buchanan, 2018). Similarly, education authorities across Europe are aware of the need to teach students and adults how to behave responsibly, taking into account the interests of the global other. The Eurydice study (2017) confirmed that all countries have ambitious curricula to develop competences related to interacting effectively and constructively with others, acting in a socially responsible manner, acting democratically and thinking critically.

1.3.2. Core Components of Global Citizenship Education and its Implementation

Global Citizenship Education suggests “a shift or transformation in the purpose and objective” of education rather than limiting its role to economic growth and development (Enns, 2015, p. 370). In addition to a sense of belonging to the global community, there are other main characteristics of the global citizen. While it is hard to say there is a particular component of global citizenship, there is consensus within the existing literature about the core conceptual components. As a way of illustration, Tony Wagner (2008) in his book ‘The Global Achievement Gap’ conducted several hundred interviews with business, non-profit and education leaders and proposed that today’s students need to master seven survival skills that will enable them to become productive citizens

who contribute to solving some of the most 21st century pressing issues. These skills are: critical thinking and problem solving; collaboration and leadership; agility and adaptability; initiative and entrepreneurialism; effective oral and written communication; accessing and analyzing information; and curiosity and imagination. Moreover, Schattle (2009) addresses the concept of global citizenship by exploring how individuals consider themselves as global citizens and integrate it into their lives. He proposes that “awareness, responsibility, and participation” are the primary concepts of global citizenship, and “cross-cultural empathy, personal achievement, and international mobility” are the secondary concepts (p. 10). According to his theorizing, individuals who self-describe as global citizens are aware of complex issues around the world, global interdependence, take responsibility for universal human rights, and carry out actions for reforms.

Morais and Ogden (2011) propose three overarching dimensions of global citizenship: “social responsibility, global competence, and global civic engagement” (p. 3).

Table 1. Dimensions and sub-dimensions of Global Citizenship

Dimensions	Sub-dimensions	Description
Social Responsibility	Global justice and disparities	Students evaluate social issues and identify instances and examples of global injustice and disparity
	Altruism and empathy	Students examine and respect diverse perspectives and construct an ethic of social service to address global and local issues.
	Global	Students understand the interconnectedness between local

	interconnectedness and personal responsibility	behaviors and their global consequences.
Global Competence	Self-awareness	Students recognize their own limitations and ability to engage successfully in an intercultural encounter
	Intercultural communication	Students demonstrate an array of intercultural communication skills and have the ability to engage successfully in intercultural encounters.
	Global knowledge	Students display interest and knowledge about world issues and events.
Global Civic Engagement	Involvement in civic organizations	Students engage in or contribute to volunteer work or assistance in global civic organizations.
	Political voice	Students construct their political voice by synthesizing their global knowledge and experiences in the public domain.
	Global civic activism	Students engage in purposeful local behaviors that advance global agendas

Source: Adopted from “Initial Development and Validation of the Global Citizenship Scale,” by Morais, D. B, & Ogden, A. C, 2011, Journal of Studies in International Education, 15(5), p. 446- 447.

While Morais and Ogden (2011) argue that each of these dimensions can lead to global citizenship, it does not take into account sufficient political and economic drivers, such as the unequal power relations between the global North and the global South, which may distort universal principles. Oxfam is one of the most prominent institutes to espouse and implement global citizenship education worldwide. Oxfam (2006, p.3) emphasizes the high motivations for social change with global citizenship and defines a global citizen as someone who:

Is aware of the wider world and has a sense of their own role as a world citizen; respects and values diversity; has an understanding of how the world works; is passionately committed to social justice; participates in the community at a range of levels, from the local to the global; works with others to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place; takes responsibility for their actions. (Oxfam, 2006, p.3)

Oxfam (2015) categorizes Global Citizenship Education into three domains: knowledge and understanding; skills; and values and attitudes. Oxfam (2015) suggests various elements for GCE, particularly focusing on social justice, for example, knowledge “about social justice and equity” and attitudes of “commitment to social justice and equity” (Oxfam, 2015, p. 8).

Table 2. The Key Elements for Active and Responsible Global Citizenship

Knowledge and Understanding	Skills	Values and Attitudes
Social justice and equity	Critical and creative thinking	Sense of identity and self-esteem
Identity and Diversity	Empathy	Commitment to social justice and equity
Globalization and	Self-awareness and reflection	Respect for people and

interdependence		human rights
Sustainable development	Communication	Value diversity
Peace and conflict	Cooperation and conflict resolution	Concern for the environment and commitment to sustainable development
Human rights	Ability to manage complexity and uncertainty	Commitment to participation and inclusion
Power and governance	Informed and reflective action	Belief that people can bring about change

Source: Adopted from “Education for Global Citizenship: A guide for schools,” by Oxfam, 2015, p. 8.

Several scholars advocate a transformative purpose of GCE, challenging power imbalances and pursuing justice. For example, Reilly and Niens (2014) suggest the aim of GCE is “to enable students to challenge power imbalances, to negotiate identities and, ultimately, to achieve greater equality, justice, democracy and peace via individual and societal transformation” (p. 53-54). Andreotti (2006) also argues that social justice and reducing inequity are the main goals of GCE. Andreotti (2006) suggests “whether and how to address the economic and cultural roots of the inequalities in power and wealth/labor distribution in a global complex” is a central issue of GCE.

One of the popular and mainstream concepts of GCE comes from UNESCO. UNESCO (2013) states GCE is “transformative, giving learners the opportunity and competencies to realize their rights and obligations to promote a better world and future” (p. 3). More specifically, the

goal of GCE is “to empower learners to engage and assume active roles both locally and globally to face and resolve global challenges and ultimately to become proactive contributors to a more just, peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, secure and sustainable world” (p. 3). UNESCO (2015) identifies three core conceptual dimensions: cognitive, socio-emotional, and behavioral dimensions. The cognitive dimension includes knowledge, understanding and critical thinking about issues and trends ranging from global to local levels. The socio-emotional dimension embraces non-cognitive attitudes such as a sense of belonging, sharing values, responsibility, empathy, and respect for differences and diversity. The behavioral dimension expects the learners to act responsibly at local, national and global levels for a more peaceful and sustainable world.

Table 3. Dimensions of education for global citizenship

Cognitive	To acquire knowledge, understanding and critical thinking about global, regional, national and local issues and the interconnectedness and interdependency of different countries and populations
Socio-emotional	To have a sense of belonging to a common humanity, sharing values and responsibilities, empathy, solidarity and respect for differences and diversity
Behavioral	To act effectively and responsibly at local, national and global levels for a more peaceful and sustainable world.

Source: Adopted from “Global Citizenship Education: Topics and learning objectives,” by UNESCO, 2015, p. 15

GCE contains diverse themes and is often conceptualized within various frameworks such as international education, multicultural education, global education, human rights education, peace education, or education for sustainable development (Rapoport, 2010; UNESCO, 2013).

GCE has evolved mainly from three educational traditions (Environmental Education, Citizenship Education, Developmental Education) and it “seeks to ‘wrap up’ environmental and development agendas within a new found citizenship education” (Mannion et al., 2011, p. 453). Education Above All (2012) broadens themes of GCE including values education, life skills education, human rights education, history education, and the psychosocial dimension. Table 4 represents various themes with respect to GCE. This classification shows how GCE can be applied with different focuses and approaches.

Table 4. Themes within the field of education for global citizenship

Themes	Contents
Value education and life skills education	Core values such as empathy for other human beings and respect for human dignity, together with core life skills, including intra-personal skills such as emotional awareness, and inter-personal skills such as communication, cooperation, problem-solving, conflict resolution and advocacy
Peace education	Core values and skills, and an introduction to human rights, since respect for human rights is needed for “positive peace.” “Education for tolerance” has similar concerns. Peace education may also include studies of the causes of conflict and its transformation, and other global issues.
Human rights education	Core skills and values such as critical thinking, empathy, avoiding stereotyping and exclusion, and the concepts associated with human rights and responsibilities. It usually

	introduces some elements of specific human rights instruments (e.g. the Convention on the Rights of the Child) and consideration of how human rights principles, such as participation and non-discrimination, might be reflected in the lives of students themselves.
Citizenship or civic education	Learning about local, national and international institutions, good governance, rule of law, democratic processes, civil society and participation, etc. has moved towards including items above (Value education and life skills education, Peace education, and Human rights education), especially to encourage social cohesion in a divided society. A core aim is to get citizens with diverse backgrounds to cooperate peacefully to ensure that the basic human rights of all are met without discrimination and without violence.
Education in humanitarian norms	a) Humanitarian values and action, which include elements from items above (Value education and life skills education, Peace education, and Human rights education and Citizenship education); (b) introduction to principles underlying humanitarian law.
History education reform	To move away from a narrow sense of identity and view of past events to a more objective vision drawing on multiple perspectives.

The psychosocial dimension	Approaches focused on psychosocial needs and child friendly approaches to pedagogy aim to help students cope with emotional stress and develop pro-social behavior.
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Source: Adopted from “Education for Global Citizenship,” by Education Above All, 2012, p. 16- 17.

In order to conceptualize the notion of GCE, it is also useful to look at how it is taught and implemented in education practice (Davies et al., 2005). GCE can be taught either as a stand-alone subject or with other curricula such as social studies (Myers, 2006) or even English, mathematics and science (Lim, 2008). In addition, a variety of learning activities are frequently used to promote GCE such as art, drama, poetry, creative writing, music (Education Above All, 2012), and games (Lim, 2008). Furthermore, GCE can be employed not only through curricula, but also through a supportive learning environment (Education Above All, 2012). For instance, creating a culture of respect within the classroom, working cooperatively with peers and other staff, providing service activities in schools and communities are all suggested for a GCE friendly school and classroom climate (Education Above All, 2012). Educators also significantly influence implementing GCE. More specifically, educators’ understanding or interest in GCE is closely related to GCE practice.

Therefore, while there are various foci, the overarching agreement in the existing literature is that GCE is more than increasing awareness of global issues; rather it is empowering learners to learn about global issues and knowledge and to engage in social justice. GCE in the 21st century embodies a global mindset and aims to nurture a citizen who thinks beyond boundaries of place, identity and category and “acts to advance both their own enlightened self-interest and the interest of people elsewhere in the world by understanding the interconnection of all living” (Hanson,

2010, p.76). These competencies or what have been termed 21st century skills are both a process and set of outcomes which are considered necessary to face the challenges of today's international community in terms of economy, politics and social inclusion.

1.4. Citizenship Education Agenda and its Context

Citizenship education has taken several different forms depending on how the states envisaged their citizens to be. Historically speaking, citizenship education in the West is often framed as originating from ancient Greece and Rome, where they prioritized values of loyalty and patriotism (Heater, 2004). Later with the decline of these societies, citizenship as social initiation as argued by Clark and Case (1999) was predominant in the early days of public education which focused on the socializing role of schooling instead of political education. With the French Revolution, Rousseau and other philosophers emphasized the role of schools in teaching values that would be beneficial to society. Since the 19th century, new concepts of citizenship education emerged with the development of new doctrines of liberal democracy, nationalism and socialism. Heater (1990) described that these ideologies were restrained by the interest of the nation states to maintain control over school systems and establish order.

Within this framework, teachers were prevented from transmitting political knowledge and values that would threaten the current status quo and urged schools to instill a sense of belonging and national collective identity, especially through the social studies course, with its component (history, geography, citizenship) (Heater, 1990; Phillips, 1998; Soysal, 2002). These subjects were and still considered important tools for strengthening the sense of a common national identity, patriotism, and loyalty among citizens (Green, 1990). In the 20th century, influenced by World War I and II and fueled by minorities demanding equal rights and inclusion, citizenship

education has been shaped by human rights, based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Tibbitts & Fernekes, 2011). This further exposed the need to address democratic education, participation, and multicultural education to meet the demands of diverse societies.

In the modern time, with a participation deficit and apathy among the youth, citizenship education added a new dimension to the traditional one. It basically aims at preparing individuals to actively participate in public life as well as develop civic virtues to be ‘responsible citizens’ through various educational processes taking place either formally or informally (Wylie, 2004). Citizenship education involves the preparation of young people in the essential areas of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes, and the application of those knowledge, values and skills in real life situations through active participation. This task should be carried out both within and outside the school environment (Osler et al., 1995). Kerr (2004, p.1) stated in their second annual report focused on citizenship education that “a successful implementation of citizenship education in schools requires a holistic and coherent approach based around three interrelated components: citizenship education in the curriculum, in the school as a community and in partnership with the wider community.”

The common denominator across studies dealing with the field of citizenship education is the interest in examining what types of citizens the state wants to cultivate, and how to implement that concept within an educational framework (Parker, 2008). In light of orientations towards the civic mission of schooling, scholars have identified distinctive approaches (Davies, 2001; McLaughlin, 1992; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Each of these ideological conceptions has ties to ideologies about how a good society looks like, who are the members and what rights and responsibilities they practice. Consequently, citizenship education is a significant topic of

discussion for many interest groups from educators to policy makers and government organizations.

McLaughlin's (1992) continuum of citizenship education courses identifies 'minimalist' and 'maximalist' approaches. He explains that these contrasting interpretations of democratic citizenship, locatable on a continuum rather than in terms of discrete conceptions and related to underlying political beliefs and to contrasting interpretations of democracy itself, can be briefly illustrated by reference to four features of the concept, namely identity, virtues, political involvement and social prerequisites (McLaughlin, 2000). Based on the minimalist view, citizenship education is reduced "to be seen merely in formal, legal and juridical forms" (p.236). He further explains that the minimalist approach is basically formal and content led, characterized by the provision of information and its emphasis is on the procedural aspect of citizenship. This model basically valorizes core civic values for the making of virtuous, law-abiding and hardworking citizens and creating a homogenous community (Lynch, 1999; Deuchar, 2007). The new dimensions that citizenship has acquired with T.H Marshall's theory of social citizenship shifted focus of the minimalist approach to education (Marshall, 1965). McLaughlin (1992) states that the main critique of this conception of citizenship and its influence on citizenship education is that it promotes a "non reflective socialization into the political and social status quo" (p. 239). Loyalties and responsibilities are seen primarily as local and immediate in character and the citizen thus is law abiding and public spirited in the sense of helping neighbors through volunteering.

On the other hand, the maximalist view sees identity as a richer thing than the possession of a passport, the right to vote and a blind nationality. Citizens are seen as requiring more extensive

focus for their loyalty and responsibility. It is a dynamic process based on an ongoing debate and redefinition. The citizen must have a conscious of being a member of a community with a shared democratic culture involving obligations and responsibilities as well as rights and a sense of the common good and solidarity. Moreover, with regard to social prerequisites, a maximal concept of citizenship requires a “considerable degree of explicit understanding of democratic principles, values and procedures on the part of the citizen, together with the dispositions and capacities required for participation in democratic citizenship” (p.238). Thus, it favors a more participatory approach connected to active participation that is conceived in social, cultural and psychological terms. As a result, these typological distinctions between the minimalist and the maximal modes of citizenship education are relevant when trying to understand and interpret the different educational experiences that are enacted in the Moroccan educational setting.

In the same manner, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) surveyed the different beliefs of good citizenship as appeared in educational programs aimed at promoting democracy in the United States. They distinguished three types of citizens, namely the personally responsible citizen, who acts responsibly towards his/her community; the participatory citizen, who actively participates in the affairs of the community for its improvement; and the social justice citizen, who critically assesses social, economic and political structures that reproduce the patterns of injustices over time. They further argue that the “narrow and often ideologically conservative conception of citizenship embedded in many current efforts at teaching for democracy reflect not arbitrary choices, but rather political choices with political consciousness” (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, p.237). Following this assumption, the personally responsible citizen, which they presume as a form of character is increasingly associated with visions of obedience and patriotism which can be at odds with democratic goals as they work against critical reflection that are essential for

active participation and engagement in a democratic society. They conclude that “some indications that curriculum and education policies designed to foster personal responsibility undermine efforts to prepare both participatory and justice oriented citizens (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, p. 264).

1.4.1. Citizenship Education as Political Education

In ancient Greece, one of the important goals of citizenship education was personal development through participation in public life and discussion, where they were trained in rhetorical skills (Heater, 1990, 2004). Mannheim (1970) asserts that the task of the school is to nurture a young generation for a society with a democratic polity that is always changing. He further argued that such a society requires citizens with a democratic political personality to lead more political development (Meyer, 1977). Gutman (1987) claimed that education for participation is essential to secure the society’s democratic character: “Political education prepares citizens to participate in consciously reproducing their society, and conscious social reproduction is the ideal not only of democratic education but also of democratic politics (...)” (p.287).

This political literacy contends that “a politically literate citizen will require knowledge and understanding of human rights; opportunities to develop confident multiple identities; experience of democratic participation; and skills for social inclusion, for participation and to effect change” (Osler & Starkey, 2000, p.14). Several studies used a variety of tests and surveys to examine the effect of education in this model and to measure children’s attitude and knowledge (Merelman, 1972; Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977). However, these studies came out with contradicting results and led researchers to re-examine the validity of this political socialization model. The assumption

that students will maintain what they learn in schools to their adulthood and become more politically engaged have been taken for granted with no attempt to empirically measure their validity (Meyer & Rubinson, 1975). In addition, the perception of the passive roles of teachers and students as transmitters and recipients without the possibility of intervention has been criticized (Hahn, 1998).

Another aspect of political education is critical thinking (Johnson & Morris, 2010). While citizenship education traditionally emphasized on promoting patriotism, loyalty and common identity, the concern to develop critical citizens to face the challenges of the 21st century has become a necessity, incorporated into citizenship curricula around the world. This includes developing students' skills on what has been called decision-making and value analysis techniques. Giroux (1980) argued that good citizens are seen as decision-makers whose participation is essential to the sustenance and stability of a democratic system. The principal pedagogical technique in accomplishing this goal is the utilization of problem-solving method, where both teachers and students are participants of a continuous negotiation and discussion that aims to develop their abilities as active critical citizens.

However, it has been assumed that although this dimension provides an active role for students and teachers, it does not guarantee the sustainability of democratic society. Thus, in addition to having critical citizens, emancipatory citizenship education agenda (Giroux, 1980) aims to "stimulate students' passions, imaginations and intellects so they will be moving to challenge the social, political, and economic forces that weigh so heavily upon their lives" (p.357). In other words, this model suggests that students should be taught to speak and act instead of inculcating them with knowledge, values and problem-solving skills through negotiation and

discussion. Giroux (1980) identified various pedagogical practices within this model that could be summarized in two parts. The first one is developed in reflective inquiry dimension (see next section), advancing open and democratic nature of classroom, where students are encouraged to think freely and critically and participate in the learning process. The second part aims to recruit agents of a particular political ideology through teaching students about social inequalities and contradictions and encouraging them to challenge and change them. Nevertheless, this is an idealistic and utopian mission for institutions established and managed by the state to implement it.

Another aspect of political education is Human Rights Education (HRE), which is not only an important strand of citizenship education but also a legal requirement according to international law. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights from 1948 established HRE as a right for all as it provides that:

(...) every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction. (UN Assembly 1948: Preamble).

HRE teaches students about many of the concepts needed to be an empathetic and socially just member of a pluralistic society; these key civically minded concepts include social justice, tolerance, solidarity, participation, equality, and human dignity (Osanloo, 2009). In that sense, HRE appeals to the learners' awareness the government's responsibility to secure human rights (Osler, 2008). This critical aspect of HRE could empower learners to recognize social justice and develop a more reflective relationship towards their nation-states, to become advocates of injustices and engage actively in demands for social justice (Osler & Starkey, 2005). Whereas

traditional national citizenship education focuses on the promotion of a common national identity, HRE is universal in nature and includes the diversity of national, religious and cultural identifications of individuals. This can be considered an important part of political education that counterbalances patriotism and nationalism.

1.4.2. Dimensions of Social Studies Textbooks (A Formal Educational Context)

Since the beginning of public education in the 19th century, conceptions of citizenship have been transmitted primarily through schooling, namely within social studies education. Hence, it is easy for schools to become sites where ideas transmission prevails without critical thoughts about content or the impact of the information. Social studies textbooks are often deliberately designed and written to be the main source for civic skills and values and to form active, participative and democratic citizens within the society involved (Nelson, 2001; Stanley, 2001). Additionally, textbooks have authority and provide knowledge a society wants its children to acquire and a lens through which to examine what might be called a nation's deeper and hidden social and political curriculum (Bogren, 2010). Olson (1980, p.192) suggests that "most textbooks frame knowledge in a form associated with neutral objectivity", which then undermines rather than enhances the reader's capacity to criticize. Moreover, textbooks position students in a particular way, describing and prescribing specific manners of being and acting. It has been pointed out that textbooks are usually written in third person passive voice, with imperative lexicon usage, representing knowledge about a subject to students as defined, accepted and authoritative (Ehrensall, 2001). We can argue that textbooks produce a narrative, pursuing an approach in line with Gramsci's concept of hegemony or Bourdieu's concept of 'doxa', where students adopt unconsciously a subjective and subordinate role as passive receivers who see the text as a definite truth (Gramsci et al., 1971).

Social studies have been considered as one of the core subjects in the school curriculum. Developing a good citizen is the principal goal of social studies, but the attainment of this goal is not an easy task. In 1992, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) sharpened its organizational mission to a singular focus and announced a comprehensive definition of the term 'social studies' in 1994 to reach a general definition after years of debate. The NCSS (1994) defined social studies as,

An integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence. Within the school program, social studies provide coordinated, systematic study drawing upon such disciplines as anthropology, archeology, economics, geography, history, law, philosophy, political science, psychology, religion, and sociology, as well as appropriate content from the humanities, mathematics, and natural sciences. (p.3)

In other words, social studies is an inclusive course that is concerned with the citizen and the way he organizes historical, geographical, political, economic and cultural aspects of society. Also, it is an instrument of societal values transfer. Thus, the social studies curriculum is a subject of great importance as Parker asserted (2012, p.3) "without historical understanding, there can be no wisdom; without geographical understanding, no cultural or environmental intelligence; without civic understanding, there can be no democratic citizen and therefore no democracy".

There is a widespread agreement that social studies is the only or one of the few subject areas which has citizenship education as its primary concern and offers an explicit objective and focus on the development of an active and democratic citizen. However, the rationales and purposes of the social studies curriculum vary and various typologies have been used by researchers to make sense of the wide-ranging and conflicting purposes offered for social studies (Ross, 2014). The most influential and enduring frameworks were the three traditions suggested

by Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) and developed and extended by Martorella et al. (2005). Barr et al., (1977) grouped the various epistemological positions on the social studies curriculum and teaching into three themes, namely citizenship or cultural transmission, social science and reflective inquiry or critical thinking. First of all, social studies as citizenship transmission aim to “promote student acquisition of certain nationalistic or democratic values via the teaching and learning of discrete, factual pieces of information” (Ross, 2014, p.26). In other words, this tradition consists of transmitting factual and procedural knowledge, values and beliefs with a restricted range of cognitive skills. In this tradition, teaching is characterized as teacher-centered and didactic in style, dominated by memorization, imitation, teacher-initiated questions occurring in a whole class setting.

The second tradition characterizes social studies as social sciences. In this typology “social studies education provides students with the social scientific content and procedures for successful citizenship, and for understanding and acting upon the human condition in its historical, contemporary, political, social, economic and cultural contexts” (Ross, 2014, p. 27). Simply put, the purpose of social studies from this tradition’s perspective is to develop future citizens who learn the inquiry techniques of the social sciences, have the ability to see and solve social problems and build personality using the visions and methods of the social scientist. The third tradition, social studies as reflective inquiry or critical thinking is grounded in Dewey’s (1933) work. From this perspective, the purpose of social studies “is nurturing within students’ abilities necessary for decision making in some specific socio-political contexts. This presupposes a necessary connection between democracy and problem solving” (Ross, 2014, p.28). That is to say, students in this tradition learn to make reasoned decisions, with problems as the content for decision making. They have to follow a scientific inquiry to identify the problem, collect, evaluate

and analyze data and then make decisions. Its pedagogy is characterized as student-centered where teachers are facilitators and the class climate is open-ended.

The fourth perspective, social studies as informed social criticism is extended by Martorella (1996) and rooted in the work of social reconstructionists (Brameld, 1957), ‘socialization-counter-socialization’ theorists and critical pedagogue (Anyon, 1980; McLaren, 1998). According to this tradition, the purpose of social studies is citizenship that aims at “providing opportunities for an examination, critique and revision of past traditions, existing social practices and modes of problem solving” (Martorella et al., 2005, p.30). To be specific, it is a citizenship education directed toward social transformation and change that is grounded on the values of justice and equality. Students are taught how to have agency as citizens to act for social change through critical thinking, service learning (Billing, 2010) and project-based learning with a civic engagement component (Whitlock & Fox, 2014). In a nutshell, the approaches identified above frame both the content presented in social studies textbooks and the pedagogy employed for students to learn citizenship education, as it is part and parcel of social studies curriculum (Brophy et al., 2016).

1.4.3. Extracurricular Activities and Active Participation (A Non-formal Educational Context)

Being an active citizen is considered a key competence that can be learned and developed through specific teaching and learning practices. The use of extracurricular activities within the schooling process may be one possible path to create non-formal learning opportunities within and outside the school setting. Romi and Schmida (2009, p.259) define “non-formal education as any organized, systematic, and programmatic educational activity, external to formal education

frameworks and providing target subgroups with selected types of learning”. Extracurricular activities are of the same importance as learning and they have a special role in the formation of personal and social qualities in students. According to Birz  a et al. (2004, p.26) “extracurricular activities can range from visits to different settings and institutions, school exchanges, voluntary work, and student organizations to student clubs and projects outside the school. They may take place after and during school programs and both in and out of school buildings”.

Prior research indicates that particular types of extracurricular activities are related to specific aspects of politicization, especially political activation. Participation in politically-relevant extracurricular activities, such as student council or working on an election campaign, for example, is related to greater political engagement over the life course (Eccles et al., 2003; Putnam et al., 1993; Youniss, et al., 1997; Youniss & Yates, 1997). However, it should be noted that the influence of civic education on political knowledge can be direct in terms of imparting information through classroom instruction that is retained over the life course. It can also be indirect; as civic education creates a heightened sense of politicization that encourages people to be attentive to politics. Individuals can learn about politics through interpersonal discussion, direct observation of government and political processes in action, or via the media.

Extracurricular activities, school culture, and open environment have a significant impact on building active citizenship and engaged citizens. Barber et al. (2010) argued that adolescents involved in extracurricular activities are less likely to manifest behavior that does not conform to social norms and values and better protected from the influence of delinquent environment. In another study, Forneris et al. (2015) in their analysis of how participation in a single or combination of extracurricular activities for high school students in Canada may impact both their

developmental outcomes and their level of school engagement, claim that “involvement in a greater variety of extracurricular activities appears to positively impact development” (p.54). In the same vein, Campbell (2005) in his analysis of how the educational experiences affect the political engagement of adolescents states that “a school which promotes thoughtful, respectful discussion of political and social issues equips students for active citizenship by developing their proficiency in civics” (p. 15). Furthermore, Fredricks and Eccles (2006) report in their article on extracurricular activities and youth development that participation in activities can be linked to academic achievements including high grades, test scores, school engagement and future educational aspirations. In addition, “school-NGO, school-business partnerships and project initiatives were mentioned as successful in attempting to involve pupils in civic activities and foster attitudes and practices convergent with the civic ideals” (p. 90). Studies of Feldman and Matjasko (2005), Peck et al. (2008) and Youniss et al. (1999) further support the fact that extracurricular activity participation is associated with increased interpersonal competence and school engagement.

The positive impact of extracurricular activities on students' knowledge and attitudes regarding sustainable development has been reported in several studies (Ha-Brookshire & Norum, 2011; Noddings, 2013). Garrecht et al. (2018) emphasize that education for sustainable development should be embodied in extracurricular activities as school hours are formally tied to their discipline driven curriculum and bound to formal requirements such as formal assessment. Therefore, pupils will experience richer sustainable development learning in an integrated, non-fragmented setting. Brundiers et al. (2010) also believe that extracurricular activities increase exposure of students to sustainable development issues and pose a participatory and real-world related learning context for the successful acquisition of interpersonal skills. Towards this end,

global citizenship education (GCED) and education for sustainable development (ESD) requires not only a democratic and participatory school structure but also ought to be integrated into every aspect of social life as joining local organizations, cooperatives, NGOs, political parties. This may be considered a promising aspect of identity formation.

1.5. Conclusion

The chapter has explored definitions of citizenship and citizenship education, suggesting that it should be informed by rethinking the value system with a participatory attitude. However, we should also recognize that the civic republican approach that promotes active participation for the common good may have outlived some of its relevance to current political realities, especially global interdependence. We examined the impact of globalization in terms of its effects upon economy, environment and politics. We also identified some phenomena of globalization, highlighting the need for education for cosmopolitan democracy. Then a concept of global citizenship and cosmopolitanism may be a more pertinent construct. We realized that citizenship is essentially about political literacy and must seek to promote an understanding of the extent to which politics is about everything we experience and do. It must empower young people to become agents of change and schools to become reflexive communities of enquiry and collective endeavor.

CHAPTER TWO: Challenges for Citizenship Education in Morocco

2.1. Introduction

If the values of democracy, inclusion and active participation are to underpin citizenship education, educators need to ask about how these are being applied to schools and society, and to what extent government policy serves to uphold them. The effects of schools upon young people and their chances to overcome socioeconomic disadvantage cannot be separated from wider issues including class and culture. Given that citizenship education is so context-sensitive, political, economic, social and cultural factors will have an important impact upon efforts to make it work. The chapter examines citizenship education in Morocco and how key principles such as citizenship and activism have been formulated in Morocco through examining those contextual factors. The evolution of citizenship education has been parallel to key political changes in the history of the Moroccan kingdom. These could be classified into three periods: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial. In discussing the Moroccan government policy relating to citizenship education, it is important to be aware that there is also another wider social agenda.

2.2. The Historical Development of Citizenship in Morocco

The concept of citizenship has undergone several changes throughout the Moroccan history. In the pre-colonial times, citizenship was not based on sovereign control over a territory, but on a personal oath to the Sultan as the Commander of the Faithful (Perrin, 2011). The citizen was referred to as a *ra'iya* (subjects / the ruled), sort of herd guided by the Sultan, who holds the ultimate power and authority, which he derives from the fact of being a descendant of the prophet

(ar-ra'i/ the ruler). The ra'ia owes obedience and reverence to the 'ar-ra'i' in as much as the rules of the Muslim law are applied by the ar-ra'i with which he is entrusted (Mous et al., 2015). 'Amir almu'minin' (i.e. Commander of the Faithful) presides over a bureaucracy known as 'maxzen', which embodies the unity of the national community on the basis of a trans-historical legitimacy [Benali, (1987) cited in Perrin, 2011]. Education in that era was religious in nature, where Quranic schools aimed at training young people in the codes of Islam and teaching them the Quran to be good Muslims (Segalla, 2009). Two mosque-universities were at the top level of the Moroccan Islamic education, namely the Qarawiyyin in Fez and the Yusufiyya in Marrakesh, where Islamic scholars, teachers, and judges were trained in Islamic law and theology (Merrouni, 1996). Thus, a good citizen could be equated with being a good Muslim.

The French protectorate in Morocco was installed in 1912 and remained in place until Morocco gained full independence in 1956. Colonization by the French truly impacted all facets of Moroccan society and culture. It has generally been agreed that colonialism is a form of dominance "with emphasis in economic variables as in Marxist- Leninist literature, and as a culture change process as in anthropology" (Horvath, 1972, p. 46). With association and assimilation policies under the direction of the first Resident- General Lyautey (Scham, 1970), the idea of the divide within Morocco between urban or Bilad al-makhzen and rural or Bilad al-Siba areas has been deepened. The Bilad al- makhzen or land of government was the Arab portion of Morocco resided in the cities and which the French choose to govern under the principle of association. In contrast, Bilad al-siba was the Berber speaking population in the deserts and mountains, thought to not be loyal to the Sultan and which the French realized that they need to govern this zone using an assimilation theory (Porch, 2005). The French went so far with the assimilation policy that in 1930 they forced the Sultan to sign the Berber Decree/Dahir that

attempted to strip the Berbers of their Islamic identity and create a difference between them and Arabs. This attempt sparked resistance movements to French rule, mainly concentrated in rural areas and resulted in the two distinct zones identifying more strongly with each other, showing an ultimately flawed strategy and inaccurate portrayal spatial division in Morocco.

During this era, citizenship took a new direction and used as colonialist policy to indoctrinate and exercise control. The French resorted to education and established separate colonial school systems where the Arabic language and Islamic education were excluded or at best relegated to an inferior status (Vermeren, 2009). The intention “was to weaken Morocco and to place its personality, civilization, and identity in doubt; and to exploit the factors of cultural diversity, in terms of languages and customs, in order to strike a blow at the country’s unity and cohesion” (Hamish, 1998, p.79). Consequently, Morocco developed a complex educational structure based on race, social class and creed. There were a) traditional Qur’anic schools which existed before and during the colonization and were based on an original Arabo-Islamic education system subordinate to the religion that founds it, legitimizes it and dictates its content; b) French public schools which were established by the colonizers to provide education for the French, other foreign nationalities and Moroccan elites; c) Israelite schools where children of Moroccan Jews studied; and d) the Free Moroccan schools which were established by the National Movement and reserved to Muslims but divided into schools for the indigenous and schools for the sons of lords (Boubkir & Boukamhi, 2005; Moatassime, 2015). Disadvantaged children were soon engaged in vocational training. By gender, “girls were oriented to the work of embroidery and carpeting, boys were either integrated into agricultural education, or introduced to the indigenous arts and crafts or other manual professions such as masonry, carpentry or metalworking” (Zouggari, 2005). Within this approach, French-run schools were supposed to

reinforce the French hegemony by convincing the locals that it was in their best interest to comply with the French colonial agenda.

After regaining independence from France in 1956, Moroccan citizenship was separated from religion and gained a legal and political dimension. The new citizenship law was based mainly on *Ius Sanguinis*, and more specifically on paternal descent, which meant that citizenship was determined according to the religious affiliation of the father (Yearous, 2012). The same period was marked by important changes. In the aftermath of independence in 1956, the main challenge of the late King Mohammed V was to provide education to the majority of a Moroccan population hampered by ignorance and illiteracy. Education policymakers had to put an end to the colonizer's education system, and modernize an existing traditional one that was unable to meet the requirements necessary for Morocco's post-independence construction. To implement the new fundamental principles of education, it was first necessary to reform the discriminatory education system inherited from the protectorate to make it accessible to all Moroccans and compatible with the new nationalist vision. The first royal commission was introduced to lay foundations for educational reform that was characterized by the heavy emphasis on the four mega goals. These were the Unification of the educational system, the Universalization or generalization of education for all children at schooling age, the Arabization of instruction and curricula; and the Moroccanization of the teaching and administrative staff. Moroccans aspired to build a national school that would meet the requirements of modernization and revalue the cultural heritage, as well as forging an authentic identity (Souali, 2004). The educational policy of postcolonial Morocco was to raise nationalism with the aim to nurture a distinct self for Moroccans and gain visibility amidst other countries (Merrouni, 1996).

At the beginning of the 1980's, particularly in 1981 when international organizations such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund started interventions and influence in this issue, the problem of education and reforms took new directions and perspectives (Boubkir & Boukamhi, 2005). Within this framework, the reform aimed at creating basic education spanning nine years, and divided into a first cycle of six years at primary schools and a second cycle of three years at junior schools. This reform reduced the early dropout rate and made it compulsory for students to stay at school for a longer period. The strategy was to limit the number of graduates from secondary school who later would go to college, and instead provide professional training programs. The main objectives of this reform were to encourage private education as a means of decreasing the burden of public schooling of the government. Citizenship education was not a priority in the official agenda. According to Errachidi (2008), the dominant values outlining the educational orientation of the period 1980-1991 were theoretical and religious in nature. From 1992 to 1999, educational priorities underwent a shift towards more socially-oriented ones. Interest in political values such as loyalty and political belonging also gained ground during this period compared to the previous one.

2.2.1. The National Charter for Education and Training Reform (1999-2009)

The National Charter for Education and Training Reform or the decade of education 2000-2009, has been considered the most important education reform launched since Moroccan independence, placing “learners in general and children in particular, at the core of the reflective and pedagogical action. From this perspective, it has to offer to the children of Morocco the conditions that are necessary for their development and accomplishment” (NCET, 2000). It was clear from the instructions given and the composition of the charter that the new roadmap would be based on the country's official religion, Islam, which was to be reinforced and reflected in the

new educational system. According to the National Charter (2000), the education sector is considered to be a central mechanism for installing love of country, civic engagement and Islamic values and also promoting global citizenship through the study of foreign languages, science and technology, human rights and sustainable development.

One of the fundamental objectives of this reform is to provide a generalized, quality education to all children and young people of Morocco, in preschool, from age 4 to 6, and in primary and secondary school, from 6 to 15. It also aimed mainly at enhancing the country's economic and social development, a challenge which previous reforms have not been able to meet. To achieve these objectives, the charter established six priority work areas, which would constitute the operational bases for any decision or action taken towards educational reform: Expanding access to education through establishing partnerships, building schools and addressing girls' education in order to ensure that rural areas would not be excluded from this program specially that it is there where illiteracy is most acute; linking education to its economic specificity and environment; revisiting the pedagogical organization to a more student-oriented educational system; raising, in format and content, the quality of education and training; reinforcing the existing human resources; restructuring educational management, and mobilizing partners and funding.

Perhaps, of the most apparent changes brought about by the reform is the reconfiguration of the citizenship education course. As a matter of fact, the compulsory system of primary education in Morocco includes a discipline course called "Ijtimaia" or social studies. There is no specific citizenship education subject. Instead, Morocco adopts an integrated approach in which Education for Citizenship (subject title) is integrated within the social studies course and taught from grade

four in primary school to grade ten of high school. No citizenship education is taught below fourth grade or after tenth grade. In terms of the time allocated for instruction, Morocco allocates up to one-hour per/week, taught in alternation between the other two subject components within the social studies course, namely history and geography. The course aims to teach students the values and practices of responsibility, initiative, and independence of thought and opinion.

While the Moroccan education system was engaging in the reform implementation, international report studies highlighted its failure. According to the 2007 Human Development Index ranking of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Morocco stands 126th out of 177 countries studied because of the alarming illiteracy rates (52.3 per cent) among young people aged 15-24 years who should at this age be at school or university (UNDP, 2007). The World Bank report on education ranked Morocco low among the MENA countries placing it at number eleven of the fourteen countries in the region above only Iraq, Yemen and Djibouti (World Bank, 2008). Based on The Global Poverty Report of the World Bank, the Moroccan population living below the poverty line constituted 20-25 per cent, 2.5 percent of which were children-mostly girls without schooling in rural areas (World Bank, 2008). The release of these reports caused a great stir among Moroccan institutional and social spheres. In 2008, the state responded according to the king's recommendations. His Majesty the King urged the government to reconsider the reform of education in depth. For this reason, the High Council for Education announced the Emergency Reform 2009-2012 plan with the aim to accelerate the implementation of reform according to what had been stipulated by the National Charter of Education and Training. The Emergency Plan planned to achieve in 2012-2013, "in every municipality, 95% minimum enrollment of children aged 6 to 11" and to achieve in 2014-2015 "90% primary completion rate without repetition in the 2009-2010 cohort" (Summary Report of the Emergency

Plan, 2009). In terms of universal education achievement, Morocco is far ahead of countries such as Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Burkina Faso, etc., and it is aligned with countries such as Algeria, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates, Australia, Hungary, etc.(Ibid).

2.2.2. Visions for Citizen Formation in the National Charter for Education and Training (NCET)

The new education policy outlined in the ‘National Charter of Education for Education and Training’ initiated a reform to social studies and citizenship education with the results partially in place until today. The reform outlined the characteristics of the ‘good citizens’ to be virtuous, patriotic and proud of their belonging, aware of their rights and duties towards their country, community and family and ready to serve their country. This vision implies a minimalistic approach towards citizenship education, concerned with developing the students’ social and moral responsibility both towards the country and towards each other; and understanding of the existing political institutions and active community involvement. The NCTE emphasizes volunteering and social work in the context of capitalizing on community and individual responsibility for welfare provision. Moreover, the development of political literacy appears to be driven by an existential need to nurture independent and knowledgeable citizens who are effective in public life rather than critical citizens who analyze social policies and priorities. The charter contains a limited coverage of active citizenship activities that are mainly reduced to a set of social dimensions that ignore in most parts the aspects of active engagement in the political life.

Along with the NCET, the White Book (2000) is stated as a reference to review textbooks, teachers’ guides and schoolbooks manuals; it helped trace the road map for the major goals of

citizenship education and which the curriculum worked on transforming and translating them into knowledge and competencies. Following the White Book and analyzing the national curriculum guidelines, promoting a sense of agency that would allow students to participate in the process of building the country is not an area of focus. The knowledge and understanding about becoming future citizens and the range and content that students are expected to cover in the updated curriculum can be seen to be geared towards becoming an ‘informed’ citizen. This takes for granted a liberal democratic mode of participation (see this in more detail in the analysis section). Whatever the state policy intention behind the introduction of citizenship education in its current form, the focus on skills in addition to knowledge and competencies, phrased in the first guidelines of the NCTE and the curriculum as ‘communication’ and ‘active participation’ leaves room for a more dynamic, radical vision while being minimalist in essence.

2.2.3. Citizenship Education in Morocco: Empirical Studies

Though few, some researchers have studied the Moroccan educational system and investigated the impact of citizenship education on citizen formation. Mouhssin (2004) is one of the few Moroccan researchers who have tried to explore the role of some school subjects in enhancing citizenship education. Specifically, the researcher explores how a school subject such as ‘?asha?n ?almahali’ (the Local Affaire) could be effective in developing the students’ civic knowledge. The findings reveal that most of the surveyed teachers qualify the content of this subject as appropriate to the students’ cognitive development and provides students with adequate opportunities to enrich their civic knowledge. Unfortunately, this school subject was dropped out from the school curriculum in 2006. Toubi (2004) within the same interest but with a different orientation studied the impact of school climate on the student’s knowledge and attitude. He

conducted a study on 40 baccalaureate students randomly selected from the same school (Taha Hussein High School in Casablanca, Morocco) and examined the effect of how the school administration treats the students on their civic actions and knowledge as well as the students' attitudes towards it. The results show that the students have developed negative attitudes towards the school administrative staff and are hardly capable of recognizing dignity as one of human rights; worse, they could not differentiate between rights and duties.

El Ouazzani et al.'s (2010) also contributed to the citizenship education literature within the Moroccan context by examining the perceptions of primary and lower secondary students both in rural and urban areas as well as of teachers and headmasters of citizenship values and their behavioral manifestations within the school context and in the wider community. The researchers found that citizenship education is treated as a subject with a focus on knowledge and a set of values that are not at all possible to translate into behaviors. Teachers and headmasters are not adequately prepared to effectively educate for citizenship since they lack the necessary training to ensure such a task especially that the guidelines included in the curriculum remain very broad and vague. All these inadequacies are related to certain factors mainly the time allocation which most teachers qualify as insufficient and parents' disinterest to get engaged in their children's education.

Melouk et al. (2010) conducted a study about the role of school activities in changing the student's behavior and developing citizenship competencies. The results show that children find difficulties in translating those acquired values into actual behaviors mainly due to a mismatch between what the school advocates and the social reality outside, including the family environment and the neighborhoods which reinforce the values contradicting what the learners

should acquire to be active citizens. In a similar vein, the Council for Education conducted a study in 2007 to investigate the role of the school educational councils in enhancing the democratic practices inside the school through the principles of partnership, communication and participation in the management of the school life. With the National Charter reform, Morocco has adopted a new conceptualization of Moroccan education that aspires to create a ‘dynamic national school’ based on active learning, cooperation, discussion and collective effort on the part of school, students, teachers and parents. However, the study notes that the implementation tasks of the school council with its different tasks face a number of problems. Teachers as well as parents perceived school councils as void of essence since it cannot take practical and concrete measures to implement its decisions.

Faour (2013) in his review of a number of Arab nations’ educational systems including Morocco, he claims that the content of the Moroccan textbooks shows no relevance to the social and political situation in which the educational policy aspires to achieve education on citizenship. Upon analyzing a set of primary textbooks, he found that citizenship is defined in terms of belonging to the nation and being loyal to it and to its leader; the theme of civic participation is reduced to a set of social dimensions that disregard aspects of active engagement in the political life such as volunteering in sports clubs and social charitable societies without encouraging students to become politically active or to join political parties. The study also reports the lack of extracurricular activities. Finally, the World Bank (2009) report about the achievements of the national charter reveals that the students, their families and the teachers show considerable worry about the persistence of the same inefficient teaching methods, structures, teaching conditions (e.g. overcrowded classes, lack of educational support), same traditional methods of evaluation, unadjusted content, and predominance of the authoritarian teaching style.

Research at the classroom level in Morocco reflects crucial issues. Qualifications of teachers represent a serious handicap to the reform efforts. Hamouchi et al (2012) presented an article that aimed to discuss the viewpoints of teachers about the adoption of the competence approach instead of the objective based approach that dominated the national schools since independence. The study revealed that teachers have been obliged to implement the competency-based approach, in a learning environment already oriented towards the objective-based approach. Cognitively speaking, the study shows that the majority of teachers do not manage to correctly define the competency-based approach, which is normal, given the lack of continuing training.

2.3. Citizenship in the New Moroccan Constitution (2011)

In 2011, people in the Arab world who had long lived under authoritarian regimes began to demand the formation of democratic states. In the context of the popular uprisings that swept across North Africa starting in Tunisia in December 2010, the Kingdom of Morocco responded by rapidly drafting and adopting a new constitution in July 2011. The revised constitution textually upheld individual and collective freedoms, and symbolically restored equality for all Moroccan women and men. Article 31 of the constitution stipulates that:

The state, public institutions and local authorities are working to mobilize all means available to facilitate equal access of citizens to the conditions allowing them to enjoy the rights: [...] to modern education, accessible and quality education on attachment to the Moroccan identity and national immutable constants, professional training and physical and artistic education

In other words, the constitution focused on the discourse of rights and obligations. It explicitly sends a clear message to all Moroccans that the state grants, promotes and protects the citizens'

rights, but all citizens are expected to honor their obligation towards the state by being ‘good’ citizens. Citizenship within the new constitution is based upon the values of freedom, equality, justice and participation which are expressed in the different articles of the constitution. Accordingly, being a Moroccan citizen entails enjoying rights and assuming duties and obligations.

The first tenet of the Moroccan citizenship within the new constitution is national identity and belonging. The constitution recognizes the different components of the Moroccan identity being Arabic, Amazigh or Sahraoui and acknowledges its rich origins (African, Hebrew, Andalusian and Mediterranean). It assigns a high status to Islam and allows for tolerance and openness on other cultures. According to article 5 in the constitution, Arabic is the official language; likewise, Amazigh was constitutionalized as a principle component of the diverse fabric of Moroccan society and as an official language of the state being common patrimony of all Moroccans without exception. The constitution also insists on the importance of protecting the Hassani language and all the different dialects of Moroccan Arabic.

The constitution also entails to the Moroccan citizen the right for active participation in public life. In this respect, it classifies rights into civic, political, economic, social and environmental. It reinforces the practices of civil rights by constitutionalizing institutions and organizations for their protection. As for the economic and social rights, the Moroccan constitution guarantees for all citizens the right to benefit from social services such as education and health care. At the same time, being a Moroccan citizen requires citizens to assume the duties associated with citizenship through the respect of the constitution and the law and readiness to

defend the nation against any interior turmoil or external attack as clearly stated in Articles 37 and 38.

Article 37

“All citizens [feminine] and citizens [masculine] must respect the Constitution and conform to the law. They must exercise the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution in a spirit of responsibility and of engaged citizenship where the exercise of the rights is made in correlation to the accomplishment of the duties.”

Article 38

“All the citizens [feminine] and citizens [masculine] contribute to the defense of the Country and of its territorial integrity against an aggression or threat”. In this sense, citizenship is intertwined not only with rights but also with performance of duties in a responsible way. ``

2.4. Citizenship and the Strategic Vision for Reform (2015-2030)

Inspired by the Arab Spring, Morocco adopted a new constitution in 2011, which gave special attention to a set of shared national values. While certainly rhetorically reflecting the main tenets of citizenship and values education, there was not an immediate parallel education policy reform to enact this constitutional reform. There have been a number of critical assessments on the lack of implementation of citizenship and values education. For example, recently, the Chairman of the Higher Council for Education, Training and Scientific Research (HCETSR), Omar Azziman, presented a report on the evaluation of the educational system at a press conference and said “results revealed shocking facts and our education is in danger especially with a degradation of values.” By the same token, the report stresses: “there is a huge disparity between the discourse on values, rights and obligations and day-to-day practices”. After the Arab spring and with the constitutional reform of 2011, special attention has been given to ‘shared national values’ such as

Islam, cultural diversity, social life, democracy, human rights and dialogue between civilizations. However, the report blames the decline of these values on the failure of pedagogical approaches in nurturing and consolidating values among Moroccan students.

In a similar vein, the report comes as a response to certain conditions of cheating violence, gender inequality, harassment and the violation of human rights that have proliferated within the Moroccan school. In reaction to the observed decay, the Higher Council recommends a return to the shared national values and insists on values education as a shared responsibility amongst school, family, media and all the other institutions working in the fields of education, culture and mentoring in a complementary way. Indeed, a recommitment to the civic mission of schools requires a reassessment of the Moroccan educational system, and an investigation of the citizenship curriculum. As a result, the Higher Council of Education, Training and Scientific Research presented the Strategic Vision for Reform of the Moroccan school 2015-2030; known under its title as Vision 2030. The document articulates 23 priority projects including the promotion of values education, life skills and personality development. Based on a participatory approach, this vision is meant to build a new school that promotes fairness and equality of opportunities, a quality education for all, and the integration of the individual and his social progress. The Strategic Vision for Reform 2015-2030 aims to increase equal opportunities for all students within the Moroccan school system. This reform gives special attention to the mission of values education as the main function of cultivating equal access to quality education, gender equality and social inclusion. (More analysis of this policy reform will be given in the findings section).

2.5. Conclusion

The chapter reviewed and analyzed the evolution of the concept of citizenship and citizenship education in the Moroccan context. It also discussed a number of factors that impacted citizenship education in Morocco including historical, economic and political issues. It presented that Morocco was under the French colonialism for more than fifty years during which the French resident had great influence on the establishment of frameworks and systems of life. As social constructs, Morocco and many other Arab countries have continued to pursue nation-building and a national identity. Morocco's national identity and citizenship education are state-prescribed-- in the sense that the state is the principal definer of citizenship education, and have varied with changes of leadership and their responses to domestic and global contexts, and that making and fostering a modern Moroccan citizenry in the 21st century is linked to cultural heritage, contemporary domestic contexts, and an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world. Within the current geo-political context, a distrust in politics brought youth together in coalitions around particular framings of an issue, but youth will still have to gain the necessary skills to claim their rights, shoulder their responsibilities and ensure that the voices of the public are being channeled to decision-makers, and to continue to exert pressure on emerging new governments.

CHAPTER THREE: The Arab Spring and Citizenship Education in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Region

3.1. Introduction

The so-called Arab Spring is a historical world and regional phenomenon that makes ordinary people speak out for freedom and fundamental citizenship rights as well as their aspirations for the establishment of a democratic regime after decades of authoritarian rule and brutality in their respective countries (Bellin, 2012). However, the literature paid little attention to how this process has evolved in different countries and the discussions remained ad-hoc and conceptual in nature. The chapter underlines important debate about the socio-cultural and political context for the Arab spring to understand the meaning behind citizens' demands for citizenship. The chapter reflects on the different forms of social mobilization and collective action especially within the frame of a civil society perspective to develop active and engaged citizens and also examines citizenship education approach in the MENA region.

3.2. The Arab Spring and the Citizenship Climate

The socio-political context in the MENA region is a major factor in the formation of citizenship meanings and as a result influence what form of citizenship education approach is adopted (minimal vs maximal; liberal vs communitarian; traditional vs progressivism interpretations of citizenship). The roots of the Arab Spring tell us much about the underlying political decay of authoritarianism and indoctrination that continues to afflict the region. After 2011, the ancient regimes witnessed waves of popular anger following the unpredictable turmoil that followed Bouazizi, a Tunisian produce vendor, whose self-immolation in Tunisia breached the grip of four

despised dictators and their governments in the MENA region. Bouazizi's incident served as the prelude to serious attempts to newly map the politics in the MENA region with diverse peoples' hope to earn their basic citizenship rights (Faour, 2013).

January 2011 marked the involuntary departure of Zin Al-Abidine Ben Ali, the former president of Tunisia. Tunisians not only succeeded in the ousting of President, which gave other Arab countries the hope of change being possible; but is also the first and only Arab country with fairly democratic elections and relative stability. But even in contemporary Tunisia, the threat of violence and terrorism hangs over a fragile democratic process. A month later in late February in Egypt, Hosni Mubarak was ousted as a result of millions of protesters' calls from the iconic fulcrum, Tahrir Square, which witnessed the birth of the Egyptian revolution. With the initial ousting of former President Mubarak, the new democratically elected president Mohamed Morsi, a Muslim Brotherhood representative, came to power in 2012 but was removed from power by a military coup d'état in 2013 – putting former military marshal Abdel Fattah el-Sisi in power. At the same time, a state of disorder and chaos was cropping up in Libya which resulted in the killing of President Muammar Qaddafi by Libyan armed rebels with the help of NATO in October 2011 as the military capabilities of the opposition were too weak to prevail against the forces of the regime (Çakmak, 2017).

Brutality, dictatorship, and armed oppression have always been the legitimate response of the ancient régimes. The wave of instability and protests soon spread to Yemen and deposed the fourth authoritarian President Ali Abdullah Salah in November 2015, after thirty-three years in the presidential palace. In Yemen, Shia-led Houti rebels from the North took over the capital Sana'a and other cities, contesting state power vis-à-vis the Sunni movement led by the president

elect al-Hadi. The recent developments of violent clashes between Sunni-Southerners and Shia-Houthis, as well as the Saudi-led coalition conducting air strikes against the Houthi rebels undermine the prospect of stability and peace in Yemen (Barany, 2011). Next door, the Manama's Pearl Roundabout in Bahrain gathered thousands of protesters, who demanded democracy and fair treatment toward the Shia Muslim community by the royal Sunni government. The regime was able to relatively easily strike down the mass protests due to its rentier neighbor Saudi Arabia, which supported massively quelling the riots and even sent troops to Bahrain.

Saudi royal family is a hegemonic actor in the Gulf region and any political crisis in a Gulf monarchy could call into question the general monarchical principle in this sub region of the Middle East (Steinberg, 2014). Syria, was the last in the chain of popular movements in the Middle East following the Uprisings, when residents in the southern city of Dar'a rose up en masse to decry police brutality following the arrest of fifteen school boys who had written anti-government slogans on a wall. When their parents assembled to demand their release, the security forces rebuffed them, and as protests grew in subsequent days, those forces killed six protestors. The following weeks witnessed demonstrations all over the country. These massive mobilizations by the opposition, which the regime tried unsuccessfully to contain through cosmetic reforms and massive repression ended up with an endless civil and ethno-sectarian war.

Morocco and Jordan have also been under constant pressure to reform. Both countries have undergone a semi-transitional period of political changes, top-down reform processes in which Jordanians and Moroccans are reluctant to challenge the legitimacy of both monarchies. Algeria has been one of the most stable countries since the Arab uprisings due to the fear of descending again into violence, after the vicious civil war of the 1990s. However, in February 2019, the

Algerian Hirak (movement) started in opposition to President Abdelaziz Bouteflika's announcement of his intention to run for a fifth term. In fact, this revolution was the outcome of a longstanding crisis whose causes were in many ways similar to those affecting developments in other countries in 2011. In response, the Algerian political order slowly began to crumble, and Bouteflika was eventually forced to resign on April 2nd. Yet the Hirak has not stopped, and Algerians continue to protest- up to date- against the System (nidham or Système), which they say still has to be uprooted. Lebanon, a country impeded by regional struggles and diverse religious affiliations, witnessed protests in October 2019, the largest since its independence, and which brought thousands of protesters into the street blaming the country's economic conditions, the persistent corruption of the ruling class and demanding full citizenship rights. Despite the nation-wide character of the protests, and slogans like "All of them means all of them" and "The people want to tear down the system", many Lebanese remain attached to the particularism of their sectarian belonging; their show of unity could be more an expression of a 'unity in diversity' rather than a wish for dissolution of sectarian identities. It is difficult to predict if the protesters will be able to change the country, which faces a severe financial and economic crisis to which a political crisis has now been added.

Consequently, the Arab Uprisings was characterized by common feelings felt from Morocco to Bahrain. It has focused on diverse issues in different countries, but one common element to them all has been the struggle to define some forms of collective belonging to a nation often expressed in the term 'Muwatana' or citizenship that might aspire for a new relationship between the state and the citizen (Meijer, 2015). Nine years after the Arab Spring, with reference to the bleak situation of civil war; violence and ISIS in Syria, Libya, Yemen and Iraq; an autocracy more repressive than the Mubarak regime in Egypt; Tunisia featuring a democracy and aspiring

for a longstanding political liberalization; top-down reform processes and constitutional amendments in Morocco and Jordan to pre-empt a greater monarchical challenge and ensure regime survival; concepts of democracy, nationalism, patriotism, identity formation, civic participation took a new meaning and direction. Until 2011, differences between the Middle Eastern political systems could predominantly be found in the degree of their authoritarian and indoctrination character. Now there are two characteristics by which they differ substantially: authoritarian systems versus systems in transition, and stable systems versus unstable systems.

3.2.1. The Roots of the Uprisings

The Arab Spring started a conceptual revolution that re-claimed the ideational nature of human rights. Protests' slogans such as 'Al Sha'eb Yurid..' (The people want) and 'Work, Freedom, Bread' reminded the regime that human rights serve human needs, dignity, and freedom, independent of any political interest, strategic calculation, or authoritarian bargain (Hamd, 2016). The foundation of the mass protests during that period did not come from clergymen, mosques, Islamic groups, intelligence agencies, or militant groups. Protestors were not jihadists, terrorists or conspirators. Their struggle to express and defend human nature and common humanity created cross boundary solidarity. There exist a large number of factors that arguably moved Arabs to protest, but there is still no clear consensus on which factors actually played a determinant role.

The motivations that move people to take to the streets, I argue, are mostly associated with political, social, and economic forms of relative deprivation (we will see movement theories in the next section). Ottaway and Hamzawy (2011, p.2) argue that the Arab Spring was mostly rooted in social and economic grievances. All MENA states have over the past two decades been

exposed to similar exogenous forces of change, most forcefully pressures for economic and financial globalization, adjustment to international markets, political liberalization through media and international agencies, and the UN Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) adopted in 1979. Many Arab states hoped to appease their restive middle classes with the phantom of economic growth and with it the promise of more jobs and prosperity. However, we know that even as ‘late developers’, the Arab states were not Asian tigers. The Middle East has not been able to reproduce the miracle of Korean industrialization, or Singaporean modernization, or Taiwanese development, and thereby create booming capitalist economies integrated into global markets. The outbreak of the 2008 global financial and economic crisis was also not helpful to boost market liberalism’s popularity (Muller & Hubner, 2014).

The Arab world has been facing a demographic trap for nearly three decades, and the worst generational demographic imbalances are, for many Arab countries, yet to come. Youth under the age of 24 account for just over half of the population of the Arab world. One out of every five Arabs is seeking to finish schooling, find a job, and get married. Thus, unequal access to education, lack of the training necessary to succeed in a wide variety of industries and fields, the imbalance between schooling opportunities and job market offerings and unemployment are among the incentives for the Arab Spring revolution. Many educated youth lost hope and desperately embraced any job after graduation. A state of despair reigned the region and most of the Middle East countries that have been at the center of violent protests exhibited large schooling gains and poor employment ...[and the educated] who had not seen that education rewarded in the labor market ...would ...channel their efforts towards political action, and political protest in particular. One of the main causes of unemployment in most Arab states has been the poor

application of neo-liberal economic policies, proved being incapable or disinterested in building strong economies. These policies of decreasing the role that public sector employment would play in the economy of a state and a general shrinking of the governmental bureaucracy with the goal of elevating the private sector led to a decrease in the number of public sector jobs and a growing mistrust of the private sector that has not grown to replace lost governmental jobs (Mulderig, 2013).

Contextually speaking, citizenship theories have not been applied to the Arab world as their essence have been developed to the west and attuned to western ideas that are based and expressed in the social contract between the individual and a democratic state. Furthermore, deep discussions about global and cosmopolitan agendas appear abortive given the predominant absence of Marshallian citizenship and the perquisites of democratization summarized in the lack of a strong civil society, market driven economy, poverty, literacy levels, social injustices and remoteness from the democratic epicenter. In the Arab World, liberalism has never been strong and the result was the Uprisings that embodied basic demands in liberal philosophy. Moreover, a liberal person is often considered synonymous with secular, which in turn implies atheism to some (Dunne & Radwan, 2013; Maghraoui, 2006; Meijer, 2015). Although liberal youth groups were the initiators of protests during the period of 2011-2012, the overthrow of authoritarian regimes created opportunities for Islamist parties (Cammatt & Luong, 2014; Ghafar & Hess, 2018; Hamid et al., 2017) to exploit elections and advance their agendas that are sometimes based on harsh interpretations of Sharia Law and the abortion of women's rights.

Thus, with the fear of the rise of Islamist movements and political Islam, some Arab states claim liberal rhetoric and make promises for future democratic reforms as a counter defense

against the populism of the Islamism. The advent of republicanism and communitarianism in the 20th century as a modernizing and democratizing force was much stronger than liberalism. However, Arab republicanism has lost much of its meaning as presidential power was about to become monarchical presidency and bequeathed from father to son as was the case in Egypt with Gamal Mubarak, Libya with Saif Islam, Syria with Bashar AL Assad and Yemen with Ahmed Ali Abdullah al- Saleh (Sadiki, 2009). That authoritarian tactic of dynastic republicanism served, among many, as a prelude to serious attempts to newly map the politics in the MENA region in 2011. However, with the rise of social media, youths have called for a new form of communitarianism through their social networks, formed movements and succeeded in activating societies to protest.

3.2.2. Collective Action in the Context of a Passive Political Regime

Contemporary debates about the role of citizens in processes of development have often focused on institutionally-orchestrated forms of participation. The scholarly debate concerning social movement started in the early 19th century with Karl Marx, where he describes the class struggles between the productive and non-productive classes as a result of structural tensions. The exploitation of the working class and the need for revolution to establish a socialist regime explains the emergence of social movements. A plethora of literature has emerged reflecting critically on initiatives and efforts to involve citizens in policy and decision-making as well as the question of power and representation that shape who influences agendas and how (Cornwall & Schattan, 2007). However, many forms of citizen engagement take place outside these institutionally-orchestrated spaces, through more spontaneous forms of social mobilization whether around struggles for material resources, political power or identity. Collective action is

a requisite precursor to social movements since shared interests direct people moving together toward shared goals (Della Porta & Diani, 2015; Tilly, 1978). This shared goal helps to minimize the differences between the different segments of society and strengthen the relationships between members of various groups and factions.

Interests in social movements, specifically in Africa, start with colonialism such as the Maji Maji insurgency in 1890s in Tanzania or the Mau Mau insurgency in Kenya in the 1940s or the so called liberal movement of the late colonial period in Mozambique (Mamdani & Wamba-dia-Wamba, 1995; Lamer, 2010). At the time of the second wave of democratization in the late 1980s and 1990s, democracy movements emerged in many African countries following the protests against authoritarian regimes in Latin America and socialist parts of Europe. To this day, democracy movements are important agents in the political process either against monarchical presidency, rigged elections and social justice. Quite a number of more recent social movements do express a fundamental critique to the political system but also make specific demands to be fulfilled within the existing political system such as human rights, labor rights, and social services. All these movements from early anti-colonial to current pro-democratic movements had goals such as freedom and democracy, liberation, and therefore share the normative orientation of civil society (Daniel & Neubert, 2019).

The Middle East arguably has witnessed uprisings conceived as mobilization and oppositional movements at a popular level. During the Arab Spring, social movements emerged because of a general dissatisfaction among specific class or classes. We argue that citizens who were relatively politically (lack of democracy, freedom, and justice), economically (standard of living, unemployment, and inequalities), and/or socially (reclaim identity, dignity, and voice)

deprived were more likely to participate in the protest movements. This dissatisfaction might lead in most cases to political instabilities and an active desire to change the status quo. One approach to explaining instability is known as the cultural incongruence hypothesis, which focuses on the gap between the people's desired level of democratic values and the country's actual level of democracy; the larger the gap, the higher the potential for instability (Welzel & Inglehart, 2005). According to Cameron (1966), unsatisfied people should develop an awareness of their ability to change the offending circumstances and be able to access and communicate with each other in order to be organized.

There exists a wide range of theories that explain the emergence, developments and outcomes of social movements. Some of the most commonly known of these theories are relative deprivation theory, resource-mobilization theory and political process theory. Flynn (2011) argues that relative deprivation theory refers to feelings of deprivation that arise when desires become legitimate expectations and those desires are blocked by society. Because the feelings of deprivation entails social dissatisfaction, relative deprivation scholars argue that collective feelings of relative deprivation eventually lead to social movements, as feelings of deprivation over status, wealth or power can push people to attend protest movements and demand social change (Morrison, 1971; Taylor, 2002). In contrast, following resource mobilization theory, McCarthy and Zald (1977) argue that citizen's support for a social movement does not solely depend on oppression and feelings of resentment or deprivation, but that social movement requires particular resources. For example, new social media, political parties or religious venues allow information to flow more easily, making it easier for the population to overcome collective action problems (Lichbach, 1995; Spier, 2011).

Whereas a dominant strand of social movement theory has focused on more conventional forms of protest in spaces established through face-to-face encounters, sittings, marches and demonstrations, contemporary mobilizations often link these spaces with more diffuse communication processes over multiple locales, including the use of both conventional spaces and new information and communication technologies. New social media provides a further explanation on how Arabs shared their grievances. In this globalized era, the use of Internet and information and communication technology (ICT) has changed the dynamics of social movements and challenged the authoritarian political regimes (Auer, 2011). Digital technologies represented in web-based technologies such as blogs, social networks (Facebook or Twitter) or social spaces filled with user-generated content (YouTube) have made social media a prominent tool in revolutionizing the way civil society and institutions communicate opinions and disseminate information (Castells, 2008).

Shirky (2011) argues that social media is a powerful tool in enhancing democracies and echoing public opinion. As a way of illustration, the Egyptian uprising was perceived as a prime example of how social media can mobilize collective action among vast amounts of citizens, pushing them to protest for their rights and demands (Lynch, 2011; Moussa, 2013). However, engagements with the media as activists presented a number of challenges. Governments use the internet as well, mostly to undermine protests movements by banning and blocking internet pages or spreading false news. Jones (2013) argues, for example, that the Bahraini regime used social media tactics like naming and shaming, offline intelligence gathering and passive observation to suppress both online and offline dissent. We argue that new technology promotes social movements through three mechanisms, namely reduction of participation costs, promotion of collective identity, and creation of a community (Kelly Garrett, 2006).

Collective action is argued to be more of a conscious choice to improve one's conditions for particular reasons instead of the formerly assumed more emotional (and often irrational) response of aggression and frustration. However, both relative deprivation and resource mobilization play an essential role in explaining participation in the Arab Spring because the feeling of relative deprivation functions as a motivational mechanism to spur action through rational choice behavior of opportunistic thoughts. While similarly emphasizing movement resources and organization, the theory of political process, also known as political opportunity theory suggests that success or failure of social movements is primarily affected by political opportunities (Giugni, 2009). It stresses dynamism, strategic interaction, and response to the political environment and the 'political opportunity structures' made available. This echoes some of the concerns of civic republican perspectives on citizenship that recognize a diversity of interests within society and assume that citizens will form factional groups around these. Citizenship is thus related to a common civic identity based on common public culture, emergent from a deliberation around alternative framings (e.g. Habermas, 1984, 1996). Moreover, in the Arab Spring, the identity-related aspects of social movements have also been emphasized.

The case of the Arab Spring highlights forms of citizenship which are enacted through mobilization processes. The revolution appears to bear communitarian and republican notions of citizenship which are to the fore – for instance where tight forms of collective action emerge around authoritarianism and social justice. In some cases, collective solidarities emerge in a more temporary and shifting way, bringing together more diverse groups in coalitions around particular framings of an issue, with particular micro-mobilization contexts providing important sources of cohesion. These collective solidarities sometimes extend to the global as emergent forms of trans-

national activism especially through social media, making claims about global citizenship as resources to link diverse movements across multiple local sites. Mobilization reflects the emergence of ‘responsibilized’ citizens who join forces to articulate individualized rights and lifestyle choices in relation to the public goods and regulations proposed by state and international systems. Critical to the advancement of this democratization form is the knowledge- politics which needs to go hand in hand with the notion of citizen agency. Such individuals are better able to identify their preferences and own interests and thus are better able to understand politics and are better fitted to act in the political realm (Kroh, 2009; Somin, 2005).

3.2.3. Collective Action within a Civil Society Perspective

The basic idea of civil society goes back to Friedrich Hegel and “development of bourgeois urban cultures of post Enlightenment Europe” (Thiranagama et al., 2018). Hegel used the term bourgeois society to denote a sphere of economic and social arrangements regulated by civil code rather than directly dependent upon political state itself (Honderich, 2005, p. 367–368). This bourgeois society referred to a new class of merchants and civil servants who demanded freedom from the domination of the nobility and traditional bonds. Hegel treated civil society as a ‘system of needs’ in which individuals reconcile their particular private interests with social demands and expectations, which are ultimately mediated by the universal state (Hegel, 1991). Hegel’s ideas became the foundation for Karl Marx’s civil society as an economic base, in contrast to the ‘superstructure’ of the political society, the state (Marx, 1977). Marx gave civil society a more politically charged name, as for him it was a product of a historical subject, the bourgeois, which legitimated its struggles against the absolutist state in the language of the rights of man and citizen, whereas in reality it served only the particular interests of the bourgeois (Richter, 1998,

p. 33). He rejected the positive role of the state put forth by Hegel, as he believed that under capitalism, the state functions as a repressive apparatus, an instrument of class domination (Bobbio, 1989, p. 27-29; Marx, 1970). He agreed with Hegel that civil society was where the real action is, yet he conceived it to be so robustly shaped by class antagonism that it could not ensure the common good among competing interests (Brown, 1999). In a bourgeois society, people treat one another as a means to their own ends and, in so doing, are isolated from other people (Anheier et al., 2001, p. 12-13).

Antonio Gramsci also defines civil society as a social arena. However, whereas Marx had considered civil society as concurrent with the socio economic base of the state, Gramsci located civil society in a space where social conflicts are carried on with a preparedness to express political interests and influence politics. For him, civil society was a sphere wherein ideological apparatuses operated and whose task was to exercise hegemony and through hegemony to obtain consensus (Bobbio, 1989, p. 29). This understanding paved the way for Habermas's (1991) concept of civil society as a public sphere, a coercion free arena for discussion where citizens can deliberate in an open and peaceful manner on matters affecting the common good. In line with Tocqueville (1951) and Putnam and Alton-Lee (1995), they placed citizens' associations in the core of civil society and thus of democracy and stressed the production and accumulation of social capital. In other words, civil action is a way of expressing opinions and regarding political issues and everyday solidarity in a vivid associational life. The logic stressing the civil society's associational core and the development of individual meaning and identity fuelled the contemporary communitarian theorists such as Etzioni, Lock and Rawls. Forming associations—the coming together of people for a common purpose—is thought to teach the “habits of the heart” (Bellah et al., 1996) of social behavior and to bind individual citizens to an idea of unity larger

than selfish desires, thus forming a self-conscious and active political society as well as a vibrant civil society functioning independently from the state.

Just as the French Revolution had fueled an adjustment of the concept of civil society in the early nineteenth century, so did the emergence of political opposition to the authoritarian regimes in the former Soviet bloc in the late 1980s. While civil society had been in limbo for decades, the concept was suddenly revived in the early 1990s as its role in democracy, democratization, and development became understood (Jensen & Mischel, 2005, p. 3). With the rapid rise of globalization in the 20th and 21st century, references to what constitutes civil society differ from one definition to another. The World Bank (2010) has adopted a comprehensive definition of civil society, developed by a number of leading research centers: "it refers to the wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations." Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) therefore refer to a wide array of organizations: community groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), labor unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, and foundations (World Bank, 2010).

Civil society witnessed a new developmental trend in the multiplication of NGOs and new social movements. Such a civic renaissance was an outcome of fresh outpouring of social entrepreneurship and civic reinvention, lost faith in centralized systems of government and a thirst quest for values and volunteerism. Consequently, civil society has become understood as to form an essential mediating structure not only because it stands as a bridge between the individual and the large impersonal structures of the state and the market, but also because it plays a crucial role

in cultivating citizenship as well as generating and maintaining values in society. Berger and Neuhaus (1977, p. 2) argue that without civil society, “values become another function of the mega-structures, most notably the state”. Civil society is not a standalone concept but paired historically with the state and act as two necessary elements that are separate but contiguous, distinct but interdependent, internal articulations of the social system as a whole (Bobbio, 1989, p. 44). The reciprocal, interdependent, and constantly realigning interaction between civil society and the state is well explained by Putnam’s (1988) two-level game theory. Increased transnationalism on the one hand and international agreements and coalitions on the other can make the game more complex. This holds true if we consider the critical debate on NGOs, their dependency on foreign donors and the influence of foreign donors such as the United Nations, European Union and World Bank - as the forerunners of democracy promotion- on their activities (Neubert, 1997).

In the Arab World, civil society was integrated in political speeches, by governments, its institutions and media. Traditionally, civil society organizations have been commonly perceived as having a controversial relationship with the regimes, partly as a survival mechanism, and mostly due to regime restrictions imposed on them. Pitner (2000) for example highlights the creativity of the Tunisian government, when it decided to create its own NGOs, staffed by members of the general intelligence services (*mukhabarat*) to attend and monitor what was being said about Tunisia. This reality presumes a weak and fragile civil society’s internal structure such as challenges of identifying clear missions and strategies; being mostly donor-driven exposes them to continued supervision on the kind of activities presented, implementing sporadic ad hoc programs and projects; limited capacities in maintaining strong relations with their constituency and their inefficiency in mobilizing, networking and entering into coalitions; all leading to rather

limited and fragmented impact within their societies (Rishmawi & Morris, 2007). Another critical constraint to effective civil society is the lack of national legislation and laws pertaining to the right to assemble, freedom of expression and access to information, as well as the right to form and enter into political parties, without forgetting the lack of a favorable and enabling environment for participatory policy processes and an institutionalized platform for dialogue and partnerships.

Since the early 1990s, Arab countries sought an increased momentum for human rights organizations advocating equality of rights, particularly with respect to vulnerable groups and women's movements contributing largely to building a new rights-educated generation. Women organizations have admittedly advanced the gender mainstreaming efforts by consistently pressuring regimes to ratify international treaties and conventions on women's rights such as CEDAW, ICCPR and ICSECR. Moreover, international democracy-promoting organizations have increased their efforts in recent years to expand and promote an increased role of civil society organizations in political life, decision-making and policy-development. Many supported initiatives led by local non-governmental organizations in countries like Egypt, Morocco, Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan, introduced concepts such as domestic election observation, parliamentary monitoring and civic advocacy. For example, according to a recent report by the Ministry of Interior in 2014, the number of associations has grown significantly from 4000 in 1990 to 116,836 in 2014, targeting a variety of social issues related to human rights, gender equality, local development, environmental sustainability and more. These associations or 'little schools of citizenship' as Tocqueville calls teach and build democratic practices (Eberly, 2000). This augmented role of the public meant that governments can be held accountable, policies can be amended, and change can be driven by the people.

When discussing the role of civil society throughout the rise of the Arab revolts, CSOs played a significant role leading up to the eruption of the mass protests and popular citizen mobilization. Therefore, young educated Arabs, whom to a large extent were marginalized not only by states but also by CSOs themselves, formed their own self-help groups and took necessary actions to voice their demands. However, the common assumption that the Arab world does not have a strong civil society tradition and even where they establish presence, they fall short to exert strong political influence because of the domination of the Islamist ideology as their frame of reference (Yom, 2005) prevailed. In Egypt, for example, the clash between the Muslim Brotherhood, Egypt's only civil society organization with vast reach into the nation's grassroots, cultivated through decades of providing social services to the poor and which seeks to turn the Islamic Sharia law into the primary source of Egyptian law and the Liberal group who held liberal values based on democratic decision making and freedom polarized the Egyptian society even further, closing the channels of dialogue that the Islamist and secular had kept open up to that point. After Abdel Fattah al-Sisi was elected president, a new constitution was approved in January 2014. Article 75 stipulates:

"Citizens have the right to form non-governmental organizations and institutions on a democratic basis, which shall acquire legal personality upon notification. They shall be allowed to engage in activities freely. Administrative agencies shall not interfere in the affairs of such organizations; dissolve them except by a judicial ruling".

This article however has not improved the situation of NGOs in Egypt, which continue to be a target for persecution by the authorities (Çakmak, 2017).

Whereas the popular uprisings have led to serious changes and to visible progress in terms of democratization and promotion of human rights in some of the Arab Spring countries, the

overall situation still remains shaky in some others. Social agents and actors still do not have adequate political experience and social dynamics to accomplish this. The civil society activism was unable to secure a lasting change in the MENA region due to many factors importantly are freedom deficit, women's empowerment deficit and human capabilities/knowledge deficit in the Arab world. While they were able to exhibit a wide range of innovative tactics during the popular uprisings, civil society groups failed to contribute firmly to the establishment of a democratic political order. They need to learn how to create broader coalition and network for greater influence and develop more attractive strategies to reach out to the people. Lack of expertise is also a significant problem.

3.3. Government Promotion of Citizenship Education in the MENA

In countries experiencing transitions in government regimes, as recently in the Middle East and North Africa with the Arab Spring, education is deemed important to first and foremost reinforce democratic values and participation embodied in a progressivism citizenship education perspective and then move from a national to a global citizenship education approach. These shifts suggest a (re)imagination of the traditional, national and patriotic student who is blindly prescribed to unquestion versions of truth and show pride and sense of belonging (Westheimer, 2009). Despite many educational reforms that have been undertaken recently, “Arab nations have diverse priorities in citizenship education. One group seeks to raise religious citizens as its highest priority; another, patriotic nationalists; and a third group desires to graduate youth with two or more identities—ethnic, religious, national, regional, and international” (Faour, 2013).

For example, the general goals for education in Jordan include preparing “a citizen who believes in God Almighty; clings to his faith, as represented by the high Islamic and Arab values; belongs to his homeland, principles, and nation” (Jordanian Ministry of Education, 2013). Egypt’s curriculum framework for all school levels (elementary, middle, and secondary) also indicates religious values as a primary objective. As the framework states, the goal of the education system is to “deepen the belief of learners in their faith, its principles, values, and its perspective on man, the universe, and life; and the alignment of their behavior with that perspective in words and deeds” (Egyptian Ministry of Education, 2012). In Bahrain, the Curricula Directorate of the Ministry of Education (MoE) outlined its rationale for the teaching of citizenship education. It was based on the assumption that there was: a national necessity to develop a sense of loyalty and belonging; a social need to develop knowledge, skills, citizenship values, dispositions and participation in community service and knowledge of rights and responsibilities; and an international need to prepare citizens to be able to respond to international changes (Selaibeekh, 2017).

Tunisia’s curriculum promotes a discourse of rights and responsibilities as well as tolerance and respect for differences among people (Faour, 2013). The education reform act in Tunisia in 2002 targeted learner’s self-confidence reflecting her/his cultural, civilizational belonging in its Arab, Islamic, and universal humanitarian dimensions. In Morocco, The curriculum of civic education aims to consolidate the Morocco’s cultural heritage and identity and raise awareness and respect of its diversity; openness to the achievements of contemporary human civilization; love of country and commitment to serve it; awareness of obligations and rights; education for citizenship and practicing democracy; the ability to participate in local and national affairs; independence and critical thinking skills; positive interaction with the social environment; sense

of responsibility and discipline; initiative, innovation and creativity (The White Book 2000, p.12-13).

What is common among all these countries is their strategy to consolidate a national identity. National identity, defined as patriotism and loving one's country and favoring it over all others, is a recurrent theme in the most policy documents and civics textbooks in the countries investigated. Each country emphasizes a combination of national, Arab, Islamic, or multicultural dimensions of citizenship identity in their school textbooks. In Morocco, a 2011 constitutional amendment after the Arab Spring, declares the state to be an Islamic state and explains that national identity has several components (see Finding section).

In Bahrain, which is a conservative society made of different religious groups; the national dimension of a citizen's identity is particularly prominent in the curricula and textbooks of schools. The course 'Education for Citizenship' aims to "make the learner aware of her/his national identity" and to develop the student's sense of national duty by "deepening the concepts of citizenship, planting the spirit of loyalty and belonging among students, and specifying their duties toward their nation and leadership" (Selaibeekh, 2017). It also sets the goal of bolstering the sense of pride in the achievements of the king. In the 2002 constitution, Bahrain declares its Arabism and its Islamic identity. Although it is categorized as an Arab Islamic state, its Muslim citizens are from both Sunni and Shia sects of Islam, and are generally of Arab or Persian ethnicity and most of the 2011 opposition and uprisings highlighted sectarian tensions between the indigenous population of Shia and Sunni. Due to the geographical position of Bahrain, close to Iran, some of the Bahraini Shia's loyalty is sometimes questioned as it is widely believed that their religious loyalty to Iran compromises their loyalty to Bahrain due to their mutual religious

identity. Thus, Bahrain resorted to the educational system as one of the most influential social systems to prepare individuals who are loyal to the country and homeland. This objective of the civics curriculum translates into an abundance of topics and references to national identity in the textbooks, such as the titles of chapters ‘Bahrain: My Homeland’; ‘My Country Bahrain and the Neighboring Countries’; ‘My Country: History and Civilization’; ‘The National Heritage of My Country’, and ‘I Love and Guard My Country’ (Selaibeekh, 2017).

Jordan is an interesting case. The ethnic origins of those living in Jordan are many and contrasting. The vast majority are Arabs from various other backgrounds, some of which come from the Levant and the Arabian Peninsula. The Jordanian people are made up of Bedouin tribes. To maintain their rule, the Hashemites have often relied upon the support of Jordan’s Bedouin population. The Palestinians make up part of Jordan’s original inhabitants, and after the establishment of Israel in 1948 and its ethnic cleansing of Palestine, some refugees also settled in Jordan. Thus, to mask the difference and hide power relations between different cultural identification processes Jordan highlights the Arab dimension without neglecting the national one. According to Article 1 of the Jordanian constitution, ‘the Jordanian people are part of the Arab nation’. For Tunisia, the ‘National Charter’ has a section titled ‘identity’, which states that the identity of our people is Arab-Islamic.

Questions of what kind of citizens the states want to promote emerge to the forefront. In Bahrain, in one of his speeches, the king defined the good citizen as the person “who does a better job for the good of Bahrain and its security and stability.” In *Islam and Contemporary Issues*, a textbook for secondary schools, a good citizen has the following attributes: “love and loyalty to the homeland; striving to defend it against all opposing thoughts; continuous work for its glory

and progress; mastering its history, culture, ambitions and hopes; loyalty to it at times of crisis as well as of prosperity; safeguarding its institutions and acting to develop them to their utmost level for the benefit of all citizens”. In Morocco, according to Article 19 of the amended constitution, “the king, Amir al-Muminin [commander of the faithful], shall be the supreme representative of the nation and the symbol of the unity thereof. He shall be the guarantor of the perpetuation and the continuity of the state”. A citizen as depicted by the Strategic Vision for Reform (2015, p. 9) is a student who “adheres to the religious, national and institutional foundations of Morocco; is committed to the national identity with its diverse components; is proud of belonging to this nation state and able to strike a balance between his rights and duties”.

In Egypt, according to the national education textbook for the tenth grade, a good Egyptian citizen should possess seventeen attributes. The first two are the ‘belief in God and commitment to his religious instructions and respect for the religions of others’ and the ‘full awareness of his [the citizen’s] civil and political rights and duties in society, so he would demand his rights and performs his duties’. Other commendable qualities of the good citizen include volunteering, voting, and political engagement; tolerance and moderation in thought and behavior and acceptance of others; respect for the constitution; and pride in the nation and its history and civilization. In addition, it is worth noting that the list of qualities includes the promotion of good deeds or virtue and dissuasion of bad deeds or evil in one’s social neighborhood.

In Jordan, good citizens are loyal to the crown, and citizenship has two sides: one is loyalty and the other is belongingness. In 2002, Jordan launched Jordan first campaign with the aim to propose a new mode of civic life. King Abdullah II’s website states that the campaign targets a generation of young Jordanians who pride themselves in their homeland and their monarch’s

throne and who beam with their democracy and effective, responsible participation in shaping their parliamentary institutions to be both accountable for and loyal to Jordan. In Tunisia, a good citizen participates in preparing the laws and in decision-making, contributes to public functions, and is responsible for the smooth functioning of the institutions (Faour, 2013).

Generally speaking, various definitions of a ‘good citizen’ in the Arab nations emphasize the attributes of patriotism, support for the ideology and political program of the regime, and, in most cases as in Morocco, Jordan and Bahrain, loyalty to the ruler as well. Here, being a good citizen is associated with conformity to those practices and who challenges these beliefs and does not abide by these practices and rules is not a good citizen. Moreover, the citizenship education programs in the countries investigated are silent on the teaching of critical thinking skills that challenge values and choices that are made under different political, cultural, national and economical conditions (Cooper & White, 2008). From here, citizenship education could be described as a process of shaping young citizens, who have to unquestionably respond and conform to the demands of the elite society. Citizenship education can thus be used for moulding, managing and reforming young people for the benefit of people in positions of power. In that case, it does not develop active citizens who are capable of thinking critically, questioning and making decisions about issues that concern them.

3.4. Vision 2030 Agenda in the MENA after the Arab Spring

In an environment characterized by the growing importance of international trade, more diverse communities due to cross-border mobility, and rapid technological advancement, developing countries are adopting a range of education policy reforms to enhance equity, quality, and ensure

the acquisition of skills required for employability and successful functioning in society (Capsada, 2014; OECD, 2013). The ways in which policies are designed; the underlying motives and intentions; the students, teachers and schools for whom the policies are written; and the expected outcomes of such policies may have the potential to foster conducive learning environments and increase learners' experiences and opportunities (Coburn & Russell, 2008). More recently, the move towards globally developed policies that promote standardization and regulation in education such as the Millennium Development Goals, Education for All and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in an effort to reform curriculum and instruction under efficiency and global competitiveness have become widely recognized (Verger et al., 2018). Current global education reforms are thus embedded in an increasingly universalized web of ideas, models and visions that are shared among a range of political actors and which aim to promote values-based and action-oriented education to face social challenges and function productively in an interdependent world community (Engel, 2009; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Schriewer, 2000).

However, the re-contextualization of imported education policies might be problematic, especially in developing countries if it does not take into account the social context; the cultural differences at the national, local and regional levels; and the appropriate human and material resources to implement costly and technically demanding global education programs (Beech, 2006; Crossley et al., 2003). In addition, drawing on Foucault's (1991) notion of power and discourse, education reform is almost always a highly politicized process in which government ideologies (liberal, liberal democratic, social democratic, authoritarian) represent a key filter when it comes to adopting recommendations (Gift & Wibbels, 2014).

Education reform has emerged as a political priority in the MENA region, especially after the Arab Spring. Within the emphasis of the role of education in MENA societies, a growing emphasis is placed on values education and national identity (Faouar, 2013). There has been a general consensus that education systems in this region are broadly failing to deliver the necessary outcomes for development and active social agency as a result of different factors, including a traditional approach to curriculum design; a focus on memorization over critical thinking; a lack of qualified and trained teachers; and a lack of adjustment to the needs of the labor market (UNDP, 2007; World Bank, 2008). Immediately after the adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the recognition of the importance of long-term commitments to Goal 4 and its seven targets (UNESCO, 2016), many Arab countries, including Morocco, Jordan, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Egypt, launched Vision 2030 reforms.

SDG4 expresses a vision to “Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” (UNESCO, 2015). The first three targets are intended to ensure all children and adults access to quality education from early years through primary and secondary school to technical and university levels. Target 4.4 aims to enhance skills for youth and adults linked to work. Target 4.5 is concerned with the distribution of educational access across a range of demographics noting needs of people with disabilities, indigenous peoples and vulnerable groups. Target 4.6 aims to ensure literacy and numeracy for all youth and substantially reduce adult illiteracy. Target 4.7 is the only target that deals with the content of education aiming to develop citizenship aspects in terms of knowledge and skills for sustainable development, human rights, gender equality and cultures of peace and non-violence. If we compare the contents of 4.7 to international educational policies in the past which focused on getting access and school completion mainly for primary education but now also secondary education as well as on reaching

gender parity in enrollment, then we realize that 4.7 is a transformative, even revolutionary target. No previous global education policy regime had included a goal or target speaking to the humanistic, moral and social purposes of education.

Aspirations for the 2030 Agenda reforms opens up quality education that focuses on learning outcomes that have a strong link to economic priorities. Egypt, for example, recently published the Vision 2030 Sustainable Development Strategy, which seeks to transform Egypt's economy and society through three strategic dimensions: economic, social and environmental. The three dimensions have ten pillars, including Education and Training, which focuses on improving the quality of education in accordance with global institutions; ensuring equal access to education for all without discrimination; and enhancing the competitiveness of educational outcomes (SDS Egypt, 2015; Shedid, 2018). Similarly, Jordan's National Vision 2025 establishes the groundwork for reforms such as the Ministry of Education's National Education Strategic Plan (2018-2022). The reforms have clear, prioritized actions in areas deemed important for achieving the goals of Jordan's Human Resources Development Strategy (HRD) and Sustainable Development Goals outcomes (Education Strategic Plan, 2018); these include: improving access (building schools), quality and equity (especially for Syrian refugees).

Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030 and its accompanying program, the National Transformation Program 2020, introduced essential education initiatives, including a shift to digital education, increasing extra-curricular activities, fostering the role of families in the education process and improving quality primary education (National Transformation Program, 2016). Finally, in Morocco, with the reconstitution of the Higher Council for Education, Training and Scientific Research, the Ministry of Education developed and launched a policy approach to renewing the

education system, entitled: For a School of Equity, Quality and Promotion: The Strategic Vision for Reform 2015-2030. The document articulates 23 priority projects including the promotion of values education, life skills and personality development. The Vision 2030 commits to enacting a society based on active citizenship, democracy and equality (Strategic Vision for Reform, 2015). These regional and national shifts pose interesting questions about the types of citizens that the state wishes to cultivate and how they are implemented within an education policy framework (Parker, 2008).

3.5. Conclusion

The so-called Arab Spring process which has led to great and unexpected transformation in the greater Middle East area over the last couple of years has changed socio-political structures and had, and continues to have a profound effect on citizenship education and citizen formation. In this chapter, I discussed the attitudinal changes that helped produce the fourth Wave of democratization and that are now influencing political events in the Arab Middle East. The Arab Spring undermines homogeneity among stable authoritarian regimes in the Middle East. On the one hand, there are some countries where authoritarian structures have been shaken to the point that one can speak of transition states. Here, it should be noted that a transition is a dynamic process that can show a trend away from authoritarianism toward a new system, or a transition where newly emerged political players favor an authoritarian regime; whether this will happen in some or even all countries depends largely on whether new authoritarian elites succeed in monopolizing economic and political rents. On the other hand, despite the regional crisis, the ruling houses of some regimes – especially in the Gulf States – have so far known how to keep

the foundations of their authoritarian rule intact. Consequently, political change might lead to a new two- by- two matrix of political rule in the Middle East: authoritarian versus transition.

I also discussed collective action and the role of civil society in mobilizing the masses to protest authoritarian regimes and demand citizenship. However, civil society groups and grassroots movements in the Middle East need to learn how to expand the sphere of the legitimacy of their activities for sustainable and lasting success. In addition, contemporary debates about the role of citizens in processes of development have often focused on institutionally-orchestrated forms of participation. As part of democracy promotion initiatives, state governments and numerous international organizations launched and carried out projects aimed at assisting the democratization efforts especially with the new destructive challenges and demands for social and political arrangements that go beyond the systems currently in place. Nevertheless, the spread of democratic institutions has been accompanied by public scepticism or apathy expressed in declining membership of political parties, low trust in politicians, and low voter turn-out. Thus, the meanings of citizenship as membership of a political community have changed, so the emphasis on rights, duties, participation and identities has altered (Dalton, 2008a).

CHAPTER FOUR: Research Methodology

4.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology and describes the research design adopted in this study. The chapter begins with research objectives and questions. Then, it proceeds with a discussion of the mixed method approach, data collection and analysis and further discusses the limitations of the methodological approach. The study focuses on examining citizenship and citizenship education policy and practice with regard to the rhetoric surrounding it and its efficiency in addressing issues such as national identity, democracy, and civic participation. Within this framework, the study investigates the conceptions of citizenship held by the different stakeholders: policymakers, teachers and students, and explores possible tensions between policy and practice.

4.2. Research Objectives and Research Questions

This study seeks to identify how citizenship is interpreted in educational policies and practiced in and outside of the school context by teachers and students in Morocco. It mainly explores the perceptions of the various stakeholders groups (policy makers, teachers, students) of their conceptions to citizenship, identity and citizenship education to help in identifying where citizenship education in Morocco is located in the continuum of citizenship and whether Liberal minimal or communitarian maximal values prevail in policy and practice. The ongoing political developments in the MENA region with the Arab Spring that manifest a low trust in politics and civic apathy demonstrate the importance of searching the relationship between politics, citizen identity formation and citizenship education. The thesis sets as its research objectives to describe

how citizenship is framed in policy documents and textbooks and taught in the classroom and practiced in society; to identify the multiple factors most importantly social and political, in which this educational process takes place. Consequently, this study wishes to set the educational process of citizenship and citizenship education in a larger theoretical framework, examining it from several parallel prisms such as theories of ideology, pedagogy, curriculum and social and political contexts.

The study revolves around five key research questions that concern the different perceptions of citizenship and citizenship education that are held by the different stakeholders:

1. How is citizenship and citizenship education conceptualized within the Moroccan official discourse in terms of definition, objectives and expected outcomes; how are they transformed during implementation in practice?
2. How is citizenship expressed through the curriculum; what is the approach being adopted by the state to inculcate citizenship in its students; is it in favor of a nationalist approach or more globalized one; do the textbooks cultivate the skills of the 21st century?
3. How school related civic activities develop students' knowledge of citizenship and stimulate active participation and social change?
4. What aspects of citizenship education are prioritized in the policymakers and teachers perception of citizenship and what are their aspirations for a good citizen?

5. How much do students know about citizenship related concepts; what are the factors affecting them; does their citizenship identity apply to the well-defined Marshallian citizenship criteria; and what are the reasons and consequences of their attitude towards their country? Is it justified?

The analysis of the first question is dependent on the analysis of official discourse documents most notably the Strategic Vision for Reform 2015-2030, which is one of the recent policy reforms, intended to overhaul the Moroccan education system, prominently focused on citizenship and values education. The second research question addresses the curriculum and textbooks, which is considered as essential transmitters of the state's official, and in fact ideal, version of citizenship. The third question explores the impact of non-formal education, through participation in extracurricular activities, in building knowledge, skills and attitudes that attempt to develop active citizenship and global citizenship among 7th, 8th and 9th graders. The analysis of the fourth question attempts to explore the views and perceptions of secondary citizenship education teachers and policy makers on their perception of citizenship education. The last research question is primarily concerned with getting insights into the students' knowledge about civic related concepts and attitudes towards the different categories of society.

4.3. Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches

The present study is exploratory in nature. The study uses a combination of qualitative and quantitative method approach (Flick, 2014) to explore new dimensions of experience and to cover all stakeholders' inputs. I believe that collecting information from a variety of sources enables the

research questions to be answered more completely. Ensuing will be a discussion of the merits and weaknesses of each approach in an attempt to justify the methodological choice.

While quantitative research involves ordinal data and the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables and probability samples, qualitative research is concerned with aspects of reality that cannot be quantified and attempts to understand social processes in context by answering the hows and whys of human behavior, opinion, and experience (Bryman, 2012; Ritchie et al., 2003). The theoretical framework of this study and the framing of research questions as how questions that explore meaning-making processes of different stakeholders suggest the implication of a qualitative approach. The relevance of qualitative research in this study related directly to its aims that are not concerned with making valid generalizations through the use of large and random samples using surveys and questionnaires but to understand the underlying processes that led to different perceptions and meanings and accumulate sufficient knowledge through the use of multiple data sources. The qualitative approach of this study is guided by world views of critical theory, social constructivism and interpretivism.

Social constructivism provides a theoretical basis to explore how individuals make sense of their reality as socially constructed through social interaction between people and how they understand concepts such as citizenship. Critical theory views reality as shaped by historical, social, political and economic contexts; is concerned with issues of power relations and highlights how social systems and structures underlie ideological narratives (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000). Constructivists and critical theorists argue that qualitative researchers can only interpret phenomena through the meanings that other people attach to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Therefore, both theories rely on an interpretivist methodology which interprets human

experiences and examines perspectives, descriptions and accounts of the social world of the participants (Bryman, 2012) over the prediction and generalization of causes and effects (Macionis & Gerber, 2010). Walsham (1993, p.5) posits that interpretive methods of research “start from the position that our knowledge of reality, including the domain of human action, is a social construction by human actors and that this applies equally to researchers. Thus, there is no objective reality which can be discovered by researchers and replicated by others, in contrast to the assumptions of positivist science”. Critics of this hermeneutic tradition maintains that there is only interpretation instead of ‘objective’ facts as positivism postulates (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000) and considers research as not a value-free process but influenced by the researcher’s perspective and interpretation of participants’ accounts (Kincheloe, 1991).

Qualitative research has some limitations. Critics argued that this method lacks scientific rigor with poor justification of the method adopted, transparency in the analytical procedures and generalizability of findings. Findings are said to be a collection of personal opinions and are subject to researcher bias (Bryman, 2012; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Qualitative researchers responded to these critiques by arguing that the criteria that are applied for evaluating quantitative research cannot be applied to qualitative research (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; LeCompte & Goetz, 1982; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and that the positivist terminology, such as reliability, validity, and rigor could be replaced with alternative concepts and terminology that are able to express qualitative connotations such as trustworthiness and authenticity (Davies & Dodd, 2002). For that reason, I addressed these issues by keeping records of the data and by providing multiple accounts of social reality through triangulation, and including different contexts and viewpoints of stakeholders in the field of education (policy, institutional, individual).

Quantitative research design, on the other hand, explains phenomena by collecting numerical data that are analyzed using mathematically based methods (Aliaga & Gunderson, 2002). It involves formal objective information gathering about world realities through the use of measurement tools such as questionnaires, to statistically quantify the phenomenon being studied. Gay et al. (2009) state that facts and feelings can be separated and conclusions drawn cannot be considered meaningful unless they can be verified through measurement. Quantitative researchers seek to describe current situations and phenomena, establish relationships between variables and sometimes attempt to explain the cause and effect relationship between variables (Creswell, 2006). According to Leedy and Ormrod (2001, p.102) “quantitative researchers seek explanations and predictions that will generate to other persons and places. The intent is to establish, confirm, or validate relationships and to develop generalizations that contribute to theory”. Quantitative research methods attempt to maximize objectivity, replicability, and generalizability of findings. Integral to this approach is the expectation that a researcher will set aside his or her experiences, perceptions, and biases to ensure objectivity in the conduct of the study and the conclusions that are drawn (Harwell, 2014). Moreover, quantitative researchers focus on sample size and inferential statistical analyses to ensure broad generalizability. Quantitative researchers use a large sample of data with the aim of generalizing findings to encompass the wider population. A central critique for quantitative research is that it is statistics dependent and fails to capture the complexity associated with human behavior. Consequently, research design in education has moved from an almost exclusive reliance on quantitative methods to a more mixed-method research approach.

4.4. Data Collection and Method

The study adopts an embedded mixed research design that makes use of both quantitative and qualitative data with priority assigned to the qualitative data type. Flick (2014) explained that qualitative research tends to draw on multiple methods. The basic premise behind using a mixed-methods research design is that through a combination of reliability of quantitative research with the validity of lived experiences we can get a better understanding of a phenomenon and overcome the weaknesses of either approach by the strengths of the other. As Lincoln and Guba (1985) pointed out, both qualitative and quantitative research methods emphasize truth, consistency, applicability, and neutrality while taking different procedural approaches to assure quality. The choice of a mixed-method design can also be attributed to its practicality because it allows “the use of numbers and words...inductive and deductive thinking... and employ skills in observing people as well as recording behavior” (Creswell, 2006, p.10). The use of both qualitative and quantitative data types helped develop a complex picture of citizenship education in Morocco. However, in this study, the qualitative strand is given priority over the quantitative data to answer the questions which seek to understand the meanings and conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education. The purpose was to “obtain different but complementary data on the same topic” (Morse, 1991, p.122). The intent was to bring together the advantages of the two strands for corroboration and validation purposes. Before I will introduce the reader to the methods I have used, I will describe and justify the choice of the samples because it has also influenced the choice of research methods.

4.4.1. Sample

The use of sampling is warranted by the strength it offers. It leads to a better understanding of the inquiry at hand (Stake, 1995). According to Patton (1990) “sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what’s at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with available time and resources” (Patton, 1990, p. 184). The power of strategic and purposeful sampling lies in obtaining the most relevant and valuable information to have in-depth insights into the everyday practices and manifestations of civics and citizenship education. For this study, the population is policy makers, university students, secondary school citizenship education teachers and their pupils. In addition, in order to answer the research questions, it is crucial to examine the documents involved. Thus, I selected primary school social studies textbooks and the policy reform documents.

To address the first question, I selected the Strategic Vision for Reform 2015-2030. Framed by global and regional trends related to the Vision 2030 Agenda in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) after the Arab Spring, as well as existing national-level research on the implementation of Morocco’s previous education reform (i.e., The National Education and Training Charter; The Analytical Report on the Implementation of the National Education and Training Charter). This research question will analyze policy messaging and ideological underpinnings of the new focus on developing Moroccan youth as active citizens. Specifically, the analysis concentrates on The Strategic Vision for Reform, chapter 3 (“For a school that develops the individual and society”), lever 18 (“Enact a society of citizenship, democracy and equality”), arguably initiating significant new meanings and directions for policy formation related to Moroccan youth within the scope of formal and non-formal education. Drawing on

policy analysis of these sections of the reform documentation, I examine the various recommendations that reference national Moroccan citizenship education. In analyzing these new meanings and directives regarding Moroccan citizenship education, I am able to better frame what is arguably the main conception of the Moroccan citizen and consider the potential challenges in the implementation of the reform within the social, cultural, economic and political context of Morocco.

The second question about the social studies curriculum was explored through textbook analysis. Instead of being viewed as a collection of study plans, syllabic and teaching subjects, the curriculum becomes the outcome of a process reflecting a political and societal agreement about the role of education in cultivating the desired society of the future (Tedesco et al, 2014). This question investigates citizenship education of primary school social studies curriculum in Morocco with reference to pedagogy documents, the White Book and teacher's guide documents. I examine the citizenship conceptions from the 4th, 5th and 6th grade textbooks. The selection of materials is based on the fact that students are exposed for the first time to explicit citizenship issues beyond their home province and that certain habits, practices, a set of skills and a way of life are nurtured from an early childhood age. Drawing on a qualitative content analysis, I explore the extent to which particular civic issues and values are prioritized or excluded, the extent to which scales of active participation (social and political) are presented or hidden, and the extent to which national, global/cosmopolitan social identities are promoted.

The third question explores the role of non-formal education in citizenship learning and behavioral change. The study focuses on one extracurricular program entitled 'The Friends of Nature' that was provided in a Moroccan private middle school. The activity is conducted in a

private school named 'LAMZIBRI' in the capital city of Rabat-Salé, Morocco, providing education from primary to secondary level (from age 5 to age 17). The school provides students with a variety of extracurricular activities in terms of school clubs including sport clubs, art clubs (Music, Theater and Drama), scientific clubs (Mental Calculus) and environmental clubs (The Friends of Nature). All extracurricular activities in the school are totally voluntary and do not affect academic school grades. 'The Friends of Nature' is an extracurricular activity developed by the school and moderated by two teachers (life and earth science, and social studies) to promote agency for social ecological transformation. Adopting a qualitative research method approach, data consisted of thirty (n30) students from 7th, 8th and 9th grades and two teachers (social studies and life and earth science teacher).

Data were collected over the course of three months through multiple data collection tools, namely observation, student focus group discussions and teachers interviews. The activity helps engage students in a series of environmental activities, where they have opportunities to identify environmental problems, to promote education for sustainable development and to improve their environmentally conscious behavior that motivates them to willingly participate and take actions for preserving nature in their community; and to develop creative solutions for this problem. The data were analyzed using a content analysis method. I have chosen secondary school students following Piaget's theory of cognitive development that posits the fact that children over 11 years old have reached the last stage, the formal operational stage, which is characterized by acquisition of the ability to think abstractly, reason logically and draw conclusions from the information available.

The fourth question examines how teachers perceive and understand citizenship based on their personal experiences. Also, I attempt to identify the extent to which these beliefs, perceptions, and understandings are manifested in the classroom and influence the students' views and attitudes in real life. The research reported in this study embodied qualitative data gathered via interviews with six (6) teachers from one private (Lamzibri) and four (4) public (Lala Aisha) schools in Rabat, Morocco. The teacher population for the study was defined as all teachers teaching civic related school subjects to the students in secondary schools. In addition, interviews carried out with three (3) policymakers, who are members of the ministerial committee assigned to draft the national curriculum and instructional materials for the Arabic language within the framework of the National Program for Reading activity under the new vision 2030 reform. Collecting information from policymakers will complement the data to be obtained from document analysis. With regard to the policymakers, selection was limited due to the small number of the population and was based on availability. Consequently, the sampling selection process was purposeful, since the data were chosen based on the assumption that the study of these samples can provide the richest and broadest information.

Finally, the fifth research question compares the ways in which public and private university students in Morocco approach the controversial relationship between citizenship and identity. By revealing students' self identification and the role socio-economic factors have in this process, we seek to gain knowledge about the extent to which citizenship is perceived as a legal status as opposed to membership in a political community and how the transformation inherent in global market capitalism and the distribution of resources affect the youth's behaviors and attitudes towards social action. For this study, I select contexts in which issues of citizenship and identities are contested and an enhanced "us" versus "they" dynamics are explicitly raised. The

sample consisted of 150 students, representing the public and private dichotomy divide through four differently located Moroccan universities, namely Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Mohammed V University, Al-Akhawayn University and International University of Rabat. The universities were selected on the basis of specific criteria related to national ranking (top universities in Morocco), diverse socio-economic standards (private and public), and different geographic lines (Rabat, Fes, Ifrane). The focus on adolescents reflects an analytically relevant picture, as this age group has already developed a coherent understanding of citizenship norms and values and is likely to be affected by developmental trends (Dalton, 2007). At this age, adolescents are more aware of differences and other political concepts and many of them already participate in civil and political society's activities. Using a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods, the study drew on two main data sources namely semi-structured interviews and questionnaire that is distributed online (using Google form).

4.4.2. Interviews

The most popular method in qualitative research is interviewing. Fontana and Frey (2000, p. 361) state, "interviewing is one of the most common methods and most powerful ways we use to try to understand our fellow human beings". Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) describe two different theoretical approaches to interviewing: interviews as a process of knowledge collection or as a site of knowledge construction through the interaction between the interviewee and the interviewer, who enter a collaborative process. In the latter approach, meaning must be viewed within the social context in which it occurs. It is not simply collected but constructed and influenced by the researcher's interpretations. This approach to interviewing is reminiscent of a constructivist and interpretivist methodology. Through interviewing, the researcher can collect data by examining perspectives, descriptions, and accounts of the social world by the participants

(Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Being considered as a conversation with purpose where discourse and negotiations about meaning making take place, the interviewer should avoid superimposed, manipulative and rigid structure and provide a free and democratic space for interviewees (Fontana & Frey, 2000).

According to Gubrium and Holstein (2007), the interviewer should encourage the production of narratives from the interviewee to address topics that are relevant to the interviewees' lives. This is a fundamental assumption to qualitative research as "the participant's perspective on the phenomenon of interest should unfold as the participant views it, not as the researcher views it" (Marshall & Rossman, 1995, p. 80). At the same time, the researcher should have a broad knowledge of the topics that are discussed in the interview in order to focus on the research questions and to collect comparable data (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Hence, to accommodate the interviewees' reflections and their different views and assumptions about the given topic on the one hand and the need to collect comparable data on the other, I decided to use the format of semi-structured interviews. The use of semi-structured interviews allowed participants to uncover their views about the topic of citizenship education with the help of the guiding questions as well as allows for unanticipated responses and issues to emerge through the use of open-ended questioning.

Individual interviews are the most widely used method in qualitative research as it provides an in depth understanding of the participants' perspective about the personal context within which the research phenomenon is located (Ritchie et al., 2003). In the present study, the purpose of individual interviews with teachers and policymakers was to expose their perspective on underlying meanings of citizenship and citizenship education in each context through their

knowledge about the practice and ideology that underpin it. McMillan and Schumacher (1997, p.264) argue that some of the most important disadvantage of using the interview tool is its lack of anonymity. For that reason, I have chosen individual interviews to provide a confidential and safe environment for the interviewees, where they could voice their opinions freely and share information that they did not want their others to know about and that could have professional or personal consequences if their views were public.

Individual interviews with the teachers, policymakers and university students lasted from 30 to 45 minutes and followed a set of guiding questions (Appendix). Teachers and policymakers were questioned about their role in developing the citizenship education curriculum policy, student textbooks, teacher training, pedagogies used as well as general questions to their personal conceptions of citizens, citizenship, citizenship education, loyalty, belonging, and their rationale for introducing the renewed citizenship education within the 2030 Vision agenda and its relevance to the previous national education. Moreover, individual interviews were conducted with 20 students from four different universities (see sampling section). Students were recruited through a strategy of general advertisements to the student body of various universities. Efforts were made to ensure that participants represented a range of discipline areas and levels including those who identified as Bachelors, Masters and PhDs, studying science and humanities. Student participants also represented a different range of background due to the private/public dichotomy university divide, including those who identified as low socio-economic background, middle class and upper middle class. Students were mainly asked about what makes a Moroccan citizen and their relation to their community. It should be noted that questions were used as a guide; thus, they were adapted or expanded according to the information collected through observations and the flow of

conversation. The interviews were conducted in Standard and Moroccan Arabic. Excerpts were transcribed and translated.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989) maintains that children should not be considered as passive citizens in waiting and instead be treated as social actors and citizens. They have the right to express and voice their rights, demands and needs and consider them in decision making. Therefore, in this study, I included intermediate school students' views on citizenship education. Focus group interviews are used to better understand how people feel or think about a topic through listening and collecting information from them (Krueger & Casey, 2009). My rationale for using focus group interviews was to address hierarchical relationships and the power imbalance between the adult researcher and the students (Eder & Fingerson, 2002). Further, Eder and Fingerson (2002) argued that power inequalities are reduced in focus group interviews when students outnumber the researcher, creating a natural space for interaction, which stimulates interest and further discussions. Focus group interviews were conducted in Moroccan Arabic language with ten groups each consisting of three students. The selected students attended the weekly extracurricular activities in the private school (Lamzibri). I requested to keep groups small to three so the influence of other peers could be minimized (Eder & Fingerson, 2002). I also asked the teachers to recruit students from different genders and mixed abilities backgrounds. In most focus groups, there was an even ratio of different genders. I asked students main questions to understand their perception of citizenship and the active global citizen; and the challenges people who do not have citizenship competencies might face. The focus group interviews also took around 30 minutes.

4.4.3. Observation

The use of observation was intended to enable the researcher to gain a deep understanding about the process of citizenship education practice within the school context through the systematic description of events that informants might have been unable or unwilling to share civic/ ‘non-civic’ behaviors; through their communication with each other, verbal and nonverbal expression of civic values and beliefs and artifacts in this social setting (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Schensul et al. (1999) define participant observation as “the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the researcher setting” (p.91). I focused on how citizenship is framed and conceptualized, the teachers’ pedagogical approach, the students’ participation and contribution in the class lesson and during extracurricular activities.

The observation was semi-structured as I prepared an agenda of issues that the observation will further highlight. In terms of the students, the observation took place during the focus groups. I attended the weekly extracurricular activity sessions in the private school (Lamzibri) over the course of three months to observe the activities that were conducted and record them by using formative evaluation forms. These forms were used to understand the extent to which students achieved the goals and objectives of the activities. The form was composed of guiding dimensions, namely the description of the project and the activities; the pedagogical methods utilized by the teachers to attract students’ attention (pictures, data-show, questions, problem-solving pedagogy, and team group); student’s reaction (interest, participation, sharing, and discipline) and observer’s comments. Moreover, other observations were limited to two citizenship education lessons in the public secondary school (Lala Aisha). Assuredly, this limited number of observations cannot be representative of how citizenship is taught and practiced in the

schools. Yet, it has complemented and strengthened the other data collected through interviews and documents because it facilitated to allow the researcher to experience at first hand the interactions between the teacher and the students.

4.4.4. Questionnaire

A questionnaire is a method of data collection that asks participants to give written replies to a written set of questions. This mode of data collection typically requires respondents to complete the written questionnaire and return it to the researcher. Recently, however, this very simple mode of data collection has benefited from advances in computer technology and availability. Paper-and-pencil self-administered questionnaires have sometimes been replaced by computers, on which respondents proceed through a self-guided online program that presents the questionnaire. When a response to each question is made, the next question appears on the screen, permitting respondents to work their way through the instrument at their own pace and with complete privacy. It has been argued that self administered questionnaires may provide participants with a greater sense of privacy and therefore elicit more responses (Bishop & Fisher, 1995).

With the aim of collecting detailed information and accumulate sufficient knowledge about discourses of citizenship conception and perception in Morocco and the ways in which these are manifested in attitudes and behaviors in society, a questionnaire form (using Google Forms) has been developed and administered online among university students in French and English languages to avoid misunderstandings. I built a protocol of questions that are divided into 4 sections: Identity Belonging and Community Development; Employment; Social Character and Gender Equality; Competencies and Civic skills, with a response scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The items on the concepts aim to assess the students'

conceptualization of citizenship, democracy, government responsibilities and social challenges. The items related to the attitudes probe into students' sense of national identity, and gender equality. The items on actions concern participation in community life with civil society organizations or political parties (see Appendix).

The sample consists of 300 students representing the public and private dichotomy divide through four differently located Moroccan universities (see sample section). In order to observe the activities and reactions of students while filling the questionnaire, I used "Hotjar" (H-Ltd, 2017) a simple, powerful and easy solution for deep analytics. It provides functionalities regarding the user behaviors through using a tracking mechanism. In addition to counting and recording properties, Heatmap is the section of Hotjar which shows how users moved throughout the website, clicked and scrolled down. This amazingly identifies specific areas and places where users stay little more time than others, which helps to determine what catches visitor's attention and what does not. The total number of students that consult the questionnaire exceeds the 300 students. Unfortunately, the response rate was disappointing as only 150 participants completely filled out the questionnaire. Using Hotjar, we recognized that 100 students started the questionnaire and did not finish it, while the remaining 50 students opened the questionnaire, scrolled it down and left it. We assume the reasons are due either to the length of the questionnaire, the sensitivity of the issue, the preference of paper questionnaires over internet questionnaires or the scarcity of scientific research that made students unaware of the importance of surveys.

4.4.5. Documentary Analysis

Document analysis is often used in combination with other qualitative research methods as a means of triangulation-- "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same

phenomenon” (Denzin, 1970, p. 291). Document analysis involves reviewing or evaluating documents material in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge of the problem being studied (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Atkinson and Coffey (2000) argued that documents do not exist in isolation but should be treated as accounts of social reality, approaching questions about the form, function and the inter-textual dimension of documents. It is assumed and often documented that school textbooks and other educational materials tend to reflect the dominant ideas, beliefs, opinions, attitudes, values and norms in the society or community (Ichilov, 1993). We may think of them as a discourse, that is, “a thematically and ideologically structured, self-referring progression of communications circulating within a definable community of communicators and receivers over a specified period of time (Biocca, 1991, p.45). Documents as a discourse are also part of the totality of discursive practices within the educational institution or the society and the relationships between them. According to Fairclough (1992), discursive practices need to be seen in a dialectical relationship with other social practices (social context); discourses are not only socially shaped but also socially shaping or constitutive (Fairclough, 1993). This point is particularly relevant to this study as it intends to investigate relationships within the policy reform document and citizenship education curriculum document and how they are reflected in the textbook in order to reach an interpretation of the meaning intended and received by the different audiences.

Consequently, a critical examination of documents requires an analysis of similarities and differences, author- and readership, their purposes, goals and the processes of their production, circulation, and consumption (Atkinson & Coffey, 2000). In this study, I have used documents as supportive data to gain a deeper understanding of the ideological discourse around citizenship education through curriculum documents with a specific focus on the primary social studies

textbooks, curricula guidance of teachers, documents about content and pedagogy and the policy reform documents. According to Scott (1990), the aim of examining documents is to understand the meaning and significance of what the document contains. He claims that the problem of meaning arises at two levels, the literal and the interpretive.

The document analysis approach in this study is Hermeneutic Content Analysis (HCA). The Hermeneutic Content Analysis is an innovative analysis method that brings together Hermeneutic and Qualitative Content Analysis joining the principles of content analysis as coding, categorization, systematization and interpretation with understanding and reflection (Vieira & Queiroz, 2017). According to Bergman (2008), the HCA may be defined as a mixed method, and consists of Hermeneutic Analysis and Qualitative Content Analysis. Because qualitative content analysis's focus consists of description, the joining of both methods supports a critical and reflection analysis.

According to Scott (1990, p. 34),

The hermeneutic task involves interpretive understanding of individual concepts, an appreciation of the social and cultural context through which the various concepts are related in a particular discourse, and a judgement on the meaning and significance of the text as a whole. The first step is to elucidate the underlying selective point of view from which the account or report is constructed. This is the standpoint from which the individual concepts acquire their relevance. But grasping this frame of meaning is no easy task, for no researcher can escape the concepts and assumptions of his and her own frame of meaning. One frame of meaning can only be understood from the standpoint of another. There can be no pre-suppositionless knowledge, and so the investigator must, in effect, enter into dialogue with the author of the documents being studied.

The researcher must seek to discover as much as possible about the conditions under which the text was produced, and must relate the use of individual concepts to this context.

Qualitative Content Analysis is a method of systematic description of qualitative data. A prerequisite for successful content analysis is that data can be reduced to concepts that describe the research phenomenon by creating categories and concepts (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Qualitative Content Analysis methods have their steps for research. The first and second steps involve a decision on a research question and selection of the material to be analyzed. The third step consists of building a coding frame. After structuring the coding frame, the fourth step is segmentation which involves the dividing of material into units in such a way that each unit fills exactly in a (sub) category of coding frame. Then, in the fifth and sixth steps the coding frame is tried out on part of the material. It is crucial for recognizing and modification of any shortcomings in the frame before the main analysis is performed. The seventh step is the main analysis, where we divide the remaining part of the material into coding units and then code them by assigning these units to the categories in the coding frame. The coding results should be prepared so that they are appropriate for answering the research question. Finally, the eight steps consist of presenting a coding frame with passages of analyzed texts (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010; Vieira & Queiroz, 2017).

4.4.6. Ethical Considerations

According to Polit and Beck (2010), researchers must deal with ethical issues when their intended research involves human beings. Every researcher has a responsibility to protect the participants in an investigation. May (2001, p.59) explains that ethics “is concerned with the attempt to formulate codes and principles of moral behavior. Ethical decisions are not being defined in terms of what is advantageous to the researcher or the project upon which they are working. They are concerned with what is right or just, in the interests of not only the project, its sponsors or workers, but also others who are the participants in the research”. Before interacting with the participants,

I have taken the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI), the on-line human subjects training program at the Graduate School of Education and Human Development, the George Washington University, USA, to guide me in my interaction with the participants throughout the process of data collection, analysis of findings and discussion of interpretations.

The Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI Program) is dedicated to promoting the public's trust in the research enterprise by providing high quality, peer-reviewed, web-based educational courses in research, ethics, regulatory oversight, responsible conduct of research, research administration, and other topics pertinent to the interests of member organizations and individual learners. Since I have been dealing with a socio-behavioral research, and involved with sample recruitment and other sampling procedures, data collection, and identifiable, I have decided to take the socio-behavioral course which included 8 modules: History and Ethical Principles; Defining Research with Human Subjects; The Federal Regulations; Assessing Risk; Informed Consent; Privacy and Confidentiality; Research with Children; International Research.

As already stated, this research used purposeful sampling. To collect data from the selected institutions, I submitted an authorization form to the secondary schools directors and explained the details of research. The directors referred me to the teachers with the appropriate experience and knowledge background in citizenship education. In relation to my research, a consent form was not obligatory to collect data. Though, consent forms were given to students informing them about the content of the research, the ways in which data will be used, the ways data will be stored, the steps that will be taken to ensure confidentiality and time involvement issues. Consent forms were distributed in person to students and gathered at the same sessions. They were written in a more accessible, child-friendly language (Punch, 2009). Before presenting the forms to the

participants, I introduced myself and the study. The participants were reminded in the form and again before the interview that their participation was voluntary and they had the right to withdraw at any time, they could refuse to answer questions posed during the interview and that their data would be used as part of the PhD dissertation, presentations at conferences, and publications.

Conditions for anonymity and confidentiality should be made very clear to participants. On the one hand, anonymity means the identity of those taking part not being known outside the research team. On the other hand, confidentiality means avoiding the attribution of comments, in reports or presentations, to identified participants (Ritchie et al., 2003). No video recording or photographs had been collected in this study. I removed all names and any information that might reveal participants' identities from the transcripts. All participants were assured of the anonymity of their identity and the confidentiality and security of the data through the use of pseudonyms and codes. Following each interview, the recordings were put on a password-protected computer that only I could access for transcription and I kept hard copies of all authorizations for conducting this research. Upon transfer, the recordings were deleted from the recording device immediately. When the interviews were transcribed and de-identified, the audio recordings were destroyed. No recordings will be used in any presentation of the material or for any other purpose besides data analysis. For the sake of discussion, I used short transcripts from the data to illustrate the reason(s) for selecting categories and themes, and also for documenting my interpretations and views about a particular phenomenon.

During the meetings, I met with the teachers, policy makers and university students individually, but still had worries about protecting their confidentiality and avoiding biased interpretations. I tried to stay focused, maintained a friendly tone, and kept a smiling face

throughout the interviews. I used a neutral tone in my voice so that participants would not feel hesitant to elaborate on their responses. The interviews, transcriptions and initial coding were conducted in Standard and Moroccan Colloquial Arabic. Then, data was translated into English. The translation from Arabic to English may cause translation loss, because of many factors stemming from cultural differences between the source language and the target language. To minimize the effects of translation loss, I took descriptive notes and double-checked the translations with a Professor of English who is fluent in both Arabic and English and understands the nature of the Moroccan context.

4.5. Data Analysis

According to Parahoo (2006, p.375), data analysis is “an integrated part of the research design”, and it is a means of making sense of data before presenting them in an understandable manner. According to Davis and Meyer (2009, p.116) researchers have developed Computer Assisted Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) to create useful and efficient modes of qualitative data analysis, such as Nvivo. During my research grant as a Fulbright doctoral student at the Graduate School of Education and Human Development, The George Washington University (USA), I participated in the UNESCO transition study undertaken by Networking to Integrate SDG Target 4.7 and SEL into Educational Materials organization (NISSEM) unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000372327 to determine if, how and to what extent cognitive, social and emotional and behavioral dimensions necessary for learning and teaching of Global Citizenship Education (GCED) and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) are reflected in national education policies and curriculum documents, across four levels of education—pre-

primary (PP), primary (PE), lower secondary (LS) and upper secondary (US)—in ten countries, two in each UNESCO region.

Before working on this project, I took training workshops at the University for using Nvivo 11 as it was the method of data analysis. Nvivo is a project management program, intended to assist qualitative analysis. It is particularly useful for projects with large datasets and/or collaborative analysis. I found the software package very useful as it gives me the possibility to type a name representative of the coded material and compile a list of simple codes as a free node of a particular category instead of using categorization systems such as physical files and endless note cards and papers. Unfortunately, I could not get a free software version from the university for my study and just relied on the traditional method of card notes. The analysis was conducted using thematic analysis and critical discourse analysis.

4.5.1. Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is “a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.79). It requires more involvement and interpretation from the researcher. It is a flexible research tool that provides a useful way to organize the rich and complex data gathered across different contexts. Thematic analyses move beyond counting explicit words or phrases and focus on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas within the data, that is, themes (Guest et al., 2012). ‘Theme’ can be described as the subjective meaning and cultural-contextual message of data (Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019) within which the researcher answers the question ‘why’. While a theme can be used to attend to the more implicit and meaning of data, other analytical products such as categories are related to the explicit and surface aspect of data analysis (Vaismoradi et al., 2016).

The data in this study include notes from observations, policy documents, curricula, teaching material, and verbal data from interviews and focus groups. First, I transcribed all interviews, using the process of transcription to familiarize myself with the data and to note down ideas for headings, categories and codes. However, I did not always transcribe the whole individual and focus group interviews, but only when the participants were focused on the task or having conversations that were related to the topic. I have added translations in addition to the original words in the presentation of the data. During the process of transcription, I coded the transcripts and the documents and summarized them into broader themes that are relevant to the research questions and those that reoccurred among different participants, during observations, and in the collected documents. I focused on the analysis on the latent (interpretive) level, which Braun and Clarke (2006) defined as going “beyond the semantic content” in order to “examine the underlying ideas, assumptions and conceptualizations - and ideologies - that are theorized as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data” (p.84). To identify themes as repeated “patterns of meaning” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.86) I searched for themes throughout the data collection process, trying to clarify emerging ideas. I have identified dominant themes across the data and then analyze them against the background of the literature.

4.5.2. Critical Theory: Critical Discourse Analysis

The thematic analysis was guided by a constructivist (Burr, 1995; Lincoln & Guba, 2000) and critical theory approach (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000), which were outlined earlier. In this study, the use of critical theory is warranted by the opportunities it offers to understand the relationship between identity constructions, power, constructions of knowledge in a particular politico-historical context and the underlying ideologies shaping the teaching of citizenship education in

the Moroccan context. It further illustrates the pattern of meaning making with regard to citizenship, revealing the dominant and emerging discourse that shape the conceptualized ideal for citizenship education expressed in official texts and compare them with that experienced in everyday practices.

For analyzing policy documents (e.g. The National Charter for Education (1999-2010), the White Book (2000), the Constitution (2011), the Analytical Report on the Implementation of the National Education and Training Charter (2014), the Strategic Vision for Reform (2015-2030)), I relied on critical policy analysis of the content related to citizenship education. In my approach to critical policy analysis, I examined discourses surrounding the official text of the policy documents (Ball, 1993; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Taylor, 1997). Through a focus on discourse, I am able to address the complexity of education policy making, viewed as an arena of struggle between language and meaning, aspects that have more generally been taken for granted in critical policy analysis (Taylor, 1997). I focused on the different levels at which the policy documents take place, the actors involved, and the importance of specific cultural contexts in order to better situate them (Bell & Stevenson, 2006).

The approach in this study is inspired by Taylor's (1997) framework of critical policy analysis that focuses on three interrelated aspects: context, text and consequence. First, context refers to the complex forces and pressures that have driven the development of the policy, including economic, cultural, political and social factors to better understand the policy process, with a consideration of how the policy relates to previous policy experiences. Second, text is the content of the policy and constitutes the official discourse of the state. The emphasis is placed on the aims and framing of the policy, values contained within the policy and actions required.

Associated with this approach, Fairclough's (2003) focus on language as social practice enhances the scope of critical policy analysis and combines textual analysis with a focus on ideology and power to highlight the constitutive practices that texts use. Third, users' interpretation of policy affects implementation. Therefore, policy consequence or policy review refers to the ways in which the policy is implemented, taking into account various challenges and influential factors.

For analyzing curricula, textbooks, teachers guides, pedagogy documents and transcripts from interviews, I relied on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), defined as "a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequalities are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text in the social and political context" (Van Dijk, 2001, p.352). Critical discourse analysis as critical language study focuses on language as a form of social practice, a mode of action, socially reproductive and constructive (Fairclough, 1989). Borrowing from Fairclough's (2003) approach, I focused on three stages of analysis: reading (actual text), interpretation (discursive practices) and explanation (the larger social context). In the first stage, which typically involves more of an uncritical reading of the text, I mainly examined how citizenship education and related aspects were described in the documents and transcripts. The second stage is a critical examination of the selected texts, through deciphering the hidden meanings of linguistic features and raising questions about power relations and ideological underpinnings. It also traces whether the author writes in ways that accords with the social roles and institutional relations within which the event takes place. In particular, I examined what approaches to citizenship education were reflected in the data. Finally, I extended the third level of analysis to the macro level (discourse as social practice) to reveal social issues within a wider socio-cultural context.

Paltridge (2012) suggested four principles of critical discourse analysis: (1) social and political issues are reflected and constructed in discourse; (2) power relations are negotiated and performed through discourse; (3) discourse both reflects and reproduces social relations; and (4) ideologies are produced and reflected in the use of discourse. The present study mainly focuses on the fourth principle as a way to trace the underlying ideology shaping the educational governance for citizenship education in Morocco. A key idea behind CDA is Foucault's (1972) claim that ideology is diffused, maintained, and reproduced through discourse. Hence, the main aim of CDA is to unfold the intricate relationship between ideology, discourse, and social actions:

[CDA] aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (Fairclough, 1995, p. 132).

CDA makes the opaque and hidden connections between discourses and their underlying ideologies and their subsequent social practices transparent and visible. Accordingly, all the data sources in this study reflect an expression of the ideal about citizenship by privileging some meanings over others by means of choices of language, logic, or rhetoric; thus, "deciding what to call something can constitute a claim about it" (Johnstone, 2002, p.48). Hence, the research examined each text by asking: What kind of citizenship is advocated and what are the terms/expressions used to identify values and principles, citizen formation, political deficit, youth civic engagement and national unity? What kinds of moral, civic, and/or educational values are defended?

4.6. Researcher's Position

Reflexivity means to reflect critically on oneself, to come to terms with the choice of the research problem and the participants, and to reflect on the researcher's multiple identities that come into play in the research setting (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). My identity shapes how I see the issue of this research, and my research can also change my identity by highlighting a certain identity, or by acknowledging new identities. My nationality, Moroccan, may affect this research in diverse ways. First, as a Moroccan who was born and studied in Morocco, I was able to understand the Moroccan educational context deeply based on my own experience and knowledge. In addition, my national identity made me an insider in the relationship between the researcher and research participants. This helped me approach potential participants of this research in Morocco, because a shared identity is useful in establishing rapport and recovering "authentic accounts" (Foster, 1944, p.131). I was able to comfortably communicate in Moroccan Arabic with my participants, which helped me understand the nuances of our conversations.

However, I acknowledge that my nationality may also hinder my investigation of citizenship education conception in Morocco. There may be some potentially important points that I could overlook due to my familiarity with the context and assumptions that I took for granted. Moreover, as Foster (1994) mentions that "even members of the same speech and cultural community are differentiated by other equally important characteristics that make the researcher both an insider as well as an outsider" (p132); my lack of work experience as teacher, or policy maker or textbook author also makes me an outsider from the participants. Although I have little experience working at schools and NGOs, I do recognize that it is hard to fully appreciate each participant's context.

Therefore, I acknowledge that my interpretation of the findings in this research may be limited based on my personal and cultural background. In this sense, my subjectivity, which consists of my identities, influences my research. As Peshkin (1988) argues, I tried not to reject my subjectivity, but embrace and manage it when I conducted this research. My identity made me both an insider and outsider with the participants. Yet, neither insider nor outsider can seize the whole experience of an entire community (Foster, 1994). Therefore, accepting that no one has “the power to know all things” (Foster, 1994, p.144), I humbly tried to learn from the participants by monitoring myself through all phases of the research.

4.7. Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations of this research. First, although I intended to include a variety of groups of educators such as teachers and policy makers, it is not appropriate to generalize the findings of this research to the whole of the Moroccan educational context. In addition, since the workplaces of most participants of this study are located in or the Rabat-Sale Zemmour Zair region, this restricted the geographic diversity. It is quite possible that the understanding and application of citizenship education in urban areas may differ from those of teachers and students in rural areas. Second, although this research tried to understand the government’s perspective through interviews as well as documents, I acknowledge that this study may not fully capture the voice of the government due to the small sample size. Unlike the sample size of the number of teachers and students, I was able to interview only three policy makers due to their unavailability and willingness to be involved in the research.

Third, since all data including documents and interviews are produced in Standard Arabic language or French, I translated and presented them in English which is my second language in this dissertation. Although I tried to do my best to capture interviewees' words and meanings, I acknowledge that my translation might be interpreted differently by different people. In order to reduce potential distortion of the original meanings, parts of the translations were reviewed by a native English speaker who has intermediate ability in Arabic. Yet, most translations were my own due to financial and time constraints. Language differences between Arabic and English and my translation may dilute the original meanings both of participants' conversations and in the documents. Lastly, this research may not fully reflect the current discourse of citizenship in Morocco. Although interviews were conducted between 2018 and 2019 following Vision 2030, documents that this research analyzed were published between 2000 and 2015. In addition, because Vision 2030 provoked great interest and discussions regarding citizenship education in Morocco, new documents, policies and discussion regarding citizenship education are rapidly increasing. However, because of time constraints and the scope of my research, I was not able to fully review the most recently developed documents or information. This will be addressed in future research.

4.8. Conclusion

This chapter introduced the reader to the mixed-method research design through the use of qualitative and quantitative data collection methods including interviews, questionnaire, observation and document analysis. Sources of data included official policy documents, curricula, textbooks, teachers' guides, questionnaire, individual interviews with teachers, policy makers and university students and focus group interviews with secondary school students. Permission was

obtained from the school administrators and the subjects themselves. Anonymity, self-determination and confidentiality were ensured during administration of the interviews and report writing. The objective was to examine the citizenship education policy and practice in Morocco with regard to the rhetoric surrounding it and its efficiency in addressing issues such as democratic values and principles, political deficit, youth civic engagement and national unity. It also aimed to investigate the conceptions of citizenship held by the different stakeholders: policymakers, teachers and pupils, and to explore possible tensions between policy and practice. This chapter reviewed the research process and gave account of the research techniques and sampling in an attempt to answer the research questions. The next chapters discuss and analyze the data collected and form a platform of key themes for the following discussion chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE: Research Findings

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present, discuss and summarize the research findings in this study by addressing the main research questions based on the information obtained from the data collected and in light of the review of the literature and theoretical framework described. Through interviews, observations, questionnaire and documentary analysis, I sought to explore citizenship discourse and how it relates to citizenship education expressed through the overt and covert educational policies, curricula and textbooks. To be able to examine the conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education among the different stakeholders involved in this research, I looked at three groups: policymakers, teachers and students and compared their understandings of citizenship related issues such as democratic values and principles, citizen formation, political deficit, youth civic engagement, national unity and global citizenship education. A discussion of the implications of these findings will be presented in the following Discussion and Implications chapter.

5.2. New Visions for Citizen Formation: An Analysis of Citizenship Education Policy in Morocco

Drawing on critical policy analysis, this section explores the key sections targeting citizenship and citizenship education in the newest education policy document, The Strategic Vision for Reform 2015–2030, posing a set of broader questions: How does this new policy document construct citizenship and values education in light of socio-political changes in Morocco? How is the new policy reform situated within and motivated by shifting global and regional citizenship

education discourses, as well as the historical, economic, political, social, and cultural context of Morocco? What attempts have been made to bring young people into more active and participatory forms of citizenship? What potential challenges may face implementation of the reform? I examine the various recommendations that reference national Moroccan citizenship education and analyze them within the social, cultural, economic and political context of Morocco, offering insights on potential challenges in its implementation.

5.2.1. Citizenship Education in the Strategic Vision for Reform 2015–2030: Rationales and Framing

The Higher Council for Education justifies the inclusion of a chapter on citizenship education in the new reform because “the basic premise of the Vision is to enable the school to perform its various functions in a complementary and mutually supportive manner, especially the promotion of social education and values education in their national and global dimensions” (HCETSR, 2015, p.9). This statement implies a deficit within the existing school structure in adequately fulfilling broader objectives of socialization. This report comes as a response to conditions that violate the rights of children and young people, both male and female, inside and outside of school. The Strategic Vision for Reform 2015–2030 (HCETSR, 2015) describes problems in schools and society as the following:

Despite the interest that the Moroccan school gives to values, human rights and citizenship, especially since the adoption of the National Program for citizenship education, human rights, the culture of equality between men and women and tolerance, certain anti-social behaviors continue to prevail as cheating, violence, damaging the environment and the public property within and outside the educational institutions. (p. 55)

The implicit suggestion is that teaching citizenship education is the primary mechanism to correcting these various social problems (Osler & Starkey, 2006).

The reform depicts a Moroccan citizen as someone who “adheres to the religious, national and institutional foundations of Morocco; is committed to the national identity with its diverse components; is proud of belonging to this nation state and able to strike a balance between his rights and duties” (HCETSR, 2015, p.9). Citizenship also includes the requirement that students must be equipped with civic values and dispositions, as well as values of equality, tolerance, openness to universal values, respect the right of diversity, and fully aware of his rights and responsibilities towards the family, the community and the nation at large; and involved in the democratic life and social development of his country (HCETSR, 2015, p. 9).

Moreover, the document describes citizenship as those individuals who acquire “civic knowledge, skills, competencies and experiences” (HCETSR, 2015, p. 9). Attempts to articulate the main components of the 21st century learning competencies, as recommended by the global 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, are recognized. However, the document is silent on the teaching of critical thinking skills that challenge values and choices that are made under different political, cultural, national, and economic conditions (Cooper & White, 2008). As shown above, framing the moral good citizen constitutes desired practices associated with conformity to rights, obligations, and demands of the elite actors (government, institutions), which implies that either questioning or not adhering to the established patterns could be an act of bad citizenship (Christ, 2006). This modern liberal approach to Moroccan citizenship education as reflected in the strategy document, seems to contradict the aim of the global 2030 Agenda, which tends to have more of a civic republican perspective on developing active, participative, publicly minded and politically literate citizens (Crick, 2002). As such, a primary concern is that Morocco may be developing a vision of citizenship linked more to an instrument of moral coercion.

Active citizenship is at the core of discussions about participation in democratic societies. The term ‘democracy’ is mentioned four times within the specific chapter investigated, appearing as an adjective collocated with words as democratic values, democratic practices, and democratic requirements. By using the word democracy with adjectives, it refers to a diminished or incomplete democracy (Collier & Levitsky, 1997) by the absence of its formal attributes such as the comprehensive right of participation on the basis of political equality, respect of human rights values, and civil liberties. Moreover, the terms may also refer to situations where there is a lack of substantive democracy due to the prevalence of political corruption, clientelism, or the absence of a culture of participation. In the Moroccan context, a useful starting point is through democracy deficits. Young people between the ages of 15 and 29 years old constitute about 40% of the Moroccan population, but few participated or voted in the legislative elections of November 2011. Moreover, only 25% expressed some level of trust in political parties and politics in general (Richards et al., 2015, p. 408). Furthermore, “voter turnout plugged to a historical low of 37 percent in 2007, down from 51 percent in the 2002 elections and 58 percent in 1997. Poor participation marred the process despite significant get-out the vote efforts by the government as well as political parties and civil society organizations” (Hamzawy, 2007, p. 1). In 2011, at an estimated 45%, revisions to the voters’ register appear to have contributed to the increase. However, an election day boycott, as well as the high number of invalid and protest ballots (up to 25%) indicates that citizens remain dissatisfied with Morocco’s political process (National Democratic Institute, 2011, p. 10).

Given these statistics, it is clear that Moroccan youth political participation is very weak. Certain questions arise: Do existing electoral arrangements assure free elections? Are citizens’

rights protected? Is the deficit in democracy due to the way powerful groups and the elite society may in practice use power to manipulate, corrupt, and subvert democratic process? Based on these statistics, democracy means nothing if people do not enjoy equal rights and access to resources. As Moroccan youth are excluded from the decision-making process and public sphere as a result of social injustices, gender, violence, and intolerance, this type of democratic deficit reflects ‘hollow citizenship’ (Luckham et al., 2000). Thus, dealing with the crisis of democracy requires a systematically planned process of education that deviates from more formal and limited citizenship education initiatives. The council urges the extension of democracy through teaching democratic values and supporting more participatory mechanisms of citizen engagement, which in turn are built upon the rights and responsibilities of democratic citizenship.

The reform suggests a set of recommendations aimed at fostering democratic values education, active citizenship, tolerance, and the fight against discrimination. The four recommendations are addressed by the following: The Educational Approach, Educational Spaces and Institutional Arrangements, Educational Actors, and Towards an Effective Interaction between the Educational Institution and Surrounding Environment.

5.2.2. The Educational Approach

This section of the strategy discusses culture as a central element related to citizenship. Historically, the French colonization impacted all facets of Moroccan society and culture. Following French colonialism, Moroccan society and governance was dominated by the French language and French methods. As a post–Arab Spring transition was the officialization of the Amazigh culture and language in parallel with Arabic. Thus, in his speech on March 9, 2011 the

Moroccan king Mohammed the sixth, opened the door to debate on the nature of identity, especially as it declares the inclusion of the Amazigh identity, Hassani and Sahraoui as principal components of the diverse fabric of Moroccan society. However, it has been argued that the underlying goal of several language policies aimed at recognizing and institutionalizing a minority language as a national language is more of a symbolic act, deemed politically necessary to maintain social stability (Errihani, 2006; Ruiz, 1984). Accordingly, the new educational approach calls to: “develop a sense of belonging to the country and appreciate the different cultural identities with their Arabic, Islamic, Amazigh, Sahraoui and Hassani components, as well as African, Andalusian, Hebrew and Mediterranean tributaries as expressed in the preamble of the constitution” (HCETSR, 2015, p.55)

The first remarkable aspect is the idea of diversity, which according to Macedo (2006) tends to mask the difference and hide power relations between different cultural identification processes. The report frames citizenship as an educational strategy to reconcile cultural differences through an attitude of appreciation and understanding of different ethnic and social segments. This method veils the complexity of the post-colonial Moroccan society that informs the construction of competing political perspectives of citizenship. The emphasis on linguistic-cultural pluralism in the document and its future recognition in practice may help prevent potential social and cultural struggles, such as those that took place during the Arab Spring. However, despite government recognition of Amazigh heritage, institutional support is still needed to reverse the language contraction underway since the protectorate period; the language still does not have a major presence in schools, public life, and media. After all, every language policy decision is a political decision (Errihani, 2006) and a whole range of ideological, political, and

financial obstacles often hampered the accomplishment of certain actions, limiting inclusion and a sense of belonging of all Moroccan citizens to the nation-state.

This section of the policy also highlights the importance of “teaching tolerance and fighting discrimination, the negative representations as well as stereotypes of women in the curriculum; strike a balance between rights enjoyment and commitment to individual and collective duties” (HCETSR, 2015, p.55). The reform identifies certain issues in the school curriculum that reaffirm gender roles and stereotypes, and which have had a major impact on social return. Considering gender equality from a social exclusion perspective leads to better understanding. Gender equality is a process that involves multiple agents and institutions. On a basic level, the patriarchal structure of the Moroccan society serves to position women at a lower status than men. This systematic gender bias has denied women equal educational and employment opportunities, and maintained unequal citizen rights. Statistically speaking, “women constitute the largest illiterate portion of the Moroccan population. The illiteracy rate among Moroccan women in general is 60%, 48% in urban areas and 95% in rural areas” (Sadiqi, 2008, p.182). Moreover, the majority of illiterate women (69.60%) are between 12 and 40 years of age. In addition, according to the Conseil National des Droits de l’Homme (2015, p.6) report, “women’s employment rate at the national level has declined over the last decade (from 25% in 2000 to 22.6% in 2014). The female unemployment rate in urban areas reached 21.9% against 12.8% for men”. Furthermore, Desrues and Nieto (2009, p.27) point out that “few women can be found in directorial positions (24 women out of 315), among the heads of divisions or services (94 females’ heads of divisions out of 1338 and 396 female heads of service out of 2793) and not a single woman among secretary generals or general managers”.

The final report on the Moroccan legislative elections of 2011 by the National Democratic Institute noted women accounted for 16.7% of Morocco's lower house with 60 seats out of 395 (National Democratic Institute, 2011). Although Morocco recorded a significant improvement at the level of gender parity, especially with the participation of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and with the help of national and international funds to implement empowerment projects, whether the strategy's focus on gender stereotypes represents a truly significant change in the Moroccan society is therefore a crucial one.

5.2.3. Educational Spaces and Institutional Arrangements

The reform emphasizes the role of extracurricular activities in schooling as one possible pathway to creating informal learning opportunities within and outside the school setting. As stated in The Strategic Vision for Reform (HCETSR, 2015),

Providing school spaces that will embody and develop democratic and civic practices within educational and training institutions; formulate motivational plans for pupils, students and vocational training trainees to engage in voluntary services such as environmental and road safety educational programs as well as initiatives of a social and solidarity nature with the condition to be part of the regular school curricula and be graded. (p. 56)

It has been argued that participation in extracurricular activities has been linked to school attachment, better academic achievement, decreases in delinquent behavior, and inter/intrapersonal skills development (Eccles et al., 2003; Feldman and Matjasko, 2005; Kariyana et al., 2012). Since the approval of the National Education and Training Charter (2000–2009), the Ministry of Education regulated the activation of school clubs as stipulated in the Ministerial Memorandum No. 42, issued under the title 'Activating School Clubs in Educational Institutions'. Consequently, it was decided in 2001 to renew the commitment to student clubs

through reviving existing ones and establishing new ones. The intent is to provide spaces within schools to build cohesion and impart citizenship qualities deemed important.

The strategy also specifically mentions environmental education. In the wake of the global 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, Morocco adopted a holistic governmental approach to encourage and promote Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) in its policies, strategies, and plans. Therefore, actions in favor of an environmental education have been implemented, such as the organization of student competitions and regional/local forums and qualifications for the selection of the best school-based projects related to environmental issues and the launch of several eco-initiatives, such as One Student, One Tree One School, One Forest, where 6 million students would be directly in charge of planting seeds/cuttings in their school grounds and surroundings (Legrouri & Sendide, 2013). Unfortunately, however, the majority of public schools do not practice active citizenship through extracurricular activities; while extracurricular activities with an environmental focus are a priority in education policy, they are rarely put into practice.

Throughout this section, students are presented as lacking skills and competencies required to protect their environment and engage in collective action to improve their community, as well as actively protect the safety of the lives of fellow citizens. Indeed, road safety is considered as a major issue of public health both at the global and national level. For example, improvement of road safety behavior of children and adolescents is considered an important part of sustainability practices, which lead to lower overall expenditures and an equilibrium community (Nicolăescu et al., 2015). The issue of road safety has always been a major concern in Morocco, given the worrying number of traffic accidents recorded each year in the country. In general, traffic accidents rose from 78,864 in 2015 to 81,827 one year later.

According to the latest numbers of traffic accidents released by the Ministry of Equipment Transport and Logistics, the number of people who died from traffic accidents in 2016 exceeded 3593, a growth of 0.79% from 2015. Moreover, child traffic accident prevention is considered one of the important concerns of the Ministry of Education given the high number of child passengers and students who are victims. Statistically speaking, the number of children killed less than 15 years of age is 56,555, which is 11.06% of all victims recorded during the period between 2007 and 2011. Consequently, the Ministry of Education has adopted an educational and participatory approach based on two axes: the integration of road safety education concepts in the curricula and launching school-based activities with the participation of all partners (public sector, civil society organization, national security, and others). Thus, citizenship education through extracurricular activities is posed as a strategy to address this larger safety issue by raising awareness and directly engaging citizens in social-centered issues within the Moroccan context.

5.2.4. Educational Actors

This section of the strategy focuses on the importance of ensuring quality training for educational actors and developing more student-centered pedagogical practices. The Strategic Vision for Reform (HCETSR, 2015) states, “the integration of new forms of training to educational actors, especially in citizenship education, human rights and the development of a civic sense away from punitive formulas” (p. 56). The Moroccan educational system has faced many problems, which required urgent reforms to target the civic attitudes in society. These reforms should be considered in the teachers’ training and professional development in order to reflect positively on the students’ behaviors and the school context. It has been argued that continuous professional

development for teachers through structured and planned in-service training activities facilitates the acquisition of new knowledge and skills in order to meet the contemporary needs of the education system and close the gaps in educational attainment (Sahlberg, 2011). Therefore, the successful implementation of citizenship education programs requires teachers to be not only knowledgeable in theory but also in practice.

Unfortunately, substantial proportions of teachers across Moroccan schools lack both the adequate academic qualifications and readiness for the challenges of a changing society. This is in part due to the fact that a continuous teacher-training component was not a priority in the previous reform (NCET) (Analytical Report on the Implementation of the National Education and Training Charter, 2014). Moreover, ongoing training is not a criterion for promotion and there is no assessment of the effects of professional development on teachers' cost-effectiveness; therefore, there are no real incentives to grow teacher professional development. Although the new strategy states the importance of teacher training and professional development in citizenship education, the lack of a systemic and structural approach to implementation will likely limit its success.

Pedagogy is particularly relevant for citizenship education, especially with the global emphasis on quality education and its implications for promoting learner-centered pedagogies. Morocco's first step toward this vision was the adoption of a competency-based approach, which focuses on the acquisition of skills and active involvement of learners. In teaching citizenship education within the Moroccan educational system and following more of competency-based approach, many pedagogical models are available for teachers to select, such as the integrative pedagogy, pedagogy of problem solving, and pedagogy of differentiated instruction. In spite of

the emphasis on the competency-based approach in the official discourse, these pedagogical models have not been institutionalized and the reality of classroom practices in general does not conform to the advocated educational ideals of the National Charter reform (Hamouchi et al., 2012). According to the Analytical Report on the Implementation of the National Education and Training Charter (2014), a more integrative pedagogical model was not evaluated positively by inspectors, teachers, or their trade union representatives because of the approach's perceived complexity, which led the national education sector to stop the dissemination of the pedagogy in 2012. As a result, teachers were free to adopt a new pedagogy or to continue to teach with a previous approach.

After a decade and a half of Ministry-level discourse about learner-centered pedagogy and competency-based approaches, its application remains uneven. Some of the primary challenges have to do with structural problems related to learning environments (e.g. overcrowded classrooms, capacity issues in schooling programs, and the lack of adequate teaching equipment). Moreover, while successful classroom management is a fundamental constituent in effective teaching, the phenomenon of authoritarianism and punitive formulas are still firmly rooted in traditional Moroccan pedagogical approaches. As a way of illustration, Chafi et al. (2016) investigated primary school teachers' conceptualizations of their classroom role and how teachers exercise their pedagogical authority. They concluded that classroom control, discipline, and penalty seem to constitute an integral part of how teachers conceptualize their pedagogical approach and style. Authority seems to operate as an identity marker for teachers as they seek to primarily instill order and discipline. Thus, the new Strategic Vision for Reform 2015–2030 seeks to change the traditional roles of teachers from commanders to facilitators as students need to feel

comfortable in co-leading/co-facilitating learning in their instructional environment, a core characteristic of active citizenship education.

5.2.5. Towards an Effective Interaction between Educational Institutions and Surrounding Environments

The last section of the strategy encourages a participatory approach to teaching and learning citizenship education and highlights the importance of some other social contexts outside school, namely family, NGOs and media. The Strategic Vision for Reform (2015) focuses on,

Strengthening direct links and regular communication with families through involving them in cultural and administrative action; Strengthening institutional partnerships and benefiting from the various external expertise provided by social institutions such as families, civil societies, human rights organizations, media and cultural institutions; contributing to build bridges with the external contexts which are frequented by a large number of students namely: university campuses, sports complexes, research spaces, cyber cafes, social networking, websites in order to ensure the good use of these spaces and contribute to the immunization of non-civilizational behaviors, the development of citizenship values and the promotion of a fruitful dialogue (p.56).

Many scholars have increasingly recognized the importance of the positive family/home-school relationship in the education and development of students, community cohesion especially in diverse contexts and advancing school reform efforts (Engel et al., 2013; Hoskins et al., 2008; Richardson, 2009; Sheldon, et al., 2009). Despite the widespread recognition of the potential benefits of the family-school relationship, there are certainly challenges and gaps between the rhetoric found in literature and typical practices found in schools within the changing Moroccan society. According to the Analytical Report on the Implementation of the National Education and Training Charter (2014), an analysis of teacher and student responses during two research studies revealed that more than half of the students surveyed in 2011 declared that their teachers do not

send parents any reports on the progress of education. The research also revealed that cooperation between teachers and parents of second-year middle school students is rare. This new Vision Reform should take into consideration the factors that may serve to inhibit involvement such as changing family structures, teacher attitudes, or language of communication in order to enable professionals to develop more effective practices (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011).

NGOs have become significant actors in the Moroccan citizenship education context, maintaining a relatively close relationship with schools, teachers and pupils and thus favoring the continuity between formal and non-formal education. According to Lang (2000, p.385) “NGOs emerge as professionalized offspring of social movement initiatives that clearly assume the role of ‘expert voices’ willing to collaborate with schools and other social institutions to promote youth civic and political participation”. NGOs that are active in citizenship education and democratic participation can provide knowledge and practical opportunities for developing skills and competencies in non-formal learning environments. Unfortunately, given the generally low levels of participation of Moroccan youth in civic life, the new reform must provide a coherent vision to guide schools and NGOs in a genuine cooperation to foster youth engagement and practice citizenship both inside and outside of school. For example, concrete connections between schools and the community should be established through service learning, youth leadership programs and volunteering in order to engage students in what it means to be civically responsible (AL-HEDHIRI, 2013). Noteworthy, however, is that civic participation and engagement in the policy document is limited to its social, rather than political, aspects and its recommendations are restricted to seeking co-operations with civil society and volunteerism, excluding political parties and their role in the decision-making process. These more social aspects overlook the importance of political inclusion to democratic development and sustainability.

Special attention in the policy is given to the role of technology and the media in the lives of younger generations and what they mean for citizen formation. With the 2030 Agenda, educational systems around the world are invited to adopt strategies for integrating information and communications technologies (ICT) as a way to improve pedagogical practice. With a main goal of positioning Morocco as a regional technology hub, the country has recognized the positive impact of ICT on advancing the quality of the teaching and learning, as well as the skills necessary for digital citizenship in the 21st century. The appropriate integration and use of ICT in the classroom and into the curriculum will enhance pupil learning and ensure digital literacy (Watkins et al., 2015). However, the policy generally excludes important structural issues including ensuring the availability and reliability of equipment, as well as training and the development of new pedagogies. Although substantial human and financial resources have been invested in ICT for schools, namely computer acquisition and teacher training in digital and media literacy, these changes generally have had a limited impact on students' civic engagement and participation. According to the Analytical Report on the Implementation of the National Education and Training Charter (2014), the use of the multimedia environment, basic electrical equipment, Internet connectivity, and maintenance of the equipment did not adequately reflect the efforts made. Thus, rethinking and reconstructing a national guiding strategy for the integration and widespread access and use of ICT will be essential to enacting the vision of 21st century citizenship attributes and skills.

5.2.6. Discussion

This subsection critically analyzed the main sections of the Strategic Vision for Reform 2015-2030, namely lever 18 (“Enact a society of citizenship, democracy and equality”) of chapter three (“For a school that develops the individual and society”). In the analysis, I identified several factors that have implicitly influenced the Moroccan government to prioritize citizenship education in the new reform. First, the global 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development has brought a new focus to citizenship education and values in Moroccan education policy and practice, as it has done in systems across MENA. Morocco expresses readiness to develop an integrated and holistic approach to implementing the SDGs (UNECA, 2018).

Second, while previous educational reforms resulted in the establishment of large numbers of schools and consequently an increase in student enrolment, these reforms have been coupled with high levels of unemployment. This is common regionally where the majority of Arab countries have youth unemployment rates that have been the highest in the world for over 25 years, reaching 30% in 2017 (International Labour Office, 2017; World Bank, 2018). Furthermore, this phenomenon has a gendered dimension in which only 15% of young women in the region are active in the labor force (International Labour Office, 2018), which fuels pervasive gender inequality. Moreover, 40% of the regional population lives in extreme poverty, subsisting on less than \$2 per day (Hakimian et al., 2013). Despite educational improvements, the lack of job creation or adequate job training results in an overall delay of MENA youth’s transition to taking on active roles in civic participation is broadly linked to increased migration and consequently, brain drain. Third, political, social and economic challenges have threatened the trust and support of citizens in their government, leading to citizenship deficit. Consequently,

citizenship education is politically desirable to impart young people with relevant behavioral skills to be loyal to the Moroccan state, civically active in its democratic systems, while also being economically successful.

In examining the policy document within its social context, the findings suggest the existence of many challenges facing the articulation of citizenship in the national curricula, including an overall value crisis, traditional pedagogical approaches, lack of teacher training, inadequate access to informal learning, limited access to or use of ICT, and a lack of cooperation with families and NGOs. Analysis revealed that young people are depicted as lacking personal qualities that denote good citizenship values and are described as being violent, undisciplined, cheaters, disrespectful and destructive. The school, through a cultivated citizenship education program, is presented as an institution that can remedy and best deliver the needed solution to produce citizens with a more socially desirable character. Nevertheless, in other democratic societies, citizenship education and related programs have not succeeded in addressing patterns of aggression, violence and widespread political disengagement (Abrego, 2010; Bickmore et al., 2017; Cox et al., 2014) due to a mismatch between the rhetoric of official discourses and the actual citizenship education enacted and taught in schools. Moreover, it appears that the reform is explicitly appealing for increased roles for NGOs, family and the media to enhance the identified ideals. However, the reform does not provide a detailed strategic plan on how to proceed with the suggested recommendations and how to put them into practice. This phase of policy process is usually the most neglected part of policy making (Buse et al., 2005) despite its importance for good policy outcomes.

Additionally, as identified in the analysis, the new reform focuses on more traditional civic rights and responsibilities with an emphasis on patriotic duties of belonging, loyalty and love of country. Therefore, the main assumptions underlying Vision 2030's primary conception of citizenship education are (1) the good citizen should respect the national entity, the Moroccan constitution, and the political institutions, and (2) should be able to participate in Morocco's social processes. Little is said about teaching and enhancing students' critical thinking skills needed to reflect on complex social and global issues. As such, the Moroccan approach to citizenship education is an example of arguments that citizenship education's primary purpose is to ensure compliance, loyalty, uncritical acceptance of the status quo (Faulks, 2006). Moreover, although global citizenship has been at the forefront of the global SDGs, the current national reform does not frame the necessary knowledge, aptitudes or skills aligned with the development of global citizenship competencies. In this way, as analysis suggested, the constructed narrative of the new vision reform offers more of a minimalist perspective on national citizenship (McLaughlin, 1992). It focuses on the teaching of procedural knowledge and adopts a liberal-communitarian perspective, which has been associated with the personally responsible citizen (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

The new Moroccan vision for citizenship education emphasizes social and personal aspects of civic participation, rather than the political. If political knowledge tends to attract people's interest in democratic institutions, as well as affect their views on public issues in order to judge officials on the responsibilities carried in the political system (Delli et al., 1996), then ignoring the political socialization of citizenship education can do little more than instill the values of a responsible, passive citizen.

Linking Morocco to broader global education trends related to citizenship education, the analysis broadly points to the challenge of moving policies like the Strategic Vision for Reform 2015-2030 to practice. Educational systems are under growing external pressures as international agendas (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010) and large-scale assessment of student achievement are becoming increasingly recognized by governments worldwide (Williams & Engel, 2013). Many systems are therefore reorienting their policy goals and targets to inspire both equity and effectiveness through schooling. In addition, and particular to MENA systems, new policy developments in education are also tasked with addressing people's hope for real and radical future democratic changes following the Arab Spring. The actions of educational leaders across MENA, and certainly in Morocco, are therefore under increasing scrutiny. In examining this new policy reform and its vision for the 21st century Moroccan citizen against some of these national, regional and global trends, analysis points once again to the ways in which national policy shifts are caught up in the juggernaut of globalizing tendencies in education policy. At the same time, the analysis sheds light on the complexities of positioning those global discourses about the active and participatory citizen within the historical, social, cultural, political and economic context surrounding the Moroccan education system.

Despite the notable limitations of focusing predominantly on policy discourse, which tends to exclude actual practice in classroom/school spaces or the visions of other stakeholders, this analysis provides new insights into citizenship education policy formation in the Moroccan context, where to date there has been a dearth of literature. Given that this section is more concerned with understanding all aspects of policy formulation regarding a new vision for citizenship education, it did not attempt to undertake a full-fledged analysis of evaluation and implementation. It is still early to comment on the success and failures of the Strategic Vision for

Reform 2015-2030 in Morocco, as well as other vision 2030 reforms adopted in the MENA region countries as they are only in their early years. Yet, for the analysis of citizenship education, the critical question will be the extent to which it becomes a priority in the education policy discourse or largely absent from schooling, as in the previous reforms.

5.3. (Re) Imagining the Responsible, National Citizen: Analysis of Moroccan Citizenship Education Textbooks

Citizenship education in compulsory schooling plays a critical role in the level of engagement and abilities of young people to assume basic civic responsibilities. Much of the research interests in school textbooks has derived from the more or less implicit assumption that textbooks are designed to teach pupils what educators believed ought to exist. In other words, the function of textbooks is to tell children what their elders want them to know. Textbooks constitute the sole and trusted source of information in which case are most likely to affect pupils. Since school textbooks possess institutionally defined authority and reliability, their hidden messages and ideological underpinnings may just be taken for granted by pupils.

This section focuses on citizenship education of primary school social studies curriculum in Morocco and examines citizenship conceptions from the 4th, 5th, and 6th grade textbooks (ages 9-12). Findings in the study are based on qualitative content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Krippendorff, 2004) of the official textbooks used in Morocco's Education for Citizenship curriculum. The classification of social studies by Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977), and extended by Martorella (1996) as well as the typologies of citizen formation by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) will be used as conceptual frames to guide our analysis. Descriptive and critical data analysis techniques are used to analyze the selected textbooks page by page, with a focus on the

main body of written text, images, and activities. I draw on the analytical techniques established by Faas (2011) and Engel (2014) to first describe the introductions of the textbook of each grade, examine the ways in which the main points of the introductions were reflected in the individual units, sorting them into categories. Then, the relationship among categories was identified to establish emerging themes. I pay considerable attention to the construction and framing of discourses concerning the representation of the Moroccan citizen, as well as what civic issues and values are prioritized and excluded (Crismore, 1989). Following this framework, I explore the key themes of Morocco's primary school citizenship education textbooks, including human rights; democracy and civic participation; and national and global citizenship. Within these themes, I ask broader questions about how citizen formation is shaped at the primary level and how the Moroccan citizen is represented in the textbooks? Specifically, I ask: What is the approach being adopted by the state to inculcate citizenship in its students? Is it in favor of a nationalist approach or more globalized one? Do the textbooks cultivate the skills of the 21st century?

5.3.1. Curriculum and Textbooks Content

Citizenship education is a learning process in which the learner discovers and acquires practical skills, develops positive attitudes and dispositions and emanates positive reactions towards himself, his community, country. Following the pedagogical guide of primary education (2009) and the White Book (2001), citizenship education is a learning process that is based on the pedagogy of integration: integrate the knowledge, skills and values acquired in the student's daily life practice.

We can explain the learning process in the field of citizenship education in the Moroccan primary schools through the following three dimensions: discovery, reaction and action (Guide Pédagogique d'Éducation Primaire 2009, p.141). At primary level, pupils learn, through discovering the world. The first stage 'the Discovery Approach' is an introductory learning process, in which students recognize and understand concepts and events, search for data and do different operations as analysis, composition and comparison. This phase ends with sensitizing students and preparing them for the second process. The 'Reaction Approach' is based on building a personal character that deals with problem-solving, forms opinions on the basis of legal/civil perspectives and adopts positions. This phase increases a sense of awareness of legal and civil dimensions of the situation-problem to pupils, as an important step towards their commitment to the values of citizenship. The last phase of this learning process is 'Action'. This makes students initiate, plan, implement and evaluate activities and projects. As a matter of fact, the importance is not only on the activity but rather on the intellectual and emotional utility associated with it, that allow them to carry out their creative potential and contribute effectively in the collective life. As a result, action makes learners to be active, engaged, global citizens. (Guide Pédagogique d'Éducation Primaire, 2009, p.141)

Morocco launched in 2000, in light of the guidelines of the National Charter of Education and Training, major reforms allowing the revision of curricula and the adoption of the competence-based approach, instead of the objective-based learning approach that dominated the national schools since independence. From a social constructionist perspective, the competence-based approach provides the learners with the opportunity to develop competences to become active in their daily lives and act wisely to concrete and realistic situations; it is a means of making learning more end-driven, oriented towards social integration and professional life. To reach this

goal, the educational system has to specify the competencies to be acquired as well as resources (knowledge, behavior, material) (Guide de l'Approche par Competence, 2009, p.13). Introduced by Le Boterf (1994), the term resource “refers to the knowledge, skills for action and the life skills which the student, like anyone else, mobilizes to solve a complex situation” (Roegiers, 2007, p.16). In addition, complex situations “or problem situations refer to a contextualized set of information to be interpreted in order to perform a specific task” (p.17).

I provide a brief detailed description of the content of each grade. The content of each grade is as following:

Table 5. Textbooks Content

Grades	Textbook Name	Publishing House	Units
4th	Fi Rihab Al Ijtimaiiat	Salam Al Jadid	1. Be Aware of Myself as a Human Being: My Identity 2. Be Aware of Myself as a Human Being: My Personality 3. I Appreciate Myself as I Am 4. I Appreciate Others as They Are: I discover their differences 5. I Appreciate Others as They Are: I Respect their Differences 6. I Take Care of Myself: I Think about the Dangers and Prove 7. I Take Care of My Safety on Road 8. Be Aware of the Health Risks of Smoking

			9. The Rule and the Law 10. How to Organize my Work at Home and School 11. How to Listen Affectively and Communicate 12. The Importance of Collective Work: How to Work Well in a Team/ Contribute to Solidarity Work in School or Neighborhood 13. How to Search and Organize Data: Learn the steps to Complete a Research 14. How to Search and Organize Data: Prepare a Research of your Choice 15. Desires 16. Needs and Rights
5th	Al Jadid Fi Al Ijtimaiiat	Dar Nashr Lmaarifa	1. What is a Right? 2. What is Duty/Responsibility? 3. What is the Relationship between my Right and the Other's right 4. What is the Relationship between right and Responsibility 5. The Right to Difference 6. How to Prepare and Present a Report: Rationalize the Use of Water and Electricity 7. My Rights and Duties at Home and Towards My Family 8. My Rights and Duties on the street

			9. My Rights and Duties at School 10. How to Practice our Citizenship at School 11. How to Elect a Student Council? 12. How to Prepare a School Newspaper 13. From the Student Council to the Municipality (Village and Rural Council) 14. How to Plan and Prepare a project for my community
6th	Najah Fi Al Ijtimaiiat	Najah Al Jadida	1. What is the Convention on the Rights of the Child 2. The Meaning of the “Best Interest of the Child” 3. The Meaning of “Non-Discrimination”: The Example of Boy and Girl 4. My Right to Have a Name, Citizenship and Identity: Searching Information about the Moroccan Flag/ The National Anthem 5. My Right to Health: My Role in Taking Care of my Health/ Prepare and Present a report on the Consequences of Drug Use 6. My Right of Education: Make a Poster about Girl’s Education in Rural Areas 7. My Right to Leisure: Organize a Discussion about Hobbies. 8. My Right to be Protected from Maltreatment: Case Studies 9. Who is Supposed to Protect me: Know Institutions for Protection of child rights

			10. How to Protect Myself? How to Protect Others? Suggest a Law to Protect some Categories of Children 11. My Right of Participation in the Decision-Making: Exercise Some Ways to Communicate my Opinions 12. My Right and Duty to Participate in developing my Community (Locally, Nationally)/ How to Follow up a Local Project?
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Explicitly through text, images and activities, the textbooks emphasize knowledge and understanding of issues pertaining to patriotism and regulation of relations in different contexts, namely in the family through highlighting certain gender issues, at school through explaining the student/teacher/team work relations that must be based on mutual respect, and in the community environment through exemplifying neighborhood relations and social roles. All these aim to build students' awareness of differences and to promote the right to equality among both people and groups. The textbooks also stress a discourse of rights, duties and responsibilities, specifying tasks, rules, obligations, attitudes, behaviors and basic child rights characterized by respect and care. A participatory approach is also prominent in the textbooks with information about existing participatory bodies such as the parliament, municipality, civil society, international organizations and encouragement to part-take in community-based projects and decision-making both within and outside the school environment such as painting and planting the school and voting in elections. All these expected cognitive learning experiences imply the development of certain skills related to scientific research as to raise a scientific citizen who can use scientific methods and technology, for instance making comparison, preparing a report about hobbies, national and

international celebrations, the role of arbitrator in sport matches, traffic signs related to child protection using proofs to justify.

The selected social studies textbooks introduce the Education for Citizenship subject component with a preamble that includes the aims and objectives to be achieved, the competencies to be acquired and individual units of the curriculum.

Table 6. Aims / Competencies

Textbooks	Aims/ Objectives	Competencies
4 th grade	- Learning about individual rights, obligations, common good.	- Enhancing personality; - Acquiring the values of good citizenship; - Active participation.
5 th grade	- Sensitizing students about rights and obligations.	<u>Knowledge</u> Consolidating the understanding of some concepts as Rights/Duties/Responsibilities/Diversity; knowing some International conventions related to child's rights; knowing local, national and international institutions and civil society organizations as the school

		council/ municipality/ Child Parliament/ the United Nations/UNICEF. <u>Skills</u> Observing documents; extracting data and drawing conclusion; explaining and interpreting; data classification; analyzing, justifying, reasoning and arguing; comparing and understanding relationships; making choices and decisions; research capability; debating and organizing a debate; active listening; communication; doing an interview; doing field work; working with others; case studies; preparing a project and presenting a report; following through.
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6 th grade	- Understanding the major component of the UNCRC.	<u>Attitudes</u> Building a sense of identity; self-confidence; valuing others and respecting their opinions; cultural appreciation; valuing the role of local, national and international institutions and organizations; openness to involvement and participation to influence and develop the community; responsibility to protect the self and others; awareness of the importance of international conventions in protecting the child's rights.
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Drawing in tandem the different approaches to social studies and citizenship education described in the framework, we considered the above aims and outcomes to answer the extent to which do human rights feature in the textbooks and what are the important omissions and missing opportunities for civic skill engagement and global citizenship.

5.3.2. Human Rights Education

Rights and Responsibilities

Human rights education entails education about children rights rather than a broader conception of human rights. In the 4th grade textbook, human rights are understood as needs that must be addressed and which are guaranteed by international charters as the Universal Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1959 and the Convention on the Rights of the Child that Morocco ratified in 1993. There is a direct mention of Morocco's ratification of the convention in 1993 twice in the textbooks of 4th and 6th grade, in reference to the country's commitment to the values and humanitarian concepts that respect children. In the 5th grade textbook, human rights are addressed in terms of rights associated with fulfilled duties in the context of the family, school, and road safety. There were only two occurrences of the word 'human rights' in the 6th grade textbook with reference to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights but no paragraph or extended text is dedicated to explaining human rights as a basic component of citizenship and which is bounded by a constitutional framework. In the 6th grade textbook, the framework used to structure human rights discussion remains that of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), interpreting 10 basic children rights that guarantee students' lives and existence.

The aspects of universal child rights that are mentioned in the textbooks of 4th, 5th and 6th grades are as follows: The child's right to have access to the highest attainable standard of health care to protect his/her physical and mental abilities, in particular by ensuring access to good nutrition; the child's right to an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding within the family environment and society; rights of children with disabilities, child's right to free education, be equally treated, express freely his/her opinion and not be maltreated inside the classroom; child's right to be registered after birth and have a name and citizenship or nationality; the right

to life and child's right to be protected from exploitation of all forms and from performing any work which is likely to be harmful. Moreover, child rights are further supported with the use of an Islamic Religious Hadith in the 4th grade textbook stating that "the parents should give their children good upbringing and teach them writing, swimming and archery". In addition, other social dimensions of child rights are mentioned in the 5th grade textbook, namely the right to use public space; the road has to be equipped with traffic signals; the footpath crossing designed for pedestrians has to be clearly drawn.

Similarly, human rights education teaches students not only about their rights, but also their responsibilities. For example, in the 5th grade textbook, the right of road safety carries with it the child's responsibilities to respect and obey the traffic code system, police officer's regulations and walk on the sidewalk. The right to schooling and free expression in the classroom carries with it responsibilities to work hard, actively participate in extracurricular activities, not damage school furniture and equipment and respect the teacher and pay attention to him/her while teaching. The human rights model presented centers on a rule-based approach that covers the importance of knowing how to interpret and obey instructions indicating what is right and what is wrong along a distribution of tasks where everybody should cooperate. Consequently, it develops a responsible citizen kind.

Patriotism

The textbooks associated some examples of human rights teaching with values of patriotism, loyalty and sense of belonging. For example, emphasizing the right to an identity, name, and citizenship are intrinsically linked to instill nationalism and patriotism from a legal perspective. Some foci of attention in the 6th grade textbook include images of national

identification card, passport and a national festive celebration where the street is decorated with Moroccan flags; texts that ask the student to learn the national anthem, the history of the Moroccan flag, and information about who is eligible for being granted a Moroccan citizenship or nationality. This version of hegemonic national practices maintains the state's ideology for indoctrination and blindness towards the nation's most pressing challenges and how to overcome them.

Gender Equality/ Social Justice

Some emphasis on issues related to discrimination and gender equality are examples of awareness raising in dealing with universal human rights and social justice. To start with, discrimination is dealt with from a gender inequality perspective in the household and education in rural areas. The 6th grade textbook promotes awareness of gender discrimination as a type of discrimination that stems from the social differences that exist between boys and girls, leading to unjust treatment by considering one superior to another. Texts and pictures portrayed instances of girls' victimization and showed them as rural girls wishing to go to school or as a sister in the kitchen washing dishes, needle felting the brother's clothes or beaten by the brother, while the brother is sitting in front of the TV and ordering her to get him the remote control and clean his bicycle. However, some limitations in addressing this issue are manifested. Gender equality as an independent issue or unit is almost invisible in the textbooks and only mentioned implicitly in the few quotes from the Convention on the Right of the Child and The Universal Declaration on Human Rights around equality of individuals regardless of their religion, race, gender and skin. Also, the textbook ignores discrimination in the workplace, media, politics and other settings, and does not provide any definition of gender issues or discussions of their manifestations and causes.

The textbooks addressed some of the social, family and cultural stereotyping associated with women's role in these domains. As a way of illustration, gender equality in the family setting is higher than those that showed inequalities. The text and pictures portrayed women sharing the same responsibilities as men and performing equal roles within the family, namely both mother and father carrying groceries together or cooking in the kitchen together and taking care and talking to their children together. Regarding social roles, gender was almost equally treated. Pictures showed women and girls participating in various activities such as environmental events and doing voluntary work; performing different jobs namely, female police officer, doctor, teacher and lawyer. Nevertheless, women were not represented in the political domain except some illustrations in the 5th grade textbook that depict a woman at the voting booth and a student girl running for a campaign as her student boy counterpart to be elected for the school council. Moreover, there was no discussion of any challenges that encounter women in achieving equality in the career domain. Besides, the over representation of women in particular jobs maintains a huge social gender gap. In other words, while in principle women are free to choose their profession, social pressure and preferences tend to direct female students towards certain subjects such as teaching and nursing, which may not reflect the needs of the labor market. This enacts the stereotype that women lack leadership skills to advance for top management and administrative positions.

The textbooks also highlighted issues of social justice. Social justice is defined in terms of child labor and street children in the 6th grade textbook, who instead of attending school are forced to work, denying them their fundamental rights and stunting their mental and physical development. The content in this regard was descriptive and important opportunities to show

objectives to eradicate this phenomenon and raise awareness about dropping out of school were missing. Social justice, in terms of having access to material-economic resources as well as the distribution of power at least in rural areas, is ignored.

Teaching Approach

The analysis of the textbooks' core activities, namely, reading, comprehension and assessment related to human rights reveals a predominant didactic approach to teaching these rights based on memorizing vocabulary (e.g. what is right, law, Universal Declaration of Human Rights), key dates (e.g. the state opening of parliament by the king, the ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child) and human rights actors and agencies (e.g. what is an NGO, parliament, United Nation, municipality, UNICEF, UNESCO) rather than an opportunity to critically reflect on the different concepts. The course and units' objectives emphasize knowledge and attitudes, while the skills outlined in the preamble are almost missing. Rights are often mentioned without problematization and students are not asked to explore what could undermine or prohibit the enactment of certain rights and how these rights are manifested in their lives. The textbooks also included assessment activities related to human rights that encouraged students to conduct some investigations and identify some rights in their local environment. However, the assessments did not ask students to explore obstacles to their implementation through

5.3.3. Democracy and Civic Participation

Civic participation is a human right and an important tool for children to learn democracy and become democratic citizens. Civic participation in the textbooks is dealt with from three

perspectives, namely in the school context, local environment and political literacy. Team building, volunteering, establishment of rules, electing the student council, decision making, freedom of speech and organization of activities in the school and the local environment (municipality) are common in the 4th and 5th grade textbooks, while knowledge of participatory bodies to protect children's rights like the parliament, civil society organizations, the United Nations are predominant in the 6th grade textbook.

Teamwork

First of all, the three textbooks have mentioned the idea of participation within a communitarian perspective, where students should actively and effectively engage in the society and environment in which they live. The most commonly highlighted skills regarding participation are teamwork or team building and decision-making. In the 4th grade textbook, teamwork is defined as “what a group is planning and organizing to accomplish work for the benefit of the individual and the community”. Image and text illustrations for teamwork are given from the school where, a teacher asked students to divide themselves into groups in order to clean, paint and plant the school, and from a countryside where the inhabitants decided to take matters into their own hands and volunteer to repair their local road. However, there were no activities in the textbooks that offered guidelines for teamwork, such as the organization of round table debate, respecting people’s turns, listening to others carefully, deciding on who is going to speak and avoiding making noises.

Decision-making

This participatory aspect is further enriched by the inclusion of the decision-making dimension, both at school and the local community. In the 6th grade textbook, participation in decision-making is considered as a “form of freedom of speech that the Convention on the Rights of the Child guarantees under the article 12”. The textbook illustrates some forms of free and self-expression, namely election of the school council, discussions within a school cooperative context or child parliament; participation in a play or drawing a caricature; writing poetry or a novel; writing a newspaper article in a school magazine. On the other hand, the 5th grade textbook defined the municipality council as “a public, citizen oriented body, elected to enact local democracy and designed to improve the quality of life and well-being, solve problems and make decisions about issues that affect everyone”. Within this context, a reference to the word democracy is made, providing a definition as ‘rule by the people’. Nevertheless, the textbooks are silent on ways of accessing the council and becoming a candidate, the position of the various councilors as well as the distribution of functions and the processes of national government through legislative and judiciary and executive powers. Moreover, participation in the textbooks is seen as a right and obligation to perform a national duty through mainly voting during an electoral process and therefore more of a passive and a thin concept of citizenship is promoted. Furthermore, there seems to be a rather weak approach to political and civic literacy limited to information about political institutions and participation in local communities (through images and samples) but not on political issues and activities, such as writing petitions and letters to representatives, going on strike, following the national and international media, talking to politicians face-to face or the role of political parties in Morocco.

Institutional Participation (NGOs)

The 5th and 6th grade textbooks deal with institutional participation that is based on democracy like Non-Governmental Organizations. The 6th grade textbook defined civil society as “the various non-governmental organizations and associations that educate citizens about their rights and contribute to their defense. They also raise their awareness of their duties towards their homeland and contribute to solving their problems”. The textbook mentioned some national and international NGOs that mainly deal with the child’s rights protection (UN, UNICEF, WHO, ILO, Bayti Association, Karam Association) the environment and natural disasters, rather than performing active political involvement. Within this framework, NGOs are described as a place to which only good and volunteering people belong, but their potential influence on political decisions is ignored. Some limitations include the textbooks’ ignorance of inserting activities to enable students part-taking in the NGOs activities. We argue that while the acquisition of knowledge can enhance awareness, awareness itself does not necessarily lead to effectiveness for a more participative role in shaping Morocco’s future. In this way, the textbooks, though aimed at citizenship education, do not seem to be contributing to political literacy as a dimension of active citizenship education.

5.3.4. National/ Global Citizenship

The textbooks focused on national issues more than global issues for students to gain a national identity and perspective. As a matter of fact, a citizen is presented as a person concerned with his/her community and the local level is the primary level at which citizenship develops its affective dimension. However, national identity presented in the textbooks does a little to develop a pluralistic imaginary and understanding of the democratic citizenship. First, textbooks gave

little attention to the pluralistic side of the Moroccan societal fabric that consists of different cultural identities, namely Amazigh, Sahraoui, Hassani, and Moroccan Jewish. This contradicts with the Moroccan educational approach developed in the National charter (2000-2009) and White Book (2000), which intended to consolidate Morocco's cultural heritage, identity and diversity.

Second, terms like global citizenship, globalization or even cosmopolitan are not mentioned and little voice is given to cultural diversity within Morocco. In the 4th and 5th grade textbooks, cultural diversity is framed as a right and conveyed in terms of respecting others. Illustrations portrayed children from diverse nationalities, backgrounds, race and religious identities; from religious institutions (Mosque, Church and Synagogue); and a poster that showed an international children's forum. Also, an assignment asked students to draw a poster under the title "We are the World Children: Different and Equal". In general, the textbooks display the value of co-existence and living together at the national level to maintain harmony among the different components of society, but failed to include a connection to a global community of human beings and to develop a feeling of global citizenship and commitment.

Indeed, global citizenship education and global competence is a recent addition in social studies and there are many different understandings and conceptualization, which frame its teaching and ideology. In Morocco, learning languages and becoming competent in using ICT are the only requirements for students to be a global citizen in the textbooks, representations of the global community include international organizations and conventions on issues of human rights and children rights. Inclusion of important global matters (e.g. global warming) that need to be explored in the textbooks is lacking. Ignoring and marginalizing important global skills that

promote and facilitate interconnectedness is problematic in a context of growing cultural diversification and labor market globalization. As such, the global is positioned as foreign and separate from the life of the student, the school, and Morocco.

5.3.5. Discussion

This sub-section investigates the extent to which conceptions of human rights, democracy and civic participation and national global citizenship featured in the school subject ‘Education for Citizenship’ of social studies in Morocco. I based this research on a sample of 4th, 5th and 6th grade textbooks that social studies teachers and students use in primary school. For external validity, it is important to note that a school textbook is not the only factor determining what happens in classrooms. This analysis involved only three textbooks and is limited as it excludes an analysis of the classroom practice. Thus the results are not generalized for all social studies textbooks. However, the analysis provides insights regarding the treatment of important citizenship concepts that are likely to be relevant for other stakeholders interested in integrating them into learning materials and practices. Table 2 summarizes the extent to which certain topics are prioritized, excluded and marginalized:

Table 7. Textbooks: 4th, 5th, 6th grades

Prioritized Topics	Excluded Topics	Marginalized Featured Topics
- A discourse of rights (child’s rights); - Responsibilities; - Gender Equality;	- Discussion of challenges encountering women achieving equality; - Activities offering	- Discrimination (workplace, media, politics); - Social Justice; - Political participation;

- Institutions (UN, UNESCO, School); - Teamwork/ Volunteering in community Service; - Participation in civil society activities.	- guidelines for teamwork; - Ways on accessing politics; - Distribution of function in the government; - Global citizenship; - Global issues (as global warming/ ESD).	- Cultural diversity; - Pluralistic Moroccan society.
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The analyzed textbooks showed a great discrepancy between the objectives and expected outcomes. The textbooks' content focus primarily on transmitting procedural knowledge and values about human or child rights, rather than socializing students to a set of skills and competences that reinforce their critical understandings of citizenship issues and active participation in the future. That predominant emphasis on human rights in the textbooks offers little opportunity for students to make connections with current social issues that face today's world especially with the waves of cross-border mobility and the differences of cultures might cause as racism, discrimination, and to understand their place as citizens within a global context. The concept of diversity, a key goal encompassed by global citizenship education is treated from the perspective of respecting gender, religious and opinion differences. I was surprised by the limited attention paid to the concept of cultural diversity and pluralism within the Moroccan context or the role of multiculturalism in maintaining cohesion, commitments and identification with the nation state and the global world. There are also research studies arguing that social studies textbooks do not sufficiently deal with multiculturalism, pluralism or minority rights (Jackson, 2014; Montgomery, 2005; Nasser & Nasser, 2008).

Furthermore, from the point of view of democratic citizenship education, responsibility should not be limited to complying with established rules, but also implies concern for others and understanding the consequences and effects of one's and other's actions. Unfortunately, such themes are not included in the textbooks.

The globally open space in which we now live requires a kind of a global citizenship learning (Nussbaum, 1997; Rizvi, 2009). Although the important points related to global citizenship education have been mentioned among the curriculum subject priority objectives, addressing aspects of global competency in the 21st century and the role of global citizen as a citizen who is seeking contribution and international mindedness appear ignored and neglected. In addition, the textbooks presented an apolitical citizenship education content, free of political events except voting and which does not develop any democratic or political literacy. Moreover, the texts rarely go beyond a mere description of institutions and make no attempt to present these institutions as a context for citizen participation. Research in some countries on social studies textbooks reports the same results, where controversial political issues and participation are avoided (Zafer Ku, 2016; Perveen & Awan, 2017). Therefore, the citizenship education in Moroccan schools is taught as citizenship transmission, providing students with theoretical knowledge about democratic institutions but rarely giving them the chance to connect this knowledge with their everyday lives.

The pedagogy followed in the textbooks in teaching citizenship education also requires attention. Despite the fact that a competency-based approach has been adopted as part of the curriculum objectives, implementing this approach is almost absent from the textbooks, and the writing style is simple and descriptive. Put differently, although the textbooks encourage students

to express an opinion in the assessments and comment on the pictures and texts, the implementation of behavioral and applied aspects of citizenship is absent, resulting in a reductionist didactic teaching and unquestioned facts continue to dominate in the textbooks. Moreover, the textbooks do not facilitate the development of civic skills and inculcate the civic dispositions valorized in the textbooks. The result is a representation of a personally responsible Moroccan citizen, who is not given the opportunity to think critically or acquire the necessary skills to face not only global problems, but also complex social, political, economic, and environmental issues facing their local communities.

What Morocco shows us about the passive citizen is not surprising given the lack of transformative pedagogical approaches (Abdi, 2014; UNESCO, 2014), teacher training, extracurricular activities and civil society involvement. Some developed countries, like Canada, the UK, the Republic of Korea, Japan, and United States have integrated GCED as an approach across all areas of learning and developed related curricula (UNESCO, 2014). However, pedagogical and structural challenges persist with implementation. As OECD points out, there is a large gap-perhaps even a chasm- between the evidence on effective learning environments for the 21st century and established practice in today's schools and classrooms (Milton, 2015).

Perhaps, then, this analysis asks us to reconsider the primary spaces used to foster these kinds of 21st century skills. Student's participation in extracurricular activities as a means of developing civic dispositions and achieving academic and professional success has long been noted (McFarland & Thomas, 2006; Zaff et al., 2003). Moreover, fostering teacher's professional development for citizenship education and including topics, materials, and tasks that promote students' involvement in and response to global issues related to intercultural, environmental,

identity, and social problem will help cultivating a classroom of respect, inclusion and active participation (Willemse et al., 2015). Furthermore, civil society and Non-Governmental organizations are important stakeholders in building individual's civic skills through providing lots of opportunities for enhancing active citizenship, empowerment and sustainable development among community members (Bergmuller, 2016; Lang, 2000).

In conclusion, it is clear that Morocco has to revise social studies textbooks in order for students to develop national and global citizenship skills and become active and democratic citizens of the future. Textbook activities should encourage students to think critically and question political and social events. Issues related to global economic, social and political structures should be emphasized and tasks should be designed to solve problems and trigger the critical thinking capacity of students. Nationalism and sense of belonging also should be provided but with a focus on partnership for global citizenship. In the new global 2030 agenda, global citizenship education (GCED) has been identified as a key component and has been placed at the core of SDG 4.7. For this reason, the Ministry of Education declared a curriculum change in the light of the New Strategic Vision for Reform: 2015-2030. The majority of curriculum subject content of primary education will be revised except for social studies. Further research might be conducted to investigate the overlap between educational and political agenda in developing critical thinking Moroccan citizens.

5.4. Exploring Citizenship Learning and Civic Behavior Change through Extracurricular Activities

The twenty first century could arguably be defined as the age of global crisis, challenging society's ability to adequately address and resolve them. Social challenges such as political

instabilities, civil war, immigration and racism have long been on the international political agenda but are being heightened by the recent economic crisis, refugee crisis, cross-border mobility and climate change. The understanding of these realities and the emerging societal threats to a cohesive society with a traditional sense of community has increased an awareness of new forms of community-based citizenship and cosmopolitanism which have the potential to mobilize agents for social change. It is not surprising, then, that citizenship has become solidly linked with global by those who see it as a response to globalization and those who aim to give citizenship education a contemporary relevance. In recent years, when citizenship education is still relatively new in some countries mainly in the global South, others have brought anew focus to education policy and practice, where interventions of global citizenship education (GCED) and education for sustainable development (ESD) take place in recognition of our global interdependence and shared rights and responsibilities as global citizens.

Schools have been the primary institutions responsible for developing students' knowledge, skills as well as nurturing a participatory attitude to actively participate in shaping the future of their society and guiding its social, economic and ecological changes along the line of sustainable development. However, the exclusive focus by today's schools on procedural knowledge (Cohen, 2013; McLaughlin, 1992) and traditional concepts (such as faith in God, loving the country, voting and respecting the rules) that offers a minimalist model of citizen formation, hinders their ability to be environments that promote transformative, critical, participatory and sustainable citizens. This situation has given rise to after school activities involvement for complementing and strengthening not only the student's school performance but also their personal potentials (Eccles et al., 2003; Moriana et al., 2006). Influence of extracurricular activities on student's development has been extensively studied by educationalists, sociologists and psychologists (Buckley & Lee,

2018; Chan, 2016; Foubert & Urbanski, 2006; Seow & Pan, 2014). Although a substantial portion of extracurricular activities time is dedicated to unstructured pursuits, it has been argued that participation in the activities has been linked to school attachment, better academic achievement, less involvement in delinquent behaviors, and inter/intrapersonal skills development (Eccles et al., 2003; Feldman & Matjasko, 2005; Kariyana et al., 2012). Despite the rapid growth of theoretical literature regarding extracurricular activities, there is a continuing lack of critical discussion within empirical studies and actual policy on its contribution to promote the values and dispositions of active citizenship and sustainable development.

In this section, I examine the effects of extracurricular activities in building knowledge, skills and attitudes that attempt to develop ecological citizenship as a subset of global citizenship among middle school students. I focus on one extracurricular program entitled ‘The Friends of Nature’ that was provided in a Moroccan private middle school. Adopting a qualitative research method approach, data consisted of interviews with thirty students from 7th, 8th and 9th grades and two teachers (social studies and life and earth science teacher), and were collected over the course of three months through multiple data collection tools, namely observation, student focus group discussions and teacher interviews. A series of environmental activities offered students opportunities to: identify environmental problems, promote education for sustainable development and improve their environmentally conscious behavior, develop creative solutions, and take actions for preserving nature in their community. The data were analyzed using a content analysis method. The results reveal that students demonstrated cognitive development in terms of human rights, citizenship rights and responsibilities, environmental sustainability. While the program developed attitudes of empathy, respect, solidarity, it failed to instill a sense of responsibility to act for the betterment of the world, thus being a global citizen. I arranged the

findings according to the emerged themes as: perceptions to active citizenship; social accountability; intrapersonal/interpersonal skills; detailing the students and teachers' perceptions as they were captured and analyzed.

5.4.1. Perceptions to Active Citizenship

Legalistic and Participatory Citizenship

During the focus group interviews, I requested that students present their perspectives by first reflecting on the concept of citizenship and then on the term global citizenship. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the dominant line of thinking was mainly grounded on a conditional relationship between rights and responsibilities, loyalty to the nation state. In terms of rights 'the right to vote' appeared to be the most important right students emphasized: *'Voting is one of the simplest forms or rights of being an active citizen'* (9th grade student). The data suggest that students emphasized certain responsibilities, including obeying the constitution, paying taxes, going to office and working effectively, and protecting the environment. This is expressed by some students: *'Active citizens are willing and able to take responsibility'* (7th grade student); *'active citizens pay their taxes on time without cheating'* (9th grade student). These rights and obligations placed on the citizen constitute part of a social contract with the nation state in which national borders define the framework of citizenship. Notably, a minority of students stressed upon the issue of human rights as a universalistic form of citizenship through making reference to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights principles, namely *'the right to have a quality education and a dissent life condition, the right to be treated equally, the right to have a good health along with being safe in the country, and the extension of these rights to marginalized social groups such as the poor, women, disabled'* (9th grade student). Students mentioned the qualities of a global citizen

to be related to a person who defends these human rights. The principle of universality is fundamental to cosmopolitanism in the sense that being members of local communities and citizens of nation states implies membership to a global community of human beings.

Moreover, the majority of students demonstrated a liberal static and humanistic sense of national loyalty and belonging in contrast to the proactive and participatory nature of global citizenship which involves ‘doing something for the world’ instead of just being born somewhere with a legal status. Responses were limited to a legalistic understanding of citizenship that emphasizes patriotism, the structures as well as functions of the government. Concepts like constitution, institutions, democracy, the monarchy, the king, justice, national identity and respecting diversity, were highlighted by students as the following: *‘Citizenship means showing commitment to the constitution and to the country’* (8th grade student); *‘we learned in social studies subject that if we want to live in peace, we have to respect other cultures and diversity’* (8th grade student); *‘citizenship is knowing the flag, the anthem well and to love the country and the king’* (7th grade, student).

Facets of Active Citizenship

While some students acknowledged that the nation-state remains the dominant system, others expressed a willingness to participate in NGOs and associations as a form of active citizenship. The integration of activism and agency within citizenship is reflected in the words of some students who claimed that *‘people who are members of NGOs, association, or any other social organization show commitment to meet social challenges; and even students who are taking parts of school council or youth parliament will grow up to be active citizens in the future’* (8th grade

student). The participants identified some commitment to action as a necessary characteristic of a global citizen, but the sort of actions they described was limited in scope. Contextualizing local engagement within a wider frame of reference and to understanding the local implications of global phenomena was almost silent except for a few examples that connect climate change and environmental protection to a global issue that needs international mobilization as one student stated *‘conservation of nature and protecting the environment is a good practice of global citizenship’* (9th grade student). Although important, charity and volunteering could not be conceptualized as solutions to social problems, neither locally nor globally and not develop critical initiatives for sustained social justice.

5.4.2. Social Accountability

Environmental awareness

It emerged from the findings that participation in the extracurricular activity enhances students’ social accountability and civic awareness towards critical social events and the cruciality of several practices towards the environment at the local and national level. Precisely, one student confirmed this idea stating that *‘first of all, since we were actively engaged in ‘The Friends of Nature’ activities, it was us who gained awareness about the environment and sustainable development. I believe that students in the school as well as neighboring people will take us as role models and follow our behavior in protecting the environment’* (7th grade student). Similarly, another student referred to the international community’s growing awareness of climate change: *‘Yes, with the COP 22 held in Marrakesh for climate change and with the Zero Plastic management plan in Morocco, I think we all have to be careful for the environment’* (9th grade student).

Some students internalized the importance of environmental sustainability and built a strong sense of responsibility towards deriving solutions for the selected problems in their groups. For example, one student expressed his idea stating: *‘throughout the project, we raised awareness of our classmates on using plastic bags and its consequences. Many times, we took advantage of lunchtime in the cafeteria and we shared with them some tips to follow such as switching off the lights when not in use, being careful about recycling not littering’* (8th grade student). During the eco project, students engaged in a wide range of activities to address environmental issues, for example, going on a trip to Sidi Boughaba forest and collecting garbage. They also created an integrated waste management program inside the school, in which they had designed trash boxes for sorting garbage (paper, containers and organic waste). In addition, students during the eco project activities internalized the importance of some international and national organizations such as the United Nations, UNICEF, Mohammed VI Foundation for Environmental Protection: *‘We were motivated to do some research on sustainable development, climate change, recycling, etc. We learned about some institutions and organizations like UNESCO, UNICEF, and National Geographic Society’* (9th grade student).

The participant teachers have argued that this extracurricular activity is reinforcing social accountability towards the environment:

‘I can notice that students developed social accountability and civic awareness towards the environment and got engaged in teamwork in a collaborative way’ (Teacher/ earth and life science).

‘As you have observed in the classroom, students were assigned activities in their groups and none of the students were under pressure to finalize the task. On the contrary, they highly enjoyed them. Throughout the activities, students engaged in identifying real environmental problems in

their neighborhoods as pollution and smoking cigarettes in public, which might be minor or major according to others. Then, they worked together to find real solutions to these problems' (Teacher/ social studies).

These extracts taken from the field notes and focus group interviews show that students experienced active learning, based on student-centered activities, resulting in them becoming personally involved with the issues at hand and forming a personal connection with the other. The most evident attitudes that emerged from the students' comments, statements and work were that of respecting opinions, helping others and caring about friends, family, neighborhood and community. This acknowledgement of 'the other' points to the idea of membership in the wider community of humanity, which is essential for global citizenship. One student described that, *'Through the activities we did, we really learned about the risks of climate change in a concrete and meaningful way; we made personal connections with our school and specifically our class. It was not just sitting in a class learning about environmental issues, but we actually did something to make a difference in our community'* (9th grade student).

5.4.3. Interpersonal / Intrapersonal Skills

Opening Spaces for Dialogue

Besides developing an understanding of citizenship issues, observation and interviews showed that as a result of working in team groups on different activities for more than three months, social identities are created and more opportunities are for students to socially interact with their teammates and engage in teamwork not only within an academic setting but also outside. A 7th grade student said that *'one important gain from participating in the eco project is that I learned how to work in a group and respect each other'*. Accordingly, students are more confident to negotiate opinions, share tasks and express their thoughts. Results revealed that students gained

many intrapersonal skills such as self confidence as one student claimed: *“I lacked confidence at the beginning. But soon after, I liked working as a team group; we had fun, we learned to give and receive orders. The activities taught me to be confident and lead”* (7th grade student). Similarly, an 8th grade student explained how self confident he became by saying that *‘speaking in front of my classmates without fear was one of the most important skills I learned. I used to be shy and nervous to talk in public. Thanks to the activities, I was able to overcome and control this’*. Students also developed self esteem and leadership; competencies that helped them develop goals, objectives and organizational skills as another student expressed: *‘As a leader of my group, I learned how to do planning and assigning responsibilities among group members; thus when we presented our findings in the environment day festival, all students, parents, teachers, director and some of the community representatives appreciated our work. We were so happy and satisfied for doing well on the dissemination’* (9th grade student). ‘The Friends of Nature’ provides a safe environment for students to identify themselves and practice cooperative learning. They could work together on an assignment or project and make decisions with the group members.

Problem Solving Skills

Moreover, critical thinking and problem solving skills were highly accepted by students who spoke of how this extracurricular activity helped them develop their own ways of inquiry as they were provided with opportunities to think from different perspectives. One 9th grade student said: *‘we faced problems within the group in terms of different opinions and ideas. We also faced dominant students. But we try to listen to each other but not necessarily follow them’*. Teachers as well underlined the development of critical thinking, creative thinking, questioning and discussion. The interview quotations exemplified this:

'To be honest with you, the activities provided the students with the opportunity to show their creativity. For example, some students were not successful enough in the class in general but participated very well for the group tasks' (Teacher/ earth and life science).

'In the project, students were performing each task by themselves and my role was a facilitator and guide. There were groups who were successful in grasping the expected tasks because they asked good questions to understand and clear all the confusion in their mind' (Teacher/ social studies).

Communication Skills

Research skills including presentation skills, communication skills and time management were precious practical skills gained from the activities as observed and stated by some students and teachers. The teacher of social studies stated that,

'Students developed skills to communicate with their peers and other representatives. As part of the activities, the groups visited the municipality of Rabat and one of the first waste-recycling cooperatives in Akreuch in the city of Rabat. Students engaged in discussion with them and at the end they realized how important it was to acquire communication skills to clearly explain the purpose of their project'.

A student from 8th grade emphasized the improvement in his communication skills stating that *'we designed some brochures explaining the objectives of our project and the results achieved. We tried to distribute them in and out of school. However, none took the brochures unless we first communicated with them. Communication skills are very important in order to deliver an important message'*. During a focus group interview, a 9th grade student talked about their experience of using the Internet as a biggest aid to collect information and other technological tools for presenting and sharing their project saying *'while preparing the*

presentation in the environment day, we collected the information from the Internet and used Power Point software and Data Show’.

5.4.4. Discussion

In this section, I focused on one extracurricular activity entitled ‘The Friends of Nature’ that helped engage thirty students in a series of environmental activities, where they had opportunities to develop aspects of transformative learning such as raising awareness; using participative pedagogies; opening spaces for dialogue; searching for solutions to a problem as a group; and, although to a lesser extent, creating networks and collectives. Students also demonstrated cognitive development in terms of human rights, citizenship rights and responsibilities, and environmental sustainability. Past research has demonstrated, in line with my findings, that participation in extracurricular activities is perceived as being associated with more positive academic outcomes and offers students the opportunity to learn interpersonal and leadership skills that are likely to inspire continued engagement in civic affairs in adulthood (Feldman & Matjasko, 2005; Fisher & Theis, 2014).

I have witnessed the development of important life skills and intrapersonal attitudes (responsibility, self-confidence, self-expression, solving problems and group work) (Brundiers et al., 2010) based on the topics they discussed and activities they shared within all types of teamwork required during the project. Both teachers argued that students excelled more in the extracurricular program than in the regular curriculum. I suggest that while students may not get enough practice during classroom activities because of constraints and lack of authentic opportunities for practice, the extracurricular activity often allows them to apply their knowledge

in real situations (Salamuddin et al., 2011). However, transferring these skills and practicing the knowledge they gained to the micro settings outside the school context such as the family might be restricted due to their social role position and their developmental age level.

Students defined citizenship from a conventional perspective that reflects an apolitical individualistic and minimalistic version of citizenship teaching (McLaughlin, 1992), focused around transmitting information about student's rights and obligations for the nation state, mainly knowing the constitution, the parliament, and understanding the voting process. This may traditionally result from the influence of social studies textbooks that contribute to reinforce a passive version of citizen formation and the prevalence of nationalism and patriotism that were outlined as the ultimate goal of education in the Moroccan National Education and Training Charter reform (2000). Students are still living there in school and curricular-based reality, thus shaping their perception and knowledge of the global citizen only in the sense of eco-centric value. In that sense, students were conscious of the interconnectedness of everyone's action towards the environment and described global awareness much in the same way that Dobson (2003) and Schattle (2009) do when they claimed that global and ecological citizenship entails personal qualities such as recognizing the shared fate that implicates humanity on the planet. However, the majority of students found it difficult to conceive citizenship as a way of being in the world, to attribute a high importance to universalism and to connect the local with the global.

Moreover, when the students argued that commitment to action is necessary for global citizenship, they showed a limited conceptualization of acting as global citizens to such things as volunteering. Participation from the student's perspective is associated with the social aspect based on active involvement in civil society impacting environment (Barry, 2002) but with a very

limited emphasis on the importance of political life through the activity of voting rather than on the multiple dimensions of the responsible political engagement. This represents the implications of what Westheimer and Kahne (2004) define as the ‘personally responsible citizenship’ which promotes ‘soft’ actions in supporting social change (Andreotti, 2006). Arguably, this kind of soft education does not challenge the status quo as political competencies are mainly ignored and students are held individually responsible for succeeding within the given context rather than encouraged to critically reflect on the issue and seek social change through collective action.

In reality, middle school students are limited when it comes to politics because they still cannot vote in elections, run for a political office or become a political leader. However, political citizenship literacy is indeed important and necessary to prepare children for future realities and their inevitable role as tomorrow’s leaders in addressing global issues such as climate change (Trott, 2019). Cases in point are some young climate activists such as Greta Thunberg, Bruno Rodriguez, Helena Gualinga, John Paul Jose, Leah Namugerwa and Licypriya Kangujam to name a few, who are considered powerful voices of a young generation that will have to bear the consequences of today’s political failure to stop climate change. Driven by their scientific understanding of the climate crisis and the insufficient response of politics and societies to the problem, they launched movements that have spurred an international spotlight, encouraging students from all over the world to demand action on climate change from their governments. Thus, I suggest that initiatives like ‘The Friends of Nature’ should take a critical transformative approach to allow for a relatively straightforward integration of global citizenship education which goes beyond the soft approaches.

In addition, various questions regarding the effective management of a school's extracurricular activities and its contribution to the development of students' global citizenship competencies highlight the implications for teacher formation which might be problematic and challenging in the context of Morocco. In this case study, even if teachers were ready to take on a values-laden approach to global citizenship, coming to understand what is the 'right thing' with students may be especially problematic as there are many competing perspectives. Due to the lack of teacher training, teachers' perceptions of global citizenship education as a way to constitute global solutions is very narrow (The Analytical Report on the Implementation of the National Charter, 2014). For example, when I asked the teacher of life and earth science to describe her perception of global citizenship education, she could not provide a clear definition and understanding of its basic characteristics and its importance in society.

With the adoption of the new Strategic Vision for Reform 2015-2030, the role of teachers are indeed considered from knowledge transmitter to teaching-learning leader and facilitator. They should pursue a transformative pedagogy and need to be equipped with the ability to understand the world which will directly influence students. However, global citizenship education is still lacking solid institutional status and implementation still has a far way to go not only within Morocco but also in other developed countries (Davies, 2006; Mclean & Cook, 2016). Therefore, one interesting direction for future research would be to narrow the gap between policy and practice through analyzing the extent to which teachers are involved in global citizenship related extracurricular activities and consider the importance of teacher education programmes and training in filling the gap of promoting teachers who will be equipped with pedagogical skills to handle issues of global citizenship and sustainability alongside the courses they teach.

In schools across Morocco, extracurricular activities have been substantially reduced and in some cases completely eliminated in response to budget concerns and pressures to improve academic test scores. It was difficult to find schools to participate in this research as many schools declined on the basis that they were not practicing active and global citizenship through extracurricular activities at the school level. This fact contradicts with the education policy under the National Education and Training Charter reform 2000, that regulated the activation of school clubs as stipulated in the Ministerial Memorandum N° 42, issued under the title ‘Activating School Clubs in Educational Institutions’ to renew the commitment through reviving old school clubs and establishing new ones. It would be interesting to examine how students who are not subjected to extracurricular activities develop active and global citizenship knowledge, values and competencies in public schools. This might further raise the question of how an active and global citizenship education should be embodied and which strategies and methods should be applied to maintain it.

This research study still does not argue the fact that the project activities led to a change in students’ attitudes and mindset as ‘The Friends of Nature’ enabled them to take new opportunities that they never experienced before inside a formal educational setting. We cannot attribute the student’s improvement solely to the extracurricular activities, because learning about active citizenship and acquiring the skills and competencies of global citizenship and sustainability is a dynamic, ongoing and context-specific process. Students are exposed to other social contexts outside the school, which may have an influence on their visions and practices as active citizens such as the family setting, media in all its forms, political and economic conditions (Hoskins et al., 2008). For that reason, the results should be interpreted with caution as the changes in attitudes and values can be observed in a longer period of time. Nevertheless, further research should

explore global citizenship through extracurricular activities in the context of Morocco, and address policy regarding the implications for the development of global citizenship and education for sustainable development (ESD). Insights from this empirical study of student's thinking can help to guide academic discourse, policy makers and curriculum development process regarding citizenship in an evolving postcolonial society that requires the acquisition of new 21st century skills to participate and compete in a globalized economy but also globalized environmental issues.

5.5. The Rationale for Citizenship Education in Policy-Makers and Teachers Perception

This section attempts to highlight the policymakers and teachers' understanding of citizenship in Morocco especially in terms of structures, curricular goals and implementation. It also aims to explore the current status of citizenship education in Moroccan schools, the challenges teachers face and the teaching methods they use. I attempt to identify the extent to which these beliefs, perceptions, and understandings are manifested in the classroom and influence the students' views and attitudes in real life. The research reported in this study embodied qualitative data gathered via interviews with six (6) teachers from one private school (Lamzibri) and four (4) from one public (Lala Aisha) school in Rabat, Morocco. The teacher population for the study was defined as teachers teaching social studies, Arabic language, life and earth science and English language school subject to the students in secondary schools. In addition, interviews carried out with three (3) policymakers, who are members of the ministerial committee assigned to draft the national curriculum and instructional materials for the Arabic language within the framework of the National Program for Reading activity under the new vision 2030 reform. I have left the policymakers' interviews to the end to be able to conduct an initial analysis of the teachers' and

student's conception of citizenship and citizenship education and adjust my questions to policymakers accordingly. The interviews revealed interesting themes in their responses, namely loyalty, active citizenship and performance.

5.5.1. Citizenship as Belonging and Loyalty

Installing national identity and belonging was the first rationale given for citizenship education.

When I asked policy makers of their definitions of citizenship, these were their answers:

Policy maker1: Citizenship is a word that covers several concepts and definitions. It is derived from the word Wattan which is the person's place of origin or habitation. This Wattan is a subject of sentiment and affection. So Wattania really coincides with love for the country, actually in terms of historical culture, customs, and language, pointing clearly to love sentiments towards a homeland, and muwattana (citizenship) is a citizen's characteristic that defines his/her patriotic rights and duties; and an individual is aware of his rights and performs his/her duties through citizenship education.

Policy maker 2: there are many conditions required to qualify as a good citizen. Citizenship should go beyond having a passport. It is not a matter of carrying a passport and becoming a citizen. Citizenship was an all-around concept: socially, economically and culturally. For example, when you study now and excel, this is love of a nation. What's your goal? To become an excellent Moroccan. After all, citizenship means aaa belonging and loyalty aaa, it is not conditional that I have it just because I have the name Moroccan. There are many conditions that you have to believe in them all together in order to be a muwatten (citizen).

Similarly, the majority of teachers in my sample associated the meaning of citizenship with a feeling of belonging and loyalty, which they believed to be an important factor in determining a good citizen as also emphasized by the National Education in Morocco. They highlighted the

importance of love of country as a definition for citizenship and its causal relation to being a good citizen. One teacher said:

Citizenship is a big concept. If we take it from the individual mutual relationship between the citizen and the nation, then the citizen owes loyalty because a nation means everything to a human being and vice-versa. If we get the fish out of the water it dies, a human being is just the same. If he doesn't have loyalty and belonging to his nation, what is the value of a human being?

Another teacher emphasized the nationalistic side of the concept and claimed “*loving your country is a responsibility that is exercised through being loyal, flying a flag, and celebrating national holidays*”.

One teacher, for example, explained that citizenship “*is actually a modern word that means the reciprocal relationship between the person and the country as defined by the rights and obligations*”. Another teacher identified with knowing rights and obligations stating “*for citizenship, some say a citizen is someone who has loyalty to the nation ok, another says someone who knows his rights and obligations. From my perspective, I define it as someone who has rights and obligations, respect them and is a responsible citizen because he loves his country*”. Another teacher perceived citizenship “*as creating good citizens, aware of the responsibilities they need to do and the rights they have, and of course follow the law and follow the constitution, respect the state they live in*”. It can be noticed that teachers and policy makers seemed to favor a similar conception of citizenship with emphasis on rights and obligations that strengthen the building of loyalties and belongings as an aim.

Respect represents a universal character virtue and is an important component that comprises civic responsibility. Through civic responsibility, citizens can pursue their rights and

respect the pursuits of other members in society. Following this dialogue one teacher explained citizenship:

Teacher: *Citizens, in order to be effective and good citizens, need to be aware of the obligations towards society and to demonstrate respect for the common good and others' freedom.*

Interviewer: *what do you mean by good citizens?*

Teacher: *I mean someone who respects and values the others' role as members of society. It is their duty to be helpful to others and considerate to their properties and space. But I know this requires a big dedication.*

Another teacher equated this love of country to a religious necessity and claimed that “*in our religion, Islam, love for the country equates to love of Allah and Good. This sentiment promotes peace and tolerance and restrains the person from harming other Muslims and protects the lives of Muslims and their economies, trying to work towards one goal and unify them to what brings good for everyone*”. Interestingly, one teacher went further with her conception and infused a new range of concepts and vocabulary related to ecological citizenship as a subset of global citizenship where citizens are responsible to protect the environment. She said,

This planet is our home, created by God, so we have no right to destroy Allah' creatures. With the current challenges of global climate change, social systems, including the health, well-being and sustainability of communities are under threat. It is everyone's responsibility to show commitment towards the environment and act as a good and loyal citizen not only of his/her country but of the world. Citizenship can start with simple gestures like we have to respect green places by not cutting trees or throwing garbage in the streets.

This conceptual framework of loyalty transcends the national borders and responds to the need to go beyond the scope of the national loyalty logic especially with globalization and internationalization.

Conceptions of citizenship as understood by most teachers and policy makers in the study were strongly connected to promoting patriotic citizens with sentiments of loyalty, belonging and preserving the status quo. This understanding of citizenship as being synonymous with patriotism influences citizenship education outcomes. Teachers' conception of citizenship seems to be influenced by the student textbook more than curriculum objectives. Frayha (2004) explains that textbook content has more impact than curriculum objectives at school for both students and teachers as they deal with textbooks on a daily basis.

5.5.2. Citizenship as Informed Participative Citizenry

Teachers and policymakers' conceptions of citizenship and what makes a good citizen also revolved around active participation. Policy makers agreed with the importance of citizenship and citizenship education in creating an active participatory citizen in the community. Policy maker 3 defined citizenship education as *“a very important school subject. It should be conceptualized with the aim of building a human citizen, who is open to the nation's issues through participating in it, cares about what's going on in the community”*. Another policy maker also reaffirmed the high importance of teaching active citizenship skills and competencies in the curriculum policy and student textbook but when I asked him to give examples from the textbook he said:

Some activities that foster citizenship in children consist of discussing the meaning of citizenship, including the rights and responsibilities of citizens, human rights education. I can give a concrete example as showing how helping clean up the hallways, giving charity to a poor person, helping an old person cross the road or breaking away a fight, respecting the traffic rules and waiting for the signal to cross the street and use the crosswalk. All these activities should involve children to be active in their society. Also the textbooks cover instances of institutional sites for participation as voting during elections and volunteer in civil society in the future.

The above view was shared by some teachers who saw citizenship education as a prerequisite for democracy to flourish, and that its role was to inform students of their rights and responsibilities and to enable them to become participative citizens in the future:

Citizenship invites all individuals and groups of society to engage in the creation and construction of a democratic society given that these groups of people should have the right to participate in all practices and institutions within that society as much as they can afford. Do not forget that citizenship is based on rights and responsibilities. Individuals should use their rights and fulfill their responsibilities by tackling problems and bringing change.

In agreement with the previous quotation, another teacher also linked citizenship education with active participation and described an active citizen as “*someone who knows his rights and obligations and takes an active role in the community, for example by helping the needy and disabled and volunteering in community work*”.

Another teacher identified the meaning of citizenship by relating it to the developmental behavior of the person from childhood to adulthood, such as “*doing things like working against bribery, fulfilling his duty towards the family, respecting others’ rights, and especially the neighbors, the family members, friends. It means becoming aware of one’s rights and responsibilities and actively participating in society*”. Thus, in the above examples, participants emphasized: rights and responsibilities, healthy social upbringing, interaction with society’s issues and contributing in solving them implying a participative form of citizenship in the community. Therefore, the emphasis on community is quite evident.

However, the students’ civic experience within the classroom is far from being conducive to effective civic involvement. From my observation in the sample schools and teachers’

conception, school clubs whose role is to provide students with practical learning opportunities are usually eroded of their function and their presence has been just an idea or a name. For example, a teacher argued that: *“the role of the school clubs is seasonal; they are inefficient; there are only some activities here and there”*. The same idea is reiterated by another teacher who attested that:

The role of extracurricular activities is inefficient because teachers work long hours. The teachers work the whole week from Monday to Friday and sometimes even on Saturday. If they had less working hours, it would have been possible for them to activate school clubs and make them more efficient. In addition, the students study every morning and afternoon; they are exhausted. This means that even if the teacher is willing to work and volunteer, there are other obstacles. Some students and their families consider extracurricular activities to be unnecessary because what is important for them is school performance and passing the official exams.

A point which is also supported by a teacher:

School clubs and extracurricular activities are very important because they teach students important skills that can induce changes in the students' personality, but they are absent because of the pressure of exams and the number of working hours. If I am given the opportunity to lead a school club, I will personally refuse because I don't have enough time to engage in such activities. If time for these activities was scheduled as part of our timetable, I would have been more active.

It is apparent from the teachers' perspectives that there are several obstacles for an effective school environment that enhances civic values and provides opportunities for the practice of citizenship. Furthermore, the national charter along with the new strategic vision for reform assert that local municipalities and civil society organizations are essential partners in developing active, productive and engaged citizens. However, social reality is the opposite and the latter bodies are rarely involved in such a project. A teacher said:

The involvement of the local municipality in schools is very limited if not absent and mainly depends on the personal relationship that the principal of the school can build and develop with its members. I believe that the local municipalities do not participate in citizenship education because they are not convinced that this is one of their duties. In terms of civil society organization, indeed they play a crucial role in citizen formation but again unfortunately, the schools get strict instructions from outside to stop any partnership with some associations or civil society activists, may be because they are considered as opponents to the state's policy. There is a problem of confidence and the student is the victim.

Though teachers argue for the role of citizenship education in promoting active and participatory citizens, fewer opportunities for students' civic engagement in and outside school should be taken as an alarming indicator. The different structural factors which form barriers to the effective civic participation on the part of youth need to be considered.

5.5.3. Citizenship Content

In terms of the content of the curriculum, concepts as human rights, equality, and civic engagement were central themes to the debates of citizenship conception of teachers and policy makers. One teacher reported that topics of citizenship education might include: *“children's rights, ethics and principles or value education. Also racism is very crucial for expressions of social exclusion. Racism is a form of social exclusion and racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations. If we want to live in harmony and tolerance, we should teach students to avoid racism”*. Another teacher emphasized equality and social justice as an important theme that needs to be addressed in citizenship education *“because it offers opportunities of practicing citizenship”*. A teacher critically stressed upon the idea that: *though efforts are made to promote the Universal Declaration of Human Rights explicitly in the textbooks, they do not necessarily*

reflect the reality of the human rights conditions in the Moroccan society. To be honest with you, the textbook does not refer to how to criticize their government in case these rights are violated.

Moreover, a teacher claimed that citizenship education seems to be successful in highlighting gender equality: *“gender equality topics are more supportive for gender equality at a very significant level notably in the items relating to women’s participation in the government, having the same rights as men in every respect and getting the same job”*. However, an apparent contradiction arises from the respondents when I asked about the inclusion of references to social roles in politics. While the majority of teachers seem to endorse gender equality in every respect, they tend to be more reluctant to conceive of women as political agents. For instance, one teacher said *“women should stay out of political life”*.

The content related to the government structures and institutions is mentioned in the teacher’s conception of citizenship education as well. With regard to national unity, teachers affirmed the high importance of multiculturalism and diversity in the curriculum policy and textbooks content. One teacher said:

Morocco is a multicultural society, as such there is a need for a citizenship education curriculum to expose learners to cultural diversity available in the country. This would be a fortunate prospect for students to develop values of peace and tolerance and attitudes of respect and appreciation. Morocco has enjoyed peace and stability for decades, a country envied by many and considered a shining example of stability in the Middle East especially after the Arab Spring.

The majority of teachers stressed on the fact that citizenship education helps to instill knowledge that is necessary for the country’s development and raise citizens with good attitudes and skills necessary. One teacher, for example, explained that citizenship education topics should:

Encourage the child to demonstrate his skills and enrich his thoughts. This is done mainly through extracurricular activities as cultural, artistic and entertaining activities that aim at enriching the ethical and social areas, and also help in developing communication, especially exploring the dynamics of children's participation and citizenship, especially in social policy and in practice, and also focusing on the problems of discrimination and social injustice.

When I asked the teachers what was missing from the social studies curriculum relative to citizenship education, some claimed that:

Practical activity is missing because citizenship is mainly cognitive-based. I also feel education on democracy is also missing from the curriculum and except for voting processes/issues on elections. And this to me is a serious weakness on the curriculum because you cannot confidently talk of citizenship education when you fail to expose students to deeper issues on democracy.

The practical projections of the citizenship content perceived by the teachers take the form of a cognitive knowledge characterized by being functional, evolving around human rights, values, institutions and citizenship practice. Reference to threats to democracy or economic literacy is overlooked both in the objectives and competencies.

5.5.4. The Focus on Performance

There were many challenges identified in teaching citizenship education which could be closely related to the teachers and how well prepared they were to teach the subject. Teachers' role in delivering citizenship education is crucial to the success of its implementation. Nevertheless, while teacher education programs and textbooks may encourage active student participation and critical thinking following a learner centered approach, the teachers' daily realities and behaviors in the classroom do not always reflect this ideal and are sometimes contradictory to the ideals of citizenship education outlined in the official documents. The study showed that teachers needed

basic training in citizenship education to deal with controversial issues and to introduce active learning methods. The teacher trainings provided direct them towards increasing students' performance. Since the quality of education is measured according to students' performance in examinations, this pressures teachers to focus on the knowledge that will be tested in the national and regional exams. Related to the lack of adequate training for citizenship teachers, a policy maker 2 said:

Citizenship teachers are not pure citizenship teachers; often have a background in a subject other than politics, sociology or social science. Some of the teachers didn't go through the teacher training of becoming a civics teacher. Some of them are history teachers, geography or literature teachers and so on. Not from the main core of the profession, ok. So, they needed to have very quick (...) training programs through the Ministry.

Similarly, policy maker 3 stated that there is not enough training for in-service teachers in areas such as human rights, democracy and there is no legal requirement for training to teach these concepts.

Teachers also refer to this issue and complain about the lack of training in these areas of citizenship education. For example, a teacher emphasized the difficulty of challenging the technology enhanced environment and said that: *“successful technology integration in a classroom environment appears to require will, skill, and access to technology tools on the part of the teacher especially that learners are exposed to a wide range of information through the mass media and now via social media in all its forms”*. This aspect of content-led curriculum is unjustifiable in an information age, where access to the internet provided students with a lot of information and sources that were beyond the textbook. Therefore, teachers can no longer rely on textbooks as the only source of passing information to the students and their role must extend

from passing knowledge, to developing skills that enable them to analyze critically information and media sources. Hence, training must be considered in this regard.

Observation and informal discussions with teachers revealed that this lack of training influences how students view citizenship education; mainly taken less seriously and not considered as relevant or prestigious as STEM (science, technology, engineering, math) subjects or languages and also do not believe that it contributes to students' future professional development. A teacher said:

Researcher: *Do you think that other subjects are more important than citizenship education?*

Teacher: *Oh definitely yes, this is how students think; they think that math, science and physics are more important and getting a good score in them will help them find a job. I will tell you from my personal experience of more than 15 years, there is a complete ignorance of the simplest issues as if the student has never had citizenship education as a school subject. Students do not grasp anything from what we teach them because they are not interested. I have been teaching baccalaureate students and have been surprised to find out that students could hardly figure out what the acronym UN stands for and what some of its functions are.*

This relates to two main factors that might be seen as obstacles to the effective learning of the civic concepts. First, teaching and learning are not considered as practical life experiences, rather they are exam oriented; students learn to pass the exam. Second, rote learning and memorizing remain the dominant way of teaching and learning since students depend heavily on memorization to pass the exam. A teacher said: *“in my opinion the textbook has a filling aspect, that is full of information to be memorized and there is also a feeling aspect especially in rights and responsibilities, it sensitizes”*. This filling of information was also seen by teachers as reasons why they did not have time to use more active learning as they were expected to cover all the textbook units that the students would examine. Another teacher said:

As teachers we don't really have time to include activities within the classroom because we are always teaching. This textbook is filled with subject matter that has to be delivered to the student. If you don't cover them all and you focused on activities and allowed discussions and the bell rang and then the subject matter was presented in the [national] exam, you have to know then that tomorrow students will say the teacher did not teach us that. It is so common that students and their parents complain against you.

A teacher criticized that even topics or units that require an in-depth explanation are only addressed superficially:

I think it's far too much that teachers try to cover, you know, it's quite an in-depth subject that requires knowledge in a number of fields. And I think, I feel personally they are trying to gloss over things. You know, you are doing this and then next week you say, "Right we are moving on to this and then we are going back to this. We don't have time to really focus on anything, in my opinion, if you want to develop that kind of critical thinking. And there are aspects of it that are difficult for pupils to understand you know, unless they read a lot, watch the news, and talk to people.

The content is based primarily on how much is learned more than on what is being learned. Another teacher attested that: "if we want real citizenship and belonging and loyalty, I see it has to be practical that they go on field trips, for example places in Morocco. That is better than if it were just studying, reciting information and writing down what the teacher wrote on the board; because studying does not create this feeling". The same idea is expressed by another teacher who said: "How can we make citizenship education content flexible as to lend itself to interactive ways of teaching if the textbook content is outdated. I think that the Ministry of Education should think of ways to reproduce curricula that match the needs of the present life and produce a qualified learner who keeps up with the competencies required for his level".

Both students and teachers frequently complain about the length of the content they are supposed to learn or cover during each academic year. From the above quotations, the majority of teachers seemed to use exams as an excuse for not using active methods of teaching as exams in Morocco usually reflect the content of the textbooks rather than assess skills of critical thinking and communication. This demonstrates how the education system, in general, is permeated by a culture of performance that limits the subjects' critical potential and active forms of learning to take place. The data presented in this section shows how educational practices are dominated by the focus on performance for the final examination as a tool for measurement of performativity and dilutes the subject's critical content. This affects the content of the teacher training, the time allocated to citizenship education by the school leadership and the time that the teacher can spend on cultivating students' critical thinking and discussing controversial issues.

5.5.5. Discussion

In this section, conceptions of citizenship are examined and validated using textual data collected from interviews with policy makers and teachers to explore how these views are related to citizenship education practice in the Moroccan classrooms. The intent is not to generalize to all such teachers or policy makers but to gain insights into the varied understandings and experiences of some stakeholders working in those contexts. It is apparent from the data analyzed that the aims of citizenship education in Morocco seem to be strained between developing a citizen who understands his/her obligations and aware of his/her rights on the one hand, and a patriotic citizen who has a national affinity to the nation state and a strong sense of belonging to the country. Having visited the schools' sample, signs of nationalism were visible as the national flag, national anthem, and a photo of the monarch. Evidence from the interview data suggests that teachers in

Morocco identify patriotism, loyalty and belonging at the highest rank of the characteristics of a good citizen, which focus on attitudes about obeying the law, being respectful and loyal to one's government, and being willing to serve in the national armed forces as opposed to reflecting the stated policy aims which include creating informed, critical and active participatory citizens. Instilling a sense of patriotism has often been declared a priority in the Moroccan national charter of education and prescribed as a remedy for civic apathy and civic responsibility given the primarily importance patriotic sentiments play in supporting the nation building project (Golmohamad, 2009). In addition, the White Book (2000) outlines that among the objectives of citizenship education is to educate learners on positive values that would encourage respect for local and national institutions and rights and duties as well as develop civic values.

The important question is not whether it is common or natural to love one's country but the question is whether such commitments are desirable. The question of whether patriotic commitments foster democracy often highlights a crucial distinction between blind and constructive patriotism (Staub, 1997). On the one hand, blind patriotism is aligned with a more cognitive perspective on the relationship between the individual and the nation in which unconditional support for the nation, its institutions, and its policy preferences represents the norm (Citrin et al., 2001; McClosky & Brill 1983; Schatz, Staub, & Lavine, 1999). On the other, constructive patriots are critical loyalists who applaud some actions by the state and criticize others in an effort to promote positive change and consistency with the nation's ideals. Constructive patriotism has been positively associated with multiple indicators of political involvement, including political efficacy, interest, knowledge, and behavior. Unfortunately, state education policies in Morocco attend to patriotism and include it among its list of goals, but often it is a blind patriotism, which makes the attribution of the students' positive attitude to only civic

education hardly plausible. However, Osler and Starkey (2005) argue that citizenship must be experienced as a feeling of belonging if citizens are to then participate in communities and societies effectively. Also Viroli (1995) in his book *Love of Country* argued that:

We do not need more citizens attending national festivals with great fervor; nor do we need more citizens willing to offer their lives to protect their country's religious or ethnic or cultural identity. We need, instead, more citizens willing and capable of mobilizing when one or more citizens are victims of injustice or discrimination, when unfair laws are passed or constitutional principles are violated (Viroli, 1995, p 185).

If we are interested in determining whether patriotism is good for democracy, there is one more distinction to make whether a patriotic commitment to one's country requires active participation. While both blind and constructive patriots love their country, neither type is necessarily actively engaged in civic or political life (Kahne & Middaugh, 2005). Though the results show that teachers and policy makers frame their understandings of citizenship as active participation, the picture might be gloomy of student's civic engagement which can be illustrated in the strong link between a sense of responsibility towards others and active participation within the local community, giving an emphasis on the social aspect rather than the political. This conception provides quite minimal, content-led and apolitical experiences of citizenship education which reinforce students' role as compliant learners and as citizens-in-waiting rather than citizens-now (McLaughlin, 1992; Osler & Starkey, 2005). Moreover, Galston (2011) argues that political engagement should not be considered as the only prerequisite to ensure democracy, since none of the scholars, who defend widespread political engagement, including Tocqueville, advocate that democracy requires all or most citizens to be politically engaged but what should be a top priority is preventing radical disengagement, which threatens a variety of undesirable

consequences. Arendt (1963) argues that tolerant, charitable, and socially engaged individuals may eschew political participation, but still contribute to the success of democracy.

The educational reforms Morocco has undertaken recently attempt to introduce changes in the interrelated parts of the educational system. Accordingly, attention is given not only to the aspects related to curriculum development, but also to matters related to the teacher development. However, the lack of teacher training as reported by policymakers and teachers has major implications. First, it demonstrates that citizenship is not considered an important subject in terms of the managerialist culture since it does not contribute as significantly to students' future 'employability' as other subjects. Second, the charter also stresses the need to adopt more efficient teaching methods whereby the teacher acts as a facilitator, moderator and a model. The situation in the field is, however, far from reflecting this aspiration. The focus on performance and the acquisition of knowledge to be tested in examinations give some indications towards forming future citizens mainly as contributors and consumers of the economic system.

Teachers seemed to use exams as an excuse for not using active methods of teaching as exams usually reflect the content of the textbooks rather than assess skills of critical thinking and communication. Additionally, the pedagogical approach which focused on the memorization of difficult concepts as preparation for the test undermines the space to promote critical thinking and to address controversial issues. Whilst policymakers asserted that teachers are mainly interested in training that helps them to prepare their students for the final examination, teachers state that pressure is exerted on them by educational policies, schools, parents, and students. From my observations, workload and time pressure can cause emotional exhaustion manifested in defective behaviors such as impaired performance, low morale, high absenteeism, high turnover, reduced

sympathy towards students, lower frustration in dealing with students, and a general irritable, depressed and anxious demeanor.

Leenders et al., (2008) clustered citizenship according to the goals which teachers want to achieve. They state that there are three different types of citizenship that relate to different educational practices: adapting citizenship where the teacher attempts to transmit knowledge and fixed value self-regulation of the learning process by the student is not really encouraged, and neither is autonomous identity development of the student (p.157). Second, the individualizing type of citizen focuses on value communication, and it stresses communication skills such as critical reflection and rational discussion. Third, critical democratic citizenship in education fosters critical thinking and developing values such as care and solidarity. The implication for education is the stimulation of certain democratic values, the teaching and learning of skills to communicate better about values and increasing students' active participation (p.158). From the study, the type practiced by Moroccan teachers tended to lean towards the first category of adapting citizenship where the educational goal was value transmission with a firm focus on virtues such as discipline, obedience, hard work, integrity, respect and responsibility. This type of citizenship strives for discipline and social commitment rather than critical thinking or autonomy. This educational goal is in line with the perceived goal of the state to produce obedient disciplined 'subjects' rather than active informed participating citizens.

5.6. Citizenship Identity Construction and Social Inequality: The Case of Moroccan University Student

The spatial and social divide during colonization in Morocco, created levels of inequalities associated with deprivation at the bottom of the distribution and reduced social cohesion, which

consequently impacted economic growth negatively. In addition, since around the mid-1980s with the intervention of the World Bank and the International Monetary Funds, policies in many countries, including Morocco, have become more liberal, entailing reduced progressivity of taxation, deregulation, privatization, and, in many cases, reduced social transfers of various kinds (Dadush & Saoudi, 2019).

Privatization launched in 1990, constituted a neo-liberal turning point of Moroccan economic policy and a radical transformation of the sociological fabric; especially the reproduction of the elitist system. In general terms and at the half-way stage, the privatizations have been fruitful for a limited number of Moroccan investors and big foreign groups, and have shifted the sites of the political control of the economy (Catusse, 2011). Despite the exceptional revenues brought in by the privatizations, and the social and economic development made in recent years to reduce poverty, the state budget is still today in deficit and low living standards among the mass of the population generates much frustration. Privatization measures incited a social malaise followed by popular movements, chanting slogans as “A Privatized Morocco is a Deprived Morocco” and demanding the improvement of public services, an increase in salaries, and the creation of job opportunities. Catusse (2011, p.17) argues that “If the seeds of a social question emerged with the globalization of the Moroccan economy, it is less the result of a brutal disengagement on the part of the state than because economic liberalization accentuated the weaknesses of an already modest state social security system”. The Human development index (HDI) of Morocco has increased significantly from 0.46 in 1990 to 0.67 in 2017, however, performance remains the lowest compared to other developing countries and poverty rate is high relative to sample countries, if we consider the ratio of income as a measure of inequality.

Even though there is growing awareness that economic inequality impacts individual lives, the way that such inequalities affect national identity, social behavior and political attitudes remains poorly questioned. There is very little understanding of why, when, and for whom inequality has social consequences. Inequality not only provides a lens for seeing the social world but also changes what it means to belong to different groups and relate. Drawing on Social identity approach, comprising social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) we compare the potentially sensitive issues of how public and private university students in Morocco perceive their citizenship identities and what role socio-economic and income variables play in the generation of these identities. For this study, we select contexts in which issues of citizenship and identities are contested and an enhanced “us” versus “they” dynamics are explicitly raised. The sample represented the public and private dichotomy divide through four differently located Moroccan universities, namely Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Mohammed V University, Al-Akhawayn University and International University of Rabat. We seek to address the following questions: How does social justice perception affect social outcomes? What are the similarities and differences in the ways in which public and private university students identify themselves as citizens? Does citizenship identity of Moroccan youth apply to the well-defined Marshallian citizenship criteria? Why do some Moroccans feel like second-class citizens, and what are the reasons and consequences of this attitude? Is it justified?

This is guided by four hypotheses that help us provide an analysis of the data-material. I hypothesize that: 1) Students in private universities show more patriotism and willingness to be active citizens; 2) students in public universities feel like second class citizens and are rebellion for the sake of full access to their rights; 3) the socio-cultural dimensions (social class, unemployment, gender inequality) shape the discursiveness of citizenship identity within the

Moroccan context. Citizenship has long been considered one of the multi-dimensional issues with elements of nationalism, patriotism and engagement in protecting and defending the country as well as promoting citizens’ awareness of their active role in confronting the challenges that face the society and the individual. We organized our findings on three interrelated themes, namely identity and belonging; civic engagement and political participation; social justice and gender inequalities. The meanings of the above discussions about identity formation and citizenship conceptions in relation to this study can be made more clearly by putting them in the context of Moroccan society through the lenses of public and private university students. Participants were asked to describe their experiences with citizenship and to discuss issues pertaining to identity belonging as well as strategies to enhance participation and full access to rights.

5.6.1. Identity and Belonging

As the descriptive data in Figure 1 indicates, I asked respondents about self-categorizing their Moroccan citizenship. Results depict four different types of self-categorization.

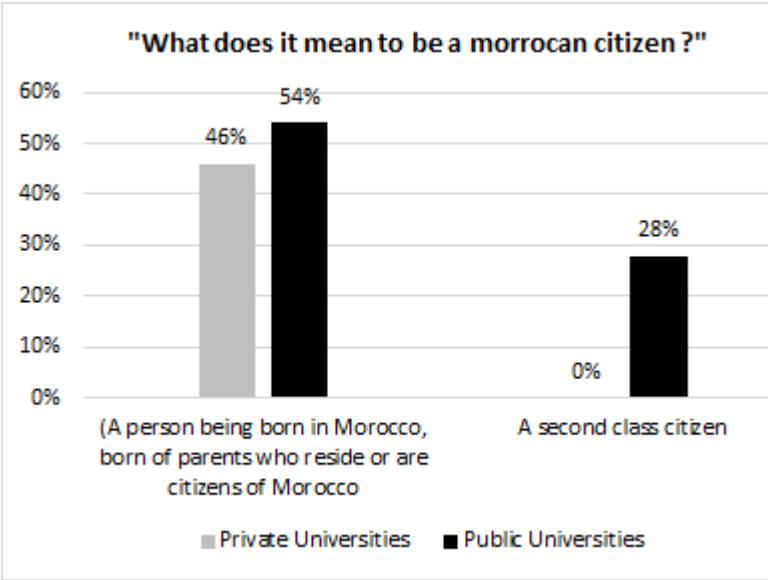


Figure 1: What does it mean to be a Moroccan citizen?

In the sample, 54% of the public university students surveyed identified themselves with the legal label (A person being born in Morocco, born of parents who reside or are citizens of Morocco) but by contrast only 45% of the private university students did so. Interestingly, some public university respondents identify themselves with the equality label, where they are likely to be reduced to second class citizens (a second class citizen 28%), which unavoidably implies the existence of a first class (or full) citizen. When I investigated the class background of those respondents, we saw that they had statistically significant lower family resources (education, income and job status of parents) compared with others. On a societal level, it seems that the Moroccan political agenda managed to construct a solid national identification among students. This is due to the fact that certain flavors of national characteristics and patriotism as national flags, national anthem and national symbols are common learning elements in Morocco's national education (Idrissi & Benabderrazik, 2020). When asked to define the concept 'citizenship', for example, a 22 year old male student (from Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University / public) said:

Citizenship is a word that covers several concepts and definitions. It is derived from the word Wattan which is the person's place of origin or habitation. This Wattan is a subject of sentiment and affection. So Wattania really coincides with love for the country, actually in terms of historical culture, customs, and language, pointing clearly to love sentiments towards a homeland, and muwattana (citizenship) is a citizen's characteristic that defines his/her patriotic rights and duties; and an individual is aware of his rights.

A 25 year old female student (from International University of Rabat / private) mentioned:

There are many conditions required to qualify as a good citizen. Citizenship should go beyond having a passport. It is not a matter of carrying a passport and becoming a citizen. Citizenship was an all-around concept: socially, economically and culturally. Citizenship means belonging and loyalty, it is not conditional that I have it just because I have the name Moroccan. There are many conditions that you have to believe in them all together in order to be a muwatten (citizen).

Such a comprehensive account of students presupposes that citizenship entailed the establishment of a social contract between the state and its citizens, and it entails an ongoing exchange of rights and responsibilities.

A lifetime of socialization through absorbing advertising messages of national symbols and rhetoric, daily exposure to activities and lessons at the school level could activate national pride, through which an individual might build an understanding of the characteristics of the good citizen. I highlight in Figure 2 some of the responses from students on ‘what does it mean to be a good citizen’ for them.

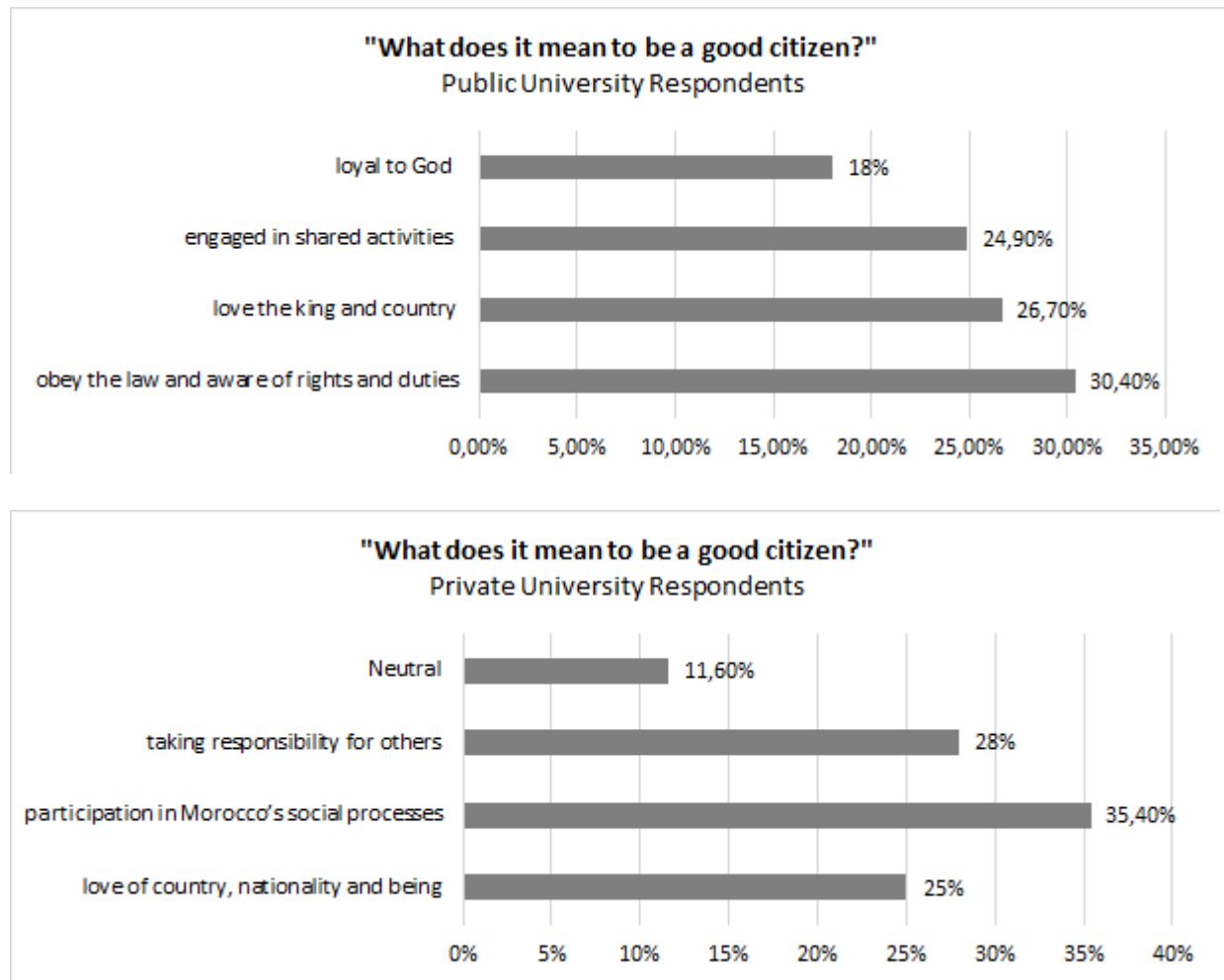


Figure 2. What does it mean to be a good citizen?

Public university respondents tend to highlight a liberal traditional duty-based form of citizenship that sees the good citizens as individuals who obey the law and aware of rights and duties (30.4%), love the king and country (26.7%), are engaged in shared activities (24.9%) and are loyal to God (18%). For example, a 24 year old male respondent from the public university of Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah admits that *“in our religion, Islam, love for the country equates to love of Allah and God. This sentiment promotes peace and tolerance and restrains the person from harming other Muslims and protects the lives of Muslims and their economies, trying to work towards one goal and unify them to what brings good for everyone”*. In contrast, the private university respondents do not entirely exclude love of country, nationality and being (25%) but are likely to emphasize more frequently participation in Morocco’s social processes (35.4%) and taking responsibility for others (28%). A 23 year old female private university student (International University of Rabat) stated that *“the good citizen, I mean someone who respects and values the others’ role as members of society. It is their duty to be helpful to others and considerate to their properties and space. But I know this requires a big dedication”*. Interestingly, a 25 year old female respondent from Al Akhawayn University went further with her conception and infused a new range of concepts and vocabulary related to ecological citizenship as a subset of global citizenship where citizens are responsible to protect the environment. She said,

This planet is our home, created by God, so we have no right to destroy Allah’ creatures. With the current challenges of global climate change, social systems, including the health, well-being and sustainability of communities are under threat. It is everyone’s responsibility to show commitment towards the environment and act as a good and loyal citizen not only of his/her country but of the world. Citizenship can start with simple gestures like we have to respect green places by not cutting trees or throwing garbage in the streets.

This conceptual framework of loyalty transcends the national borders and responds to the need to go beyond the scope of the national loyalty logic especially with globalization and

internationalization. Noticeably, voting and taking part in political parties are not high on the priority list of both groups.

Nationality-based conception of citizenship goes further to touch upon feelings of a sense of common state identity and belonging. However, the maintenance of this national sentiment depends on the existence of social justice which frames every day's life and practices. Students were also invited to answer the question: 'Are you proud to be Moroccan'? The results in Figure 3 have shown that 86% of respondents from private institutions rated themselves to be proud of their nationality while 54% of students from the two public universities express rejection and disagreement with the statement. This suggests that nationalist rhetoric varies with the country's income distribution. The larger the share of the student population that is subject to unequal distribution and excluded from having access to resources, the less proud citizens on the average. This indicates that pride in the Moroccan society is produced by wealth and power rather than the other way around. A typical response from a public university female respondent (Mohammed V University): *"in Morocco, if you do not have money and a strong network system, you are not valued in your community; we live in a hippocratic, pragmatic society. The feeling of being treated in an unequal and irrespective manner promotes a sense of hatress and reinforces the belief to behave in rebelliousness with the collective rules"*. In contrast, a 23 male student from the private university Al Akhawayn said *"my Moroccan nationality is an important indicator of my identity. Whenever I go abroad, I feel proud to identify as Moroccan and get people to know some of our culture, cuisine, and tourist sights"*.

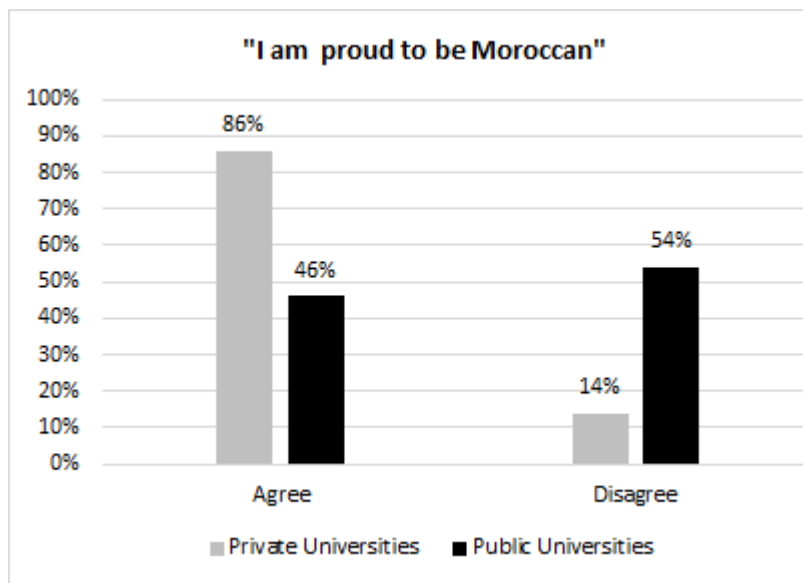


Figure 3. “I am proud to be Moroccan”

Although painful, the condition of being at the borderlands offers opportunities for improving one’s life. Not surprising, 73% of all students surveyed from both public and private universities, demonstrate a strong willingness to apply for job opportunities abroad after graduation with the main destinations being countries of Western Europe as France and Germany. This form of individual mobility is an opportunity to search for better economic, working and living conditions as some students revealed in the interviews. Here, the debate on identity might be shifted again towards the politics of recognition, existence and the feeling of empowerment but the patterns of identification among the students vary greatly. The findings show that not only upper lower and lower middle income students choose to immigrate and upward their social status but also other students do from the private institutions whose social and economic backgrounds surpass the average and could afford a satisfied living in Morocco. However, what do they look for then? For the private university respondents’ sample as shown in focus group data, the desire to move is related to finding democratic spaces where freedom of practice reigns and challenging identity transcending universal basic human rights. For example, a 25 years old male student

(International University of Rabat) commented “*Morocco is great, but certain conservative issues related to religion and traditional beliefs bother me. I want to move abroad to do whatever I want and be free from all bonds*”. On the contrary, the dynamics of identities are increasingly complex as some respondents from the public sphere aspire to move in and out of multiple socio-economic spaces that induce basic socio-economic units.

5.6.2. Civic Engagement and Political Participation

Having been asked ‘for my voice to be heard, to defend my rights and to have an impact in the community, I choose to be engaged in’, evidence presented in the findings suggested that 87% of all respondents show a responsible commitment for taking action to improve their community and nation; however, attitudes for action differ.

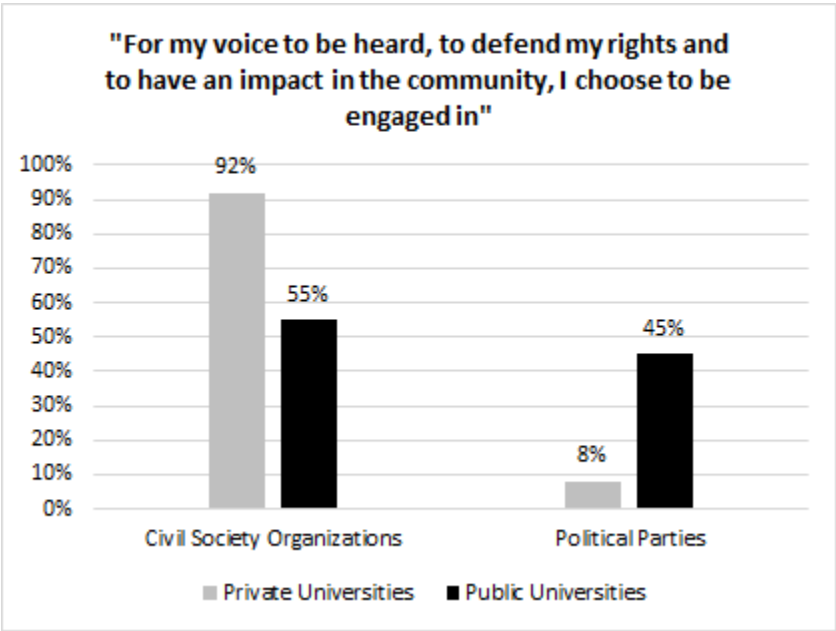


Figure 4. “For my voice to be heard, to defend my rights and to have an impact in the community, I choose to engage in”

Statistics revealed that 92% of private institution respondents might find volunteer involvement with civil society organizations and associations to be a suitable context for expressing their will to be active in the community. Thanks to the facilities provided by their institutions as part of extracurricular activities, 40% of them are currently engaged and playing active roles in a number of associations (e.g. NGOs and clubs as AIESEC, Enactus, AUI MUN, Association pour la protection de la famille Marocaine) just to name a few. Respondents also confirmed that participation in these extracurricular activities develop civic competencies and skills. I show below a representative quotation:

A 22 year old female respondent from the private university Al Akhawayn (Ifrane): Thanks God, we study at a university that takes care of every single minute of the student's time. Lots of extracurricular activities are provided which I consider very important in developing first our sense of identification with the college environment and the community. As far as I am concerned, my engagement at the Azrou Center for Community Development developed my self-confidence, my sense of well-being, happiness and transferable skills that for sure will help later in the workforce.

On the other hand, although 55% of public university students express an interest in active civic engagement through civil society organizations, they are still facing limited opportunities in community volunteer activities. For example, a 23 year old male respondent from the public university of Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah said “*in our context, since the quality of education is measured according to students' performance in examinations, this pressures us to focus on cognitive knowledge that will be tested. Second, the university does not provide a smooth atmosphere to practice any activities, let alone funds us to run them; teachers are also not available to assist us*”. This demonstrates how the public education system, in general, is permeated by a culture of performance that limits the subjects' critical potential and active forms of learning to take place. The data presented in this section shows how educational practices are

dominated by the focus on performance for the final examination as a tool for measurement of performativity and dilutes the subject's critical content. 10% remain neutral and only 25% said political involvement is the key to get their voices heard and defend their rights. As a dummy variable, I included respondents' rating of how often they discuss politics with their parents, measured on a 1 (never) to 4 (always) scale. Results therefore have shown that 80% of public universities respondents do not discuss politics with their parents while over 53% of private universities respondents effectively do so. As is clear from the results, there is indeed a strong and significant association with the parents' level of education, socio-economic status and politics. However, this is not significantly related to or explaining political trust.

Taken together, the results explain the retention of political deficit among adolescents and a low trust in politics and political parties on the basis that maintaining a governing institution's commitment to democratic accountability is absent. Though the results show that adolescents frame their understandings of citizenship as active participation, the picture might be gloomy of student's civic engagement which can be illustrated in the strong link between a sense of responsibility and active participation within the local community, giving an emphasis on the social aspect rather than the political. This conception provides quite minimal, content-led and apolitical experiences of citizenship which reinforce students' role as compliant learners and as citizens-in-waiting rather than citizens-now (McLaughlin, 1992; Osler & Starkey, 2005).

5.6.3. Social justice and gender equality

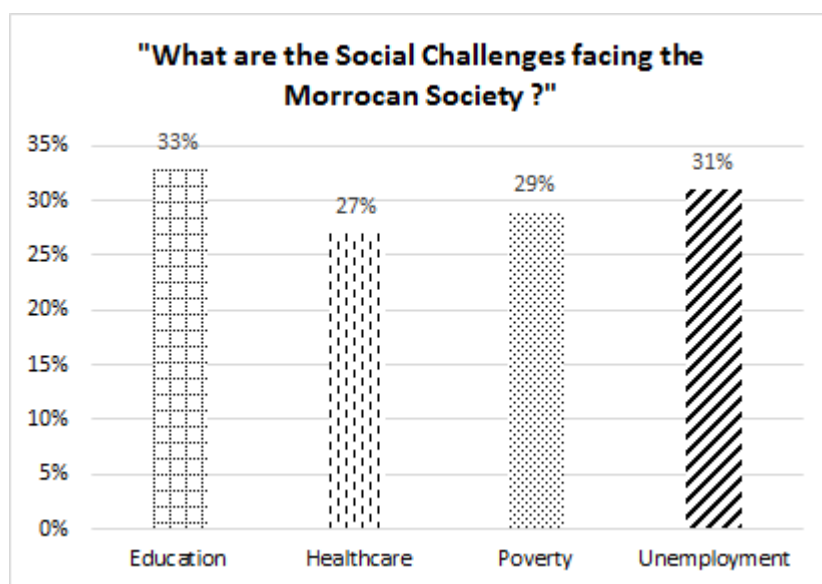


Figure 5. What are the social challenges facing the Moroccan society?

As mentioned in Figure 5, I asked respondents about the most social challenges facing the Moroccan society. For both public and private university respondents, poverty, linked to unemployment and poor performance of schools and universities were strongly felt concerns. Findings suggest that 33% of the students claim the poor performance of schools and universities with a didactic pedagogical approach based on memorization and cognitive testing, absence of technological instruments let alone the overcrowded classrooms. A 23 year old male student from the University of Mohammed 5th claimed *“the Moroccan educational system is facing significant challenges in translating civic learning into citizenship practices. We feel a lack of a political will to form critical and active citizens with the capacity to change the democratization process”*. Moreover, 29% of students described poverty as a pandemic that continues to gnaw the Moroccan society. Stigma, lack of respect and denial of dignity are constant refrains when students talk about poverty and how poor people are treated by the wider society. This brings us to the psychological impact of the way people in poverty are often treated. A 24 year old male student

from Mohammed 5th University said *“you are like an onion and gradually every skin is peeled off of you and there’s nothing left. All your self-esteem and dignity is gone. People are ignorant to the fact that we are humans as well and we need to be respected”*. The concern with dignity and respect expressed by many experiencing poverty also has implications for social justice and the politics for recognition. A 25 year old female student from Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University contended *“in Morocco, policy reform has to be directed towards tackling the material manifestations of poverty and ultimately its eradication. But so long as there are people living in poverty, it must also address their lack of voice and the way in which they are treated by public institutions. This undignified treatment represents a denial of our citizenship.”*

Parallel to education, 27% of the respondents agreed that the healthcare system especially the public health sector is witnessing a devastating cataclysm. Respondents from the interviews believe that despite the Moroccan government efforts to provide free services and deal with the needs of the poor and rural populations who are unable to afford the services offered by the private sector, the system still suffers from many inadequacies including: low level of government budget, insufficient human and material resources, uneven geographical distribution of medical centers causing an imbalance between the regions, low coverage of health insurance and corruption. Interestingly, a 22 year old male respondent from Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, studying computer science highly recommended the benefits of designing an e-health strategy in the healthcare sector to improve its day-to-day practice and recommended that the government, the ministry of health and all the healthcare organizations should collaborate to put in place functional Big Data systems. Furthermore, 31% of the respondents considered unemployment as one of the most persistent and contentious economic challenge in Morocco. During interviews, public university respondents were pessimistic about securing a job after

graduation. A 25 year old female student from Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University mentioned that *“the current generation of young people is facing numerous labor market challenges, especially with the wide variations that exist in the employment prospects of various educational disciplines, in which human science fields have substantial numbers of unemployed compared to hard science”*. They further emphasized that students of public universities lack competencies, skills and experience to function productively in the workplace.

Interestingly, there were few references to sexism, sexual harassment and gender behavior by some private university students during the interviews, a theme which had no exact representation in the public university students' responses. Some female students have presented a picture of women struggling and suffering within what Nicolson (1992) has graphically described as a 'toxic context' of a patriarchal society. Sexual rumors, demeaning jokes or comments, sex-related personal comments and calling names appeared to be the most problematic for female students. A 23 year old female student from the International University of Rabat confessed that *“sexual harassment is prevalent in the Moroccan society. We are exposed to a variety of inappropriate and unacceptable behavior (verbal, non-verbal, assaultive) of a sexual nature, or based on gender, that potentially infringe on our right to a supportive, respectful and safe learning environment, or our dignity”*. Another 22 year old female student from Al Akhawayn University suggested *“taking action against sexual harassment should be done at two levels: more information and discussion about what sexual harassment really means, and better and stricter rules”*. This leads to consideration of the role and status of gender equality and stereotypical attributes.

The questionnaire further investigates the perception of students towards gender equality.

Male students were invited to comment on the statement in Figure 6.

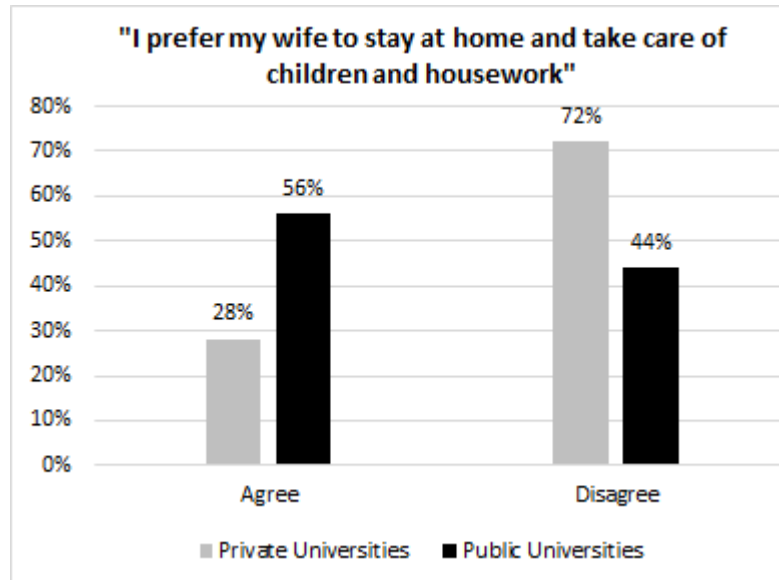


Figure 6. "I prefer my wife to stay at home and take care of children and housework"

72% of the private students' respondents were against the statement. On the contrary, 56% of public university respondents strongly prefer their wives to stay at home and take care of the children. The majority of those respondents based their judgment on conservative Islamic values as a way of reclaiming their true identity and asserted a verse of the Quran to better validate this perspective saying 'Men are in charge of women by [right of] what Allah has given one over the other and what they spend [for maintenance] from their wealth. So righteous, women are devoutly obedient, guarding in [the husband's] absence what Allah would have them guard' (The Quran, Surat An-Nisa, verse 4-34). Moreover, during the interviews, some respondents mentioned that even in cases of scarce job opportunities, priority should be given to males instead. Therefore, the patriarchal hegemonic attitudes towards women in Morocco have been consolidated and maintained by the interpretation of Islamic laws. Furthermore, this patriarchal system also

determines the different jobs that men and women should occupy. When in the focus group interviews students were invited to discuss the most suitable jobs for women, social preferences tend to direct female students towards certain professions namely teaching, nursing and fashion. The crucial question is why are women less likely to achieve the top jobs? In line with gender stereotypes, a 23 year old female student from Al Akhawayn University commented “*teachers and family members offer males more learning opportunities in mathematics, science and even business which attribute them to roles of leadership and independence in the society*”. However, this micro-level analysis cannot tell us anything at all about the social processes going on. In starting to think about why so few women make it into the higher levels of Moroccan organizations, it is important to note that it is wrong to assume that this attitude is necessarily due to gender discrimination alone.

5.6.4. Discussion

How young adults’ attitudes are shaped towards citizenship and identification is an issue that has attracted considerable attention in social and developmental literature. This section addressed a number of areas related to social identity and the conceptualization of citizenship through the lenses of youths, following social identity approach, comprising social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987). Over the last decade, the social identity approach has proved to be a powerful framework for exploring the relationship between individuals and social behavior (Jetten et al., 2017). Based on the comparative model of identity formation and citizenship conception among Moroccan university students of both public and private sector, I found that positive self-identification follows first and foremost from the underlying structure of social justice. The present study suggests that socio-economic dimensions

shape the discursive practices of active citizenship within the Moroccan context and determines youth's behaviors and attitudes towards social action.

Findings have shown that individuals are less proud of their belongingness if they are considered as second class citizens in terms of having access to resources, lack representation in the system of governance or discrimination against by political elites. The current analysis therefore is in line with the first part of my second hypothesis that students in public universities feel like second class citizens but unfortunately this category does not endorse the attitude of social responsibility and civic engagement to defend their rights. They did not immediately resist domination, rather they might comply. "Compliance of the subordinate within the power relations may be explained not by lack of resistance, but by the absence of the means to implement such resistance" (Giddens, 1982). Main findings pointed out that the relation between identity and civic engagement was stronger for private students who claimed more involvement in volunteer activities and strong aspiration to contribute to their communities than their public university respondents counterparts. This pattern of results is in line with my first hypothesis stating that students in private universities show more patriotism and willingness to be active citizens and supports Erikson's (1950-1968) psychosocial theory who argued that the formation of a stable identity may nurture a desire to contribute to society through mainly engaging in community oriented activities. Working in resistance mode, private university students attempt to entertain a vision of a more just social order.

Citizenship theory is a radically egalitarian theory in the sense that a fair society is one where all its members treat each other with respect, that is as equal citizens but it is not primarily concerned with equal distribution of income or wealth (Duffy, 2010). It is important to recognize

that the concept of a citizen from the students' perspective is not being defined in the same way. Some public university students defined it in some purely local sense such as 'people who hold the same passport as we do' while private university respondents defined it in a much deeper sense as someone who possesses certain qualities that are necessary to call forth an attitude of respect and active participation. I think defining citizenship helps to locate the respondents social behavior within the broader intellectual framework of social justice but in a way which draws attention to the failure of the so called 'second class citizens' to mobilize not only in economic resources but also in social, cultural and symbolic resources (Moller, 1998). Deprivations on the economic front specifically are related to deprivations in the political, social and cultural fronts of the society and the foundation of this framework laid to several dimensions of social exclusion namely, denials, insecurity and uncertainty, legitimization and reproduction, domination and hierarchy, mobility and protest. Silver (1994) has analyzed three major paradigms of social exclusion: a) the solidarity paradigm sees social exclusion as the breakdown of social bonds in the society where the poor, unemployed and ethnic minorities are viewed as deviant and excluded; b) the specialization paradigm views exclusion as discrimination and denial from participation in social interaction; c) the monopoly paradigm considers social systems as essentially hierarchical, with differential power spread among different social groups, where powerful groups generally control resources and opportunities and restrict the access of other groups.

Based on real conflict theory, social cohesion may have much more important relationships with social justice that does national identity and patriotism as having access to resources proved to maintain social stability (Campbell, 1965). According to the political and social theorist Nancy Fraser (1997), there are two general principles and understandings of social justice. The first is 'socio-economic' injustice which typically involves struggles around the politics of redistribution.

The second is ‘cultural or symbolic’ injustice rooted in social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication. She illustrated: “non-recognition (being rendered invisible via the authoritative representational, communicative and interpretative practices of one’s culture); and disrespect (being routinely maligned or disparaged in stereotypic public cultural representations and/or in everyday life interactions” (1997, p. 14). Therefore, as most respondents claimed in this study, the marginalization of citizenship in Morocco as articulated in the theory of social rights and the gap between access to material goods and access to symbolic ones (more access to education but less employment; greater access to information but less access to power and decision-making; greater prevalence of civil society organizations but no increase in effective entitlement to economic and social rights) lead to a fragmented society and attitudes indicating a lack of civic identification and appreciation of democracy, a factor that is important for social participation.

Although private students are supportive of the democratic process, they are increasingly disengaged from politics and show low trust in politicians and government. Participation in political activities is in crisis, especially when it comes to young people, and this is a major issue facing contemporary democracies (Arab Barometer, 2014; Dermody et al., 2010; Henn & Foard, 2012). However, Galston (2011) argues that political engagement should not be considered as the only prerequisite to ensure democracy, since none of the scholars, who defend widespread political engagement, including Tocqueville, advocate that democracy requires all or most citizens to be politically engaged but what should be a top priority is preventing radical disengagement, which threatens a variety of undesirable consequences. Arendt (1963) argues that tolerant, charitable, and socially engaged individuals may eschew political participation, but still contribute to the success of democracy. Since political parties have lost their credibility and have

been subject to further fragmentation, associational life has flourished with the launching of the National Initiative Human Development (INDH) in 2005. According to a recent report by the Ministry of Interior in 2014, the number of associations has grown significantly from 4000 in 1990 to 116,836 in 2014, targeting a variety of social issues related to human rights, gender equality, local development, environmental sustainability and more (Zoubairi, 2014). However, there is much work to be done in order to promote the integration and civic participation of youths in cooperative movements.

This study should be considered with some limitations when interpreting results and before conceptualizing future research in the area. First of all, data were collected from only hundreds students at four universities, and thus may have limited generalizability to students enrolled in different programs at different universities and institutions. Moreover, the sample study was less diverse than overall survey population or nationwide youth population. Furthermore, this study was limited to examining social identity only in terms of socio-economic status. Other forms of social identity based, for example, on religious affiliation, sexual orientation, group and ethnic membership may lead to the development of social critical consciousness and thus, inform an individual's orientation towards an engagement in social justice. Last but not least, given the sensitivity of the topic as well as the length of the questionnaire, there were no real incentives for the students to complete it online. The researchers encouraged students to participate by keeping their identities anonymous and that their results will be addressed to policy makers for implications. While there are clearly limits to what this study can tell us, it does more than fill a void in the literature pertaining to citizenship and identity formation. It provides an opportunity to gauge where Morocco stands on the path to social justice and citizenship rights and to consider the implications of these findings for future policy reforms at the national level. Based on previous

research, a useful approach for enhancing, in part students' understanding of social justice issues with a prolonged emphasis on social change and student agency is broadly through promoting a thick social justice education and active citizenship education with inclusive practices that imply the need to challenge and transform existing institutional structures and willingness to empower youth inclusion in decision-making (Breunig, 2019; Lerner & Fulambarker, 2018; Idrissi, 2020).

5.7. Conclusion

This research study sought to answer practical questions concerning the conceptualization, implementation, and impact of citizenship education in Morocco. In this chapter, I presented the main findings that were obtained in an attempt to answer the research questions presented in the Introduction chapter. The main findings of this study as presented in the previous chapter offer a picture that reflects a certain reality of the educational governance of citizenship in Morocco today. This specific reality is mainly characterized by a true disparity regarding the very essence of the type of citizenship that is represented in the policy discourse and promoted in the classroom practice. The reality of a twelve years of citizenship education within the recent educational reforms, has probably not led to the desired outcomes. These findings offer a number of implications that could be integrated in the citizenship education process, which are mainly relevant to the education policy, the classroom practices and the textbook content. In the following concluding chapter of this study, the results will be further elaborated and integrated in an analytical discussion that contextualized the results in a frame shaped by the theoretical guidelines. In addition, I will present some practical implications, in an attempt to offer solutions to this situation.

CHAPTER SIX: Conclusion and Implications

6.1. Introduction

Citizenship has been sparked recently by a number of political and social events and trends throughout the world (the Arab Spring; civil and sectarian war; refugee crisis; migration and cross border mobility). These events and others have made clear that the health and stability of a modern democracy depends, not only on the justice of its ‘basic structure’ (Rawl, 1993), but also on the values and attitudes of its citizens: e.g., their sense of identity, and how they view potentially competing forms of national, regional, ethnic or religious identities; their ability to tolerate and work together with others who are different from themselves; their desire to participate in the political process in order to promote the public good and hold political authorities accountable; their willingness to show self-restraint and exercise personal responsibility in their economic demands, and in personal choices which affect their health and the environment. Without citizens who possess these qualities, democracies become difficult to govern, even unstable.

It is widely recognized that a basic task of schooling is to prepare each new generation for their responsibilities as citizens. As such, the need to create a knowledgeable and responsible citizenry was one of the major reasons for establishing a public school system, and for making education mandatory. Citizenship education is not just a matter of learning the basic facts about the institutions and procedures of political life; it also involves acquiring a range of dispositions, skills, competencies, and loyalties which are intimately bound up with the practice of democratic citizenship. Children acquire these virtues and loyalties not just (or even primarily) in civics classes. Rather, they are inculcated throughout the educational system.

This study examined how citizenship education is perceived and implemented in Morocco. My dissertation explored the core features of citizenship education in Morocco focusing on rationales, contents, and implementation held by different stakeholders from a critical perspective. Ideally, while traditional forms of education which focus on acquiring cognitive knowledge and academic achievement have been questioned for their relevance in solving complex and dynamic social issues (Park, 2013; Oxfam, 2015), non-cognitive elements such as the values and attitudes are needed as they contribute to the individual's own and others' well-being. Citizenship education positions itself as a transformative education aiming for social justice by offering learners opportunities and competencies to become active contributors to a more just, equitable and inclusive society. However, citizenship education is a contested concept in which there exist competing perspectives and agendas (Crick, 2000). Based on the conflicting approaches of citizenship education (Maximal vs Minimal; Thin vs Thick; Liberal vs Republican), the analysis in this study drew on the paradigms of critical theory and social constructivism as theoretical frameworks.

The research design for this study entailed a mixed method approach to understand a complex social phenomenon, citizenship education in Morocco, which is socially constructed. In order to capture a comprehensive understanding of citizenship education and citizen formation, the research included two dimensions: national official discourse and educational practice. As a way of investigating official discourse, document analysis using qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis was used mainly to understand the government's perspective on citizenship education and to determine how educational materials which are utilized in education practice described the good citizen. Interviews using an interpretivist methodology, with policy makers,

teachers and students provided additional information in order to gauge educators' perceived rationales and implementing citizenship education. Hence, this research provides a comprehensive study of the policy, school, and classroom level, combining interviews and observations with the study of documents. In order to provide a synthesis of the findings, I restate the overarching questions that I addressed in chapter 5.

1. How citizenship and citizenship education are conceptualized within the Moroccan official discourse in terms of definition, objectives and expected outcomes; how are they transformed during implementation in practice?
2. How is citizenship expressed through the curriculum; what is the approach being adopted by the state to inculcate citizenship in its students; is it in favor of a nationalist approach or more globalized one; do the textbooks cultivate the skills of the 21st century?
3. How school related civic activities develop students' knowledge of citizenship and stimulate active participation and social change?
4. What aspects of citizenship education are prioritized in the policymakers and teachers perception of citizenship and what are their aspirations for a good citizen?
5. How much do students know about citizenship related concepts; what are the factors affecting them; does their citizenship identity apply to the well-defined Marshallian citizenship criteria; and what are the reasons and consequences of their attitude towards their country? Is it justified?

In this chapter, I synthesize the findings and discussion covered in chapter 5. This chapter also discusses implications for theoretical discussion and recommendations for educational practice and policy. Based on limitations as well as findings of this study, I suggest direction and areas for future research. Finally, this chapter ends with concluding remarks.

6.2. Research Questions Revisited: Struggles with the Good Citizen (The Personally Responsible Citizen!!)

This section shows the core findings and evidence with respect to each question above. Given the detailed evidence and analysis, I also present my arguments and salient findings in a broader context in relation to the existing literature.

The study revealed that the education policies introduced by the ‘National Charter of Education’ and the ‘Strategic Vision for Reform 2015-2030’ have a particular vision for the relationship between the citizen and the state that combines characteristics from both the minimal and maximal versions of citizenship (McLaughlin, 1992). However, the content of the documents with respect to citizenship education seems to reflect a tension between the two perspectives. Banks (2004) argues that citizenship education confronts a dilemma because there are significant gaps between the lessons taught in school about ideal democratic values and social practice and institutional structures. The NCTE and Vision 2030 stress the need to educate a virtuous and patriotic citizen, proud of their belonging and aware of their rights and duties towards their country, community and family and ready to serve the country. At the same time, the NCTE and Vision 2030 recognize the need to make autonomous and creative citizens who are capable of taking part in the development of their country. These aspirations have been reflected in the

content that students are expected to cover in the updated curriculum, which is basically geared towards making an ‘informed’ citizen as well as developing positive attitudes for the good practices of active citizenship. Yet, the optimal presence of the maximal version in the curriculum is faced with contradictory pedagogical practices that hamper critical citizenship education.

The preparation of young people for the exercise of their rights and the undertaking of their responsibilities as good citizens is partly related to the potential state’s visions for citizen formation. Do students in Morocco learn how to participate in public decision-making? Are they taught to see themselves as individual actors who work with others to create a better society? Are they taught the skills they need to think for themselves and to govern collectively? I would like to believe that they do but the results of my analysis have shown that teaching and learning - in both public and private schools - do not always conform to democratic goals and ideals. If being a good citizen requires thinking critically and acquiring behavioral competencies and skills to promote active engagement in order to succeed in school and life, then, that foundation of citizenship is at odds with trends in global education policies that have been shifting away from preparing active citizens and towards performance and more narrow goals of career preparation and individual economic gain (Berliner, 2011). Pressures from policy makers, business groups, parents and a broad cultural shift in educational priorities have resulted in schools being seen as conduits for individual success in standardized assessments; therefore, opportunities aimed at exploring active citizenship have been crowded out.

At this point, I come to the conclusion that goals and practices represented in the classroom and curricula seek to build a personally responsible citizen (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) kind by emphasizing either good character (honesty, integrity, self-discipline, hard work, and compassion

by engaging students in volunteer community service) or technical knowledge of legislatures and how government works. These are all desirable traits for people living in a community but they are not about democratic citizenship. Far less common are aspirations for teaching students to think about root causes of injustice or challenge existing social, economic, and political norms as a means for strengthening democracy. Efforts to pursue some conceptions of personal responsibility might even undermine efforts to prepare participatory and justice oriented citizens. Obedience and loyalty, for example, may work against the kind of independent thinking that effective democracy requires.

6.3. Recommendations for Educational Practice and Theory

Analysis of this research reveals that citizenship education needs to be carefully addressed and applied. In this section, I draw attention to some recommendations that educational policy makers and educators could consider for promoting critical and active citizenship education. Undoubtedly, many factors of policy, curriculum, school and community context, and others contribute to citizenship education. Nevertheless, what teachers do and how they behave in the classroom needs special attention. While teacher education programs and textbooks may encourage active student engagement and thinking and put the learner at the center of the learning process, the teachers' daily realities and behaviors in the classroom do not always reflect this ideal and are sometimes contradictory to the ideals of citizenship education outlined in the official documents. It is crucial to admit the existence of a 'pedagogical paradox'. There is a need for space to develop and reflect on teachers' educational philosophies regarding citizenship values as their character traits can influence the students much more than any transfer of knowledge. Given that teachers' own philosophies on education play a critical role in implementing citizenship

education in their classrooms, it is important to provide opportunities where teachers can learn and explore the values of citizenship education and sustainable development through training or individual research. Borrowing Freire's (1987) suggestion, Reilly and Niens (2014) argue that in order to develop critical dialogic discourse in citizenship education, "teachers need more than subject knowledge and methodological expertise – they must develop a clear political understanding of the issues explored, which necessitates time for critical reflection and opportunities for discourse amongst teachers themselves" (p. 69). As this argument indicates, I believe not only teacher training that provides knowledge and methodological implications but also provision of time/resources to critically reflect on their own educational philosophy and values should be expanded.

Second, the results of the present research also suggest that among the several challenges that need to be considered for effective citizenship education is the quality of instruction. The decade of education with the National Charter made Morocco engaged in ambitious policy programs to expand school enrollment, especially at the lower levels. However, the increase in the number of students has been accompanied with a decrease of educational quality since increased enrollments require increased resources. The decline in quality has been further aggravated by 'Madrassat Annajah' which aims at increasing the students' pass rate nationwide. The results of such policy have had negative consequences on the students' performance and values. The students' performance is getting poorer as indicated by TIMSS, PIRLS (2011) and Pisa (2019) results as while the values such as violence, disinterest, irresponsibility and cheating are getting more widely spread. There is a persistent need to adopt educational programs that nurture positive values such as responsibility, autonomy and hard work by making academic success a meaningful experience and a matter of merit. Furthermore, it is important to give due

attention to the classroom discussion. For example, the integration of the current events into classroom discussions can be very effective in conveying political literacy. However, Vercellotti and Matto (2012) and Niemi and Junn (1998) suggest that the discussion of the current events may require some reinforcement through educational materials like readings throughout the political articles and simulations through role playing, mock elections, and mock trials in order to trigger political attitudes.

Third, one of the primary issues that should be of major concern for the policy makers and curriculum developers is the ‘disconnect with reality’ present in the Moroccan textbooks. References in the textbooks to the civic concepts related to civic society and systems, civic principles, identities and civic participation remain disconnected from the contradictions reflected by the political and social realities. For instance, most textbooks at the primary levels, do not address the prevalence of serious deviations in the Moroccan society from democracy such as corruption, the absence of transparency and public accountability (Faour, 2013). Similarly, though efforts are made to promote the Universal Declaration of Human Rights explicitly in the textbooks, they do not necessarily reflect the reality of the human rights conditions in the Moroccan society. Moreover, it is important to select civic content that lends itself to practical implementation inside and outside the classroom instead of being merely theoretical. This issue has, in fact, been stressed by the different teachers who insisted on the fact that what is presented in the textbooks in terms of civic content remains isolated information students have to restate to the teachers in the exams.

Last but not least, while the concept of citizenship education places a high value on civic engagement, there seems to be little evidence for concern about taking actions as active citizens

in the documents and implementation. Indeed, volunteering is the most frequently mentioned action. Accordingly, it is necessary to suggest a variety of active ways of involvement besides donating and volunteering. Schools should be more inclusive of the different agents of citizenship education. The proposition calls for more effective opening on the social environment and the broadening of the scope of the pedagogical interventions, regardless of any political considerations; reference here is to the different associations and civil society organizations. In addition, different aspects of the school life, most notably the school clubs, extracurricular activities and events should be enhanced and reinforced by taking the necessary measures that would help teachers invest time and energy for an effective and dynamic role of these clubs. Research shows that attending meetings, service learning, meeting with community leaders, and field trips, can enlighten students about civic engagement, especially if the curriculum is directly linked to the experience (Youniss & Yates, 1997). It is assumed that through their participation in the program, students will meaningfully develop various citizenship values and dispositions such as leadership, effective communication, critical thinking, and writing skills and others.

6.4. Implications for Theoretical Discussion

This research makes a contribution to a theoretical discussion of citizenship education and citizen identity formation at many levels. It reveals how citizenship education is constructed within the context of a specific country. It demonstrates how different ideological and conceptual frameworks struggle in rationalizing citizenship education by education stakeholders and documents. By exploring diverse stakeholders and documents in the Moroccan context, this work helps to shed light on a theoretical discussion about how different conceptual foundations exist within the concept of citizenship education. While most existing studies have examined the

curriculum (e.g. Camicia & Franklin, 2011) or educational policy (e.g. Shultz, 2007; Enns, 2015), this study utilizes not only the curriculum but also educators and students' perceptions and discursive practices of citizenship education. By encompassing documents, educators and students' perceptions, this research offers comprehensive insights into varied conceptual understandings of citizenship education in a national context. Building its foundation upon a past theoretical framework, this study confirms that this framework is useful to understand the contested concept of citizenship education and also, shows this framework may not encapsulate teachers' unique rationale or philosophy. This work shows that citizenship education may be framed differently depending on the context by revealing that the good citizen in Morocco is often understood as earlier models of curricula for nation-building and value education. Exploration of citizenship education in Morocco contributes to widening the discourse of citizenship by adding an under-represented case. Furthermore, although this research highlights a specific country's case, Morocco, this discussion may provide insights to other countries by showing how social, cultural, economic and political forces interact with a national education system.

6.5. Limitations and Possible Future Research

Despite all the efforts undertaken in the elaboration of this research, the current study has some limitations that should be acknowledged. The fact that this study was mainly set in the tradition of qualitative educational research limited the ability to create generalizations based on these findings alone. Therefore, surveys and additional quantitative studies may have an important contribution reinforcing the reality that was portrayed in the realm of this study. Another limitation of this study is the fact that it is a small-scale study, where most participants worked in specific areas, in or Rabat, the capital of Morocco. As I identify potential opportunity gaps

regarding citizenship education according to students' socio-economic backgrounds, further studies exploring a wide range of areas including urban and rural environments in Morocco may provide meaningful implications as to opportunity gaps and possible solutions.

The scarcity of previous research within the Moroccan context warrants that the present study could be considered as one of the few research projects with concern in citizenship identity and citizenship education. Therefore, there is an urgent need for further research studies. There is a need for research in how citizenship education can be adapted effectively for students in different educational systems from elementary to higher education. Whereas this study concentrated on the teaching of the civics subject matter, I am confident that the conceptions of citizenship education that were identified influence the teaching of additional subject matters as well, such as history, geography, English Language, and even Math and Science. Future research can utilize these and additional conceptions as ideal types in order to explain the civic aspects of other subject curriculum.

With increased transnational migration and cross-border settlements, national societies have become more ethnically and culturally diverse. As political and cultural dynamics shift within and across the national space, arguably more rapidly with globalization, nation-states must continue to grapple with and, in some cases, reconstruct the common 'we'. It would be interesting to investigate Moroccan young people's attitudes towards other ethnic groups such as immigrants from sub-Saharan and war refugees (Syrians) whose presence in the Moroccan social make up is gradually gaining ground. The objective would be then to explore how far citizenship education in Morocco managed to enhance global citizenship and values such as tolerance and peace.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Observation Protocol

<u>Observation details:</u> Date: Time: School:				
The observed (students, teachers, activities)	Descriptive notes (pedagogical methods, students reaction, observer's comments)	Civic knowledge	Civic attitudes	Civic behavior

Appendix B: Teacher Interview Protocol

Name: Teacher of (school subject):

Gender: School name:

Years of experience:

1. Do you think citizenship education is important?
2. Have you been trained before on how to educate for citizenship?
3. How do you teach citizenship related themes?
4. Do you teach citizenship related themes as part of the curriculum in which students are intended to take an exam in or for the purpose of educating for citizenship?
5. In your opinion, what do students prefer to learn in class with respect to citizenship?
6. Which themes do you think should be prioritized and should be included of citizenship education?
7. What is your perception of the good citizen?
7. Do you think extracurricular activities and school clubs are important in enhancing skills and competencies? Do they effectively undertake their roles?
8. What are the possible ways to ameliorate school clubs so that they attain the intended outcomes?
9. What is your opinion on the textbook you are using in relation to citizenship education?
10. In your opinion, what are some of the problems that inhibit citizenship education?
11. In your opinion, how is it possible to make citizenship education a successful process?

Appendix C: Students Interview Protocol

Name:

School:

Gender:

Grade:

1. What is the name of the national anthem?
2. What does it mean to be a good Moroccan citizen?
3. What does citizenship mean to you?
4. Do you consider yourself to be a Moroccan active citizen in the future?
5. How do you consider participation in extracurricular activities be beneficial for your development at the personal and professional level?
6. What do extracurricular activities focus on?
7. What are the skills and competencies learned from the project activities?
8. What are the challenges people who do not have citizenship competencies might face?
9. Do you see yourself a good member of the local community and take care of your environment?
10. Why does the environmental challenge matter to you?
11. How would you address this environmental challenge?

Appendix C: Questionnaire Protocol

Section A: Screening Question

Instruction: Please choose the answer that best describes how you feel about the statement.

A1. Name:

A2. Gender: ☐ female // ☐ male

A3. Age:

☐ 17-20

☐ 20-24

☐ 24-28

☐ 30

A3. Which University are you enrolled in?

☐ Al Akhawayn University

☐ Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University

☐ International University of Rabat

☐ Mohammed V University

A4. What degree are you currently pursuing? Specify the field.

☐ Associate Degree

☐ Bachelor

☐ Master

☐ PhD

.....

A5. Are your parents working? Where?

☐ Father only

☐ Mother only ☐ Both

A6. Which sector?

☐ Private sector ☐ Public sector ☐ Independent

A7. Monthly Average income:

☐ 200-300 ☐ 400-800 ☐ 1000

Section B: Identity Belonging and Community Development

Instruction: This section includes both multiple choice and short answer questions.

- **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the answer that best describes how you feel about the statement.
- **Short Answer:** Please answer the question in the space provided.

B1. When you hear the word “Moroccan citizen”, what do you think of first?

- ☐ A person being born in Morocco, born of parents who reside or are citizens of Morocco;
- ☐ A person, who is a member of the community;
- ☐ A person, who has legal rights and duties;
- ☐ A second-class citizen.

B2. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I am proud to be a Moroccan and live in Morocco.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

B3. How strongly you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I am an individual with (full) access to basic rights.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

B4. How strongly you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I commit myself to serve my community and be loyal to it.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

B5. How strongly you agree or disagree with the following statement?

As citizens we are responsible for taking action to improve our community and nation.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

B6. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I am able to understand most political issues easily.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

B7. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Youths have a great impact to influence the process of governance.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

B8. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Voting is important as an act of changing the process of decision-making.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

B9. Choose one from the following:

For my voice to be heard, to defend my rights and have an impact in my community, I choose to be engaged in a:

- ☐ Political party ☐ Civil Society Organization ☐ Association

B10. Please choose three from the following.

To be a good citizen means:

- ☐ Loyalty to God ☐ Love your king and country; ☐ Vote in elections;
- ☐ Obey the laws ☐ Accept policy-makers’ decisions for the stability and security of Morocco;
- ☐ Participate in the civic life to solve public problems
- ☐ Part-take in a political party to voice people’s demands
- ☐ Take responsibility of others
- ☐ Ask, debate and change established systems and structures when they reproduce patterns of injustices.

B11. Have you ever voted? If yes, how many times?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No

.....

B12. Answer the following question:

Are you engaged in an NGO, association, student club or political party? If yes, specify:

- ☐ Yes ☐ No

.....

.....

B13. List two critical challenges the Moroccan society is facing.

.....

.....

Section C: Employment

Instruction: Please choose the answer that best describes how you feel about the statement.

C1. How strongly you agree or disagree with the following statement? Working with the public sector guarantees stability and life prospects.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

C2. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

The government should secure jobs for youths after graduation.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

C3. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

After graduation, I will look for job opportunities outside the public sector or try to start my own business.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

C4. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

After getting my degree, I will apply for job opportunities abroad.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

C5. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

With my degree, I know I will struggle to find jobs after graduation, as not many options are available.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

Section D: Social Character

This section includes both multiple choice and short answer questions.

- **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the answer that best describes how you feel about the statement.
- **Short Answer:** Please answer the question in the space provided.

D1. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Men and women in Morocco enjoy the same rights.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

D2. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement? (formals).

I prefer my wife to stay at home and take care of children and house.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

D3. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Women should have an equal role with men in running business and industry.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

D4. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Women are not well represented in politics.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

D5. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Men can sufficiently represent the interests of women in politics.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

D6. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Women bring different views, perspectives and talents to politics.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

D7. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

When Jobs are scarce, men should have more rights to jobs than women.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

D8. What are two most suitable jobs for women?

.....
.....

Section E: Competencies

Instruction: This section includes both multiple choice and short answer questions.

- **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the answer that best describes how you feel about the statement.
- **Short Answer:** Please answer the question in the space provided.

E1. Choose two competencies from the following that you need to acquire in order to become an active citizen.

- ☐ Creativity ☐ Critical thinking ☐ Problem solving ☐ Languages
- ☐ Rhetoric ☐ Participation and engagement ☐ Leadership ☐ Volunteerism
- ☐ Citizenship education ☐ Respecting rights and fulfilling duties ☐ Confidence ☐ ICT

E2. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Moroccan youths lack civic competencies.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

E3. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Extracurricular activities develop civic competencies, dispositions and skills.

- ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Neutral ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

E4. What does citizenship education mean to you?

.....

.....

E5. Have you ever been part of an extracurricular activity at the University? If yes, what type?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No

.....

Appendix D: Document Analysis Protocol

Identifying Information

Resource Name:

Author/s:

Year of Publication:

Publishers:

Description (standards/text book/teacher guide):

Guiding Questions

1. What are the goals of this document?
2. Which conceptions of citizenship education appear in the documents?
3. How are the topics organized?
4. What is the excerpt that best represents the manifestation of conceptions of citizenship and civic education in the text?
5. How are the topics represented?
6. Are they represented in a theoretical or empirical manner?
7. Are questions, exercises and visual representations accompanying the texts?
8. How can this text be classified?

