Feb 2023

The Moroccan Curriculum: Education in the Service of Tolerance

Itam Shalev

Morocco Consultant:
Daniel Zisenwine PhD.

Editor:
Samuel Hyde

IMPACT-se

CONTENTS

1. Executive Summary
5. Introduction
16. Acknowledgements
17. Constitutional Monarchy
22. Peace and Tolerance
33. Foreign Policy
48. Gender
61. Amazigh Representation
65. Jews and Judaism in Morocco
79. Conclusion
84. Methodology
86. List of Textbooks

Executive Summary

This IMPACT-se report examines 127 textbooks from the Kingdom of Morocco's national school curriculum, published between 2013 and 2022. The study focuses on humanities subjects, particularly social studies, geography, history, Islamic studies, Arabic language and literature, French, and English.

Main Findings:

- Moroccan textbooks broadly adhere to UNESCO standards of peace and tolerance education.
- Tolerance is a central theme of the curriculum and is depicted as an essential value for a civilized human society. Many examples cite Islamic scripture to highlight racial, religious, ideological, and ability-based tolerance. Students are presented with interpretations of the concept which tie it to universal human rights, Islamic teachings, and Moroccan identity.
- Peace is taught as a key component of respectful human relations, and a core principle of Morocco's national policy. Practical conflict resolution is taught on an interpersonal level.
- Textbooks reflect an effort to promote democracy, human and civil rights. The monarchy is praised.
- The curriculum encourages self-reflection and critical thinking in relation to Moroccan history.
- Women's issues occupy a prominent position in the curriculum. Women's rights and gender equality are frequently discussed, and textbooks present examples of female role models across multiple sectors. Many of these representations challenge or subvert stereotypical gender roles, by highlighting women's achievements.
- Textbooks acknowledge the indigenous Amazigh population, and teach about its history, traditions, and way of life while generally avoiding politically sensitive issues.
- Morocco's Jewish community, its practices, and individual Moroccan Jews are frequently and thoughtfully represented. The Jewish community is clearly portrayed as an inseparable aspect of Moroccan society. Jews are presented in an affectionate manner: students are exposed to Jewish cuisine, holidays, music, as well as stories of Jews' nostalgia and affection toward Morocco which textbooks interpret as a sign of Moroccan patriotism. Antisemitic stereotypes are largely avoided or subverted.
- The textbooks present a more moderate tone toward European countries in a modern-day context but are antagonistic toward European colonialism. Textbooks express an unsympathetic account of Israel.
- Discussion of Morocco's territorial integrity centers on the Kingdom's claims to the Western Sahara region, which is presented as a non-negotiable issue for Morocco.

- While the great mass of teaching materials encourages religious tolerance, a handful isolated examples in Islamic Education textbooks are unsympathetic toward non-Muslims in their direct quotation of scripture, rather than interpretation.

Moroccan textbooks promote democracy, and the concepts of human rights and civil liberties. They praise the Moroccan monarchy and its reigning sovereign, Mohammed VI, holding both the King and the Kingship as central components of Moroccan national identity. This view is bolstered by history lessons focusing on the chronicles of the reigning Alaouite dynasty, and previous dynasties that ruled Morocco. At the same time, in describing the contemporary Moroccan political system, the role of non-royal actors who participate in Moroccan political life are de-emphasized.

In an initiative that is rare in the region, the curriculum encourages self-reflection with regards the leadership's actions to preserve the regime during past social and political turmoil, including "grave violations of human rights." Students are also asked to think critically about tensions between society and the state, in relation to freedoms and human rights.

The values of peace and tolerance are central to the curriculum and appear both directly and indirectly in the vast majority of textbooks, regardless of grade or subject. Peace is taught as a key component of respectful human relations, and a core principle of Morocco's national policy. Practical conflict resolution is taught on an interpersonal level, based on ideals such as mutual respect, compromise, and non-violence. To highlight this, lessons cite examples of peacemaking in Islamic scripture.

Tolerance is a recurring theme in the curriculum, and students are presented with interpretations of the concept which tie it to universal human rights, Islamic teachings, and Moroccan identity. The forms of tolerance explored include racial, ideological, and ability-based tolerance, and most prominently, religious tolerance, the last of which is not necessarily limited to monotheistic religions. There are a few isolated elements, mostly in Islamic education, which express the opposing idea that non-Muslims will face divine retribution for their disbelief in Islam.

Women's issues occupy a prominent role in the Moroccan curriculum. Women are frequently portrayed in varied settings, and in diverse clothing. Representations include specific examples of Moroccan women in politics, history, science, and sports, and they are presented as role models to be emulated by girls. Many of these representations challenge or subvert stereotypical gender roles, by highlighting women's achievements as athletes or political leaders. The concept of women's rights and gender equality is taught and often anchored in the constitution and law, international documents, and Islamic sources. Violence against women is addressed. Women's education is portrayed as a significant issue of national importance. The notion that Moroccan women have yet to attain equality is recognized in the curriculum,

alongside certain factors contributing to this issue. Textbooks avoid content that may offend religious sensibilities and institutions, which may impede women's development. They do not challenge women's traditional roles in the household.

Textbooks recognize the historical and cultural heritage of the indigenous Amazigh people, emphasizing their integral position in Moroccan society. Students learn of the ancient roots of the Amazigh people and their deep ties and commonalities with present-day Moroccan Arabs, as well as their contribution to the creation of contemporary Morocco. The textbooks also encourage students to learn about Amazigh cuisine, dress, traditions, and way of life. Topics that may cause a rift between Amazigh identity and Orthodox Islam, or between Moroccan national cohesion and identity, are avoided.

The Moroccan Jewish community is represented frequently, and in an affectionate manner. The curriculum familiarizes students with Judaism and teaches that the Jewish community is an inseparable part of Morocco, with ancient roots and a legacy of centuries of coexistence with the non-Jewish population. Textbooks describe life in the Jewish quarter in detail and highlight current government efforts to preserve Jewish heritage and Jewish contribution to Moroccan culture. Jewish contributions to Morocco's economy and the integration of Jews into the community in professions such as science, journalism, popular culture, and business, are featured. Students are exposed to Jewish cuisine, holidays, music, and stories of nostalgia and affection toward Morocco, which textbooks interpret as a sign of Moroccan patriotism. The portrayal of Jewish people is sympathetic, and antisemitic stereotypes are largely avoided, or subverted by examples variously portraying Jews as loyal, patriotic, generous, or open-minded. Students are also exposed to some aspects of Jewish religion and practice, and allusions to its commonalities with Islam help cultivate this sympathetic image. It is worth noting that this significant amount of educational content on Jewish people appears to have been newly added as recently as 2021. Textbooks do not teach about the Holocaust and lack certain aspects of the Moroccan Jewish experience including its emigration in the 20th Century. While not violent in nature, textbooks at times contain material that undermines the religious beliefs of Christians, Jews and Polytheists for denying the Islamic faith.

With regards foreign policy, in a modern-day context the curriculum presents a more moderate tone toward European countries. Yet, textbooks express a negative approach toward European colonialism and foreign rule. Discussion of Morocco's territorial integrity centers on the Kingdom's claims to the Western Sahara region, which is presented as non-negotiable for Morocco. Some textbooks express the non-recognition of Spanish sovereignty over Ceuta and Melilla and dispute the Morocco-Algeria border. Much attention is afforded to the Arab-Israeli conflict. One example explicitly endorses a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which includes "the

State of Israel" living "side by side" with Palestine. Moreover, a few unsympathetic examples toward Israel were toned down or removed in more recent editions, such as a reference to "ugly Zionist crimes," and a poem on the cruelty of the Israeli colonial occupier. However, elsewhere in the curriculum there is an unsympathetic account of Israel, and textbooks endorse the Palestinian cause. Representations of the 2020 normalization of ties with Israel do not yet appear in the textbooks: those higher-grade textbooks surveyed that would cover the issue precede the normalization of ties.

Introduction

Situated in the northwest corner of the African continent, Morocco is considered the Arab world's window to the West. This is reflected in the country's name in Arabic, *Al-Maghreb* ("the West"), which is quite distant from the Arab-Islamic urban centers of the Fertile Crescent and the Arabian Peninsula. Morocco was not part of the Ottoman Empire, unlike much of the region, which enhanced its unique position. Morocco's geographical contours – bordered by the Atlantic Ocean to the west, the Mediterranean Sea to the north, the Sahara Desert to the south, and the Atlas Mountains which traverse it – have all influenced its history, society, and economy. Morocco's proximity to Europe has also influenced its development, as it experienced military reprisals due to pirate attacks from its shores. Until the mid-19th century, Morocco was relatively isolated and insulated from much of the world, a deliberate choice of its rulers, who were not interested in engaging with foreigners – especially Europeans. The emergence of European colonialism and growing economic difficulties forced Morocco to interact with foreign powers, creating a vicious cycle of increased economic dependency that paved the way for European infiltration, and culminated with the establishment of colonial rule in 1912.

In studying the narrative employed by school textbooks, we begin to understand the textbooks' authors vision of the guiding principles of the country's identity, and attitude towards the rest of the world. This is particularly the case with state-published textbooks: they are not only the primary means by which a country's leadership provides its citizens with the tools citizens need to participate in the effort to overcome national challenges, but textbooks are nonetheless the primary means by which the state communicates where it stands, and what challenges it faces. In other words, state education reflects both the country's present-day situation, and its future. Consequently, a thorough examination of the content and materials used in Moroccan state education will offer insight into how a unique country like Morocco operates, and how it aims to address social changes and external challenges.

Pre-Colonial Morocco:

Conquered by Arab-Muslim armies in the 8th century, Morocco joined the Muslim world relatively late, and atypically retained some of its pre-Islamic heritage. This is particularly evident in the indigenous *Amazigh* (Berber) population, whose origins have been linked to the eastern Mediterranean. Although they converted to Islam and are accepted adherents of the faith, constituting around thirty percent of Morocco's Muslim population of over 35 million people, they have retained various historical customs and social practices of Amazigh tradition that are at odds with Islamic orthodoxy, such as the veneration of tombs of saints. The overwhelming majority of Moroccans are Sunni Muslims, and there are almost no other religious or ethnic groups. This homogeneous population was, and

remains, a highly traditional society in which religious and cultural mores are instilled in daily life.

One religious minority that was integral to Morocco was its Jewish community. Moroccan Jews can trace their history back to the destruction of the first temple (586 B.C.E), but the significant expansion of the community occurred after their expulsion from Spain in 1492. Jews resided in urban centers such as Essaouira (Mogador), Mazagan (El Jadida), and Rabat, along the Atlantic coast; inner cities such as Fez, Meknès, and Marrakesh; and northern enclaves like Tangier and Tetouan. Their livelihood was often based on crafts and professions forbidden to Muslims by Islam, while others were involved in the small international trade sector in Morocco. Jews also resided in remote rural hamlets in the Atlas Mountains alongside Amazigh communities. It was not uncommon to see a mutual exchange of culture and ways of life between the two populations. Jewish life in Morocco remained very traditional, as Jews were recognized as "People of the Book" (*ahl al-kitāb*) according to Muslim law. Their status as dhimmis placed them under various legal and social restrictions, but internally they enjoyed a degree of religious, judicial, and educational autonomy. They were often forced to live in secluded quarters (the *mellah*), where they received some form of protection from the authorities from periodic attacks carried out against them.

There are many accounts and chronicles that chart Jewish-Muslim relations in Morocco. One narrative presents a rosy picture of warm ties, while others underscore ongoing tensions, periods of violence, and other forms of persecution. The reality, however, is more complex. Relations between Jews and Muslims, it has been suggested, were both good and bad, friendly and hostile, and defy categorization. Recent scholarship on Moroccan Jewish history highlights a complex paradox of closeness and distance.

Any discussion of Moroccan politics and society tends to focus on the central position of the Moroccan monarchy. It would be difficult not to overstate the monarchy's role in Morocco, a traditional Muslim monarchy uncommon in today's society, combining religious and political authority. Various dynasties vied for political power in pre-colonial Morocco. The Alaouite dynasty, in power since the late 17th century, has maintained much of Morocco's unique royal tradition, while uncompromisingly holding onto power and suppressing political threats. The Sultan (later, King) of Morocco was recognized as the uncontested religious leader, the "commander of the faithful" (*amir al-mu'minīn*) of Moroccan Muslims, and a descendant of the prophet who possessed holy charisma. On the other hand, the monarch's temporal power was more fluid. The Sultan often faced rebellions from groups who refused to accept his political rule and pay taxes, and struggled to assert his rule across the Kingdom. This led to a great deal of political instability, which was later invoked by European powers to justify their intervention in Morocco. While the dichotomy between various regions in

their acceptance of the monarchy's political authority (or lack thereof) was less pronounced than European perceptions, the monarchy was, and still is, the driving force of Moroccan politics and society.

Colonial Morocco:

By the mid-19th century, Morocco could no longer isolate itself from international developments reaching its doorstep. France's conquest of Algeria in 1830 ushered in an era of European presence in North Africa, and Morocco felt threatened by the prospect of French colonial expansion. Morocco experienced economic difficulties that forced it to take out increased loans from foreign governments. Unable to repay these loans, the political elite watched helplessly as European pressures weakened Moroccan sovereignty. Morocco lost control of its economic affairs in 1906, now in the hands of European powers. Despite efforts to stem this tide, Morocco confronted political and economic forces far beyond its control. This deterioration reached its lowest point in 1912, as French troops invaded the Kingdom and imposed colonial rule. Thus commenced a new chapter in Moroccan history.

Although Morocco's experience under colonial rule was relatively short compared to its North African neighbors (1912-1956), the impact of those decades on the Kingdom's politics, society, and economy was profound. In the past, Moroccan officials tended to minimize the protectorate era, dismissing it as negligible in the greater context of Moroccan history and the Alaouite dynasty's centuries-long reign. However, a closer look at the colonial era reveals sweeping changes that altered critical aspects of Moroccan life. The transformation Morocco experienced under the French protectorate was highly significant – the Spanish protectorate, smaller in size, was less influential. Therefore, understanding contemporary Moroccan politics and society requires a greater appreciation of the protectorate era.

At face value, the protectorate's establishment did not change Morocco's official status. The Kingdom retained its sovereignty, and the Sultan's government remained intact, except for two significant areas where France assumed responsibility: foreign relations and military affairs. The French administration, whose hybrid regime was intended to support rather than eclipse the Moroccan *Makhzan* (political establishment), was initially less intrusive in the lives of Moroccan Muslims. However, it became clear to Moroccans that the French government agencies and services were the driving forces in political and economic life.

The architect of France's colonial enterprise in Morocco was Hubert Lyautey, a high-ranking officer in the French military who rose to the rank of *maréchal*. Lyautey left a unique mark on the development of French Morocco and was an adamant opponent of a system emulating the Algerian colonial model of annexation and settler-colonialism in Morocco. Serving as the *résident général* from 1912-1925, Lyautey laid the groundwork for Morocco's transformation during the protectorate era. For Lyautey,

promoting the monarchy was part of his vision for the French protectorate, in which the colonial power would maintain indirect control. At the same time, the Sultan's dependency on the French would be discreet.

The primary outcome of this approach was a stronger and more popular Moroccan monarchy, which became the embodiment of the Moroccan nation. The monarchy, rather than political movements and parties, gained the upper hand in Moroccan politics. The monarchy's strengthened position also benefited from total French control over Moroccan territory, an expansion completed in 1934. For the first time, the Moroccan Sultan was not subjected to periodic uprisings against his political rule, a feature of pre-colonial Morocco. After the Sultan Moulay Youssef died in 1927 and the French appointment of Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, one of his sons, France went a step further in its efforts to stabilize the monarchy by having the Sultan designate an heir to succeed him eventually. This marks a change from the previously chaotic transition between monarchs, where potential successors would battle against each other to gain superiority and the support of various tribes and clans. Only when it became clear who was in control would the Muslim religious scholars (the *ulema*) swear their oath of allegiance to the new Sultan, ending a rivalry that often lasted over a year, destabilizing the Kingdom. This new measure thus enhanced the monarchy's stability.

Lyautey presided over expansion and development projects in Morocco, outlining a renewed economic landscape. Moroccan Muslims were not indifferent to these changes and increasingly reacted to them with dismay and consternation. Beyond the insult of being subjected to foreign rule, these economic developments had profound social impacts, including migration from the countryside to new urban centers in search of employment, which upended existing social structures. It was not long before local insurgencies against colonial rule erupted. The most serious was the revolt in the northern Rif region, a historically restless area that periodically rebelled against the ruling authority. The Rif uprising, which broke out in 1921, was led by Abd al-Krim al-Khattabi. The revolt was surprisingly successful, allowing Abd al-Krim to establish self-rule in the region and seek to advance to other parts of Morocco. The French and Spanish armies were forced to deploy more troops to repress the revolt, which ended in 1925. This also effectively ended Lyautey's tenure and vision for Morocco. His successors were far more conventional colonial officials, with little interest in the first *résident général's* ideas.

Morocco's Jewish community experienced significant developments during the protectorate era. Many Jews were exposed to new educational, professional, and social opportunities, particularly in urban centers. A significant portion of the Jewish community embraced French culture and lifestyle, gradually drifting away from Moroccan Muslims and increasingly identifying with colonial rule. This growing separation between Muslims and Jews was exacerbated by Moroccan

nationalism, which promoted a Muslim-centered agenda that did not leave much room for Jewish involvement. Moreover, the rise of Jewish nationalism and the growth of the Zionist movement further distanced the Jewish community from the Muslim majority.

In the 1930s, an embryonic nationalist movement began to emerge. Its leaders were primarily members of Morocco's socially conservative traditional elite, who sought to restore the Kingdom's independence without threatening its social order. Their broader influence at that time was limited, with most of their demands centering on reforming the protectorate system. It was not difficult for France to repress these activists and silence them. Nevertheless, anti-colonial sentiment in Morocco gained traction throughout the decade and was further propelled by the impact of France's defeat in World War II. Although Moroccan Muslims did not support Nazi Germany or take advantage of France's defeat to stage a wartime rebellion, they concluded that regardless of the war's outcome, it was unlikely that France would remain a colonial power. As the war drew to a close, nationalist activity intensified with the establishment of the Moroccan *Istiqlal* (independence) party in January 1944, which voiced an unequivocal demand for independence and the abrogation of the protectorate treaty. French authorities initially dismissed the *Istiqlal* and its leaders, correctly deducing that they had more to fear from the Sultan than the new political party if he championed the nationalist cause.

As the 1940s continued, the Sultan, who was previously reluctant to endorse the nationalists and wary of their potential political threat to his status, now identified with the anti-colonial struggle. In a famous speech delivered in Tangier in April 1947, the Sultan refrained from his customary greetings to France, a display of the monarch's growing hostility toward France and an indication that he supported nationalist demands. Given his elevated status in Moroccan society, it became clear that Sidi Mohammed was the leader of Morocco's struggle for independence. This reality, in which the monarchy towered over political parties relegated to a secondary position, would later overshadow Moroccan politics in the post-independence era.

The Sultan's growing popularity, and the intensifying nationalist struggle, led France to resort to extreme measures in an effort to neutralize the threat to their rule. In July 1953, French rulers deposed the Sultan, exiling his and his family to Madagascar and installing a puppet replacement in his stead. This backfired completely. The Moroccan public refused to accept the Sultan's removal, viewed him as a martyr suffering for his subjects, and continued their struggle against the French. The emerging nationalist uprising in neighboring Algeria was far more alarming to France, which viewed the territory as an integral part of France, and thus caused Paris to reconsider its policy in Morocco. In a deliberate effort to maintain control over Algeria, France opted to withdraw from Morocco: they restored the deposed Sultan in 1955 and negotiated Morocco's independence. One

year later, the Kingdom's independence was secured. For Moroccan Jews, the end of colonial rule contributed to a rising sense of uncertainty over their future. The community experienced exponential growth during the colonial era, and by the mid-20th century numbered 250,000 people. The establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 had already led some Jews to depart Morocco and settle in the new Jewish state. A second exodus occurred after 1956, but a sizable Jewish population remained.

Post-Independence Morocco:

Although Morocco's struggle for independence was not very violent and did not leave many societal scars, it resulted in considerable political uncertainty. Questions surrounded the nature of the political system and the monarchy's role within it, as Morocco was officially a constitutional monarchy. However, King Mohammed V (as the Sultan was now known) had no intention of ceding power or deferring to political parties. His position was grounded in the notable aspects of the Moroccan monarchy, which combined religious and political leadership. The king's legitimacy was further enhanced by his role as a national leader who championed the struggle for independence. This effectively silenced any rumblings within some political parties against the monarchy; however, the king's untimely death in 1961 exacerbated these tensions.

The succession in Morocco was carried out in a timely fashion, with the designated Crown Prince Hassan acceding to the throne as King Hassan II. While the new king's religious authority was accepted, he struggled to secure political legitimacy throughout his first decade in power. These were difficult years for Morocco, which experienced ongoing clashes between the king and left-wing opponents. During those "Years of Lead," as they became known (in reference to the lead bullets security forces fired at protesters), thousands of Moroccan opposition supporters were killed. Many faced arbitrary arrests and harsh prison sentences, and fear reigned over the Kingdom. The king, who after 1965 ruled by decree, was becoming increasingly unpopular; he faced several attempts to overthrow him by military forces (in 1971 and again in 1972), indicating that his rule was under serious threat.

Economic difficulties compounded these political questions. Morocco does not have abundant natural resources and is still highly dependent on a largely underdeveloped agricultural sector. Its education system has struggled to meet the challenges of training a new generation, with mixed results. Illiteracy rates in Morocco, especially among women and in rural regions, remain high. The prospect of developing a highly educated, sophisticated economy remains illusory. The status of women in post-independent Morocco is also problematic: women were subjected to legal and societal restrictions, such as the Personal Status Code (the *Moudawana*), which placed them in an inferior position to men in matters of matrimony and divorce, forcing them to rely on a male guardian in many areas of daily life. Morocco's

conservative social norms thus remained stubbornly intact.

Realizing that his rule was under serious threat, King Hassan sought ways to improve his political standing. On an international level, he pursued moderate, pro-Western policies, which provided him with much-needed foreign support. However, domestically, the king was in search of a cause that would unite Moroccans around the monarchy. This opportunity emerged in 1974 when Spain announced it would withdraw from the Western Sahara region. This territory, rich in minerals that would attract a country without natural resources such as Morocco, had historical ties to Morocco but was not incorporated into the Kingdom after independence and remained under Spanish rule.

Over the years, Morocco voiced interest in controlling the territory and argued it was an integral part of the Kingdom. The question of the region's future was brought before the International Court of Justice in The Hague, which issued an inconclusive ruling acknowledging Morocco's historical ties to the region while refraining from fully recognizing its claim of sovereignty. For King Hassan, the ruling was sufficient to declare the region part of Morocco. Following his call, hundreds of thousands of Moroccans symbolically marched into the desert region in what became known as the "Green March" (November 1975). While Morocco staked its claim, tens of thousands of Sahara residents rejected Moroccan rule and vowed to fight it. Thus, began guerrilla warfare, in which the Saharan Polisario militia (supported by Algeria, which sought to assert its regional hegemony) attacked Moroccan forces. The Sahrawis also declared independence, which was recognized by many African nations. This soured Morocco's ties with African countries and led it to abandon African politics. Although Morocco gained the upper hand in Western Sahara over time, the region's future remains uncertain. A 1991 United Nations plan to hold a referendum among the local population on the region's future has never materialized. Morocco has promoted a plan for autonomy where the region would remain under its control, which has increasingly gained traction in the international community. Morocco's position on Western Sahara was further buoyed in late 2020, when the United States recognized Moroccan sovereignty over Western Sahara. The issue remains at the top of Morocco's diplomatic agenda. However uncertain the Western Sahara issue may be, it undoubtedly bolstered King Hassan's domestic position. By the 1990s, Hassan's popularity increased, having been on the Moroccan throne for thirty years and responsible for largely neutralizing opposition forces. He was now seen as an elder statesman, a benevolent ruler keen to gradually expand civil liberties in Morocco and prepare for his succession. His last years in power were marked by the release of political prisoners and a far more open society.

King Hassan's death in 1999 and the rise of his successor, Mohammed VI, were seen as another step in that direction. The new, young king projected an image of an energetic and caring monarch. He embarked on a widespread tour of the

Kingdom, informally interacting with his subjects. The king promised economic reforms and promoted development projects. He also initiated an unprecedented transitional justice process, where Moroccans could come forward and testify against government actions during the "years of lead." In 2003, he took the bold step of abolishing the *Moudawana* and issuing a new personal status code more favorable to women. In foreign policy, he continued his father's pro-Western, moderate policies and agreed to renew diplomatic relations with Israel in late 2020 as part of an agreement where the US would recognize Morocco's territorial claim on Western Sahara. He presided over an expansion of ties with African countries, placing a much heavier emphasis on Morocco's connection to Africa, thereby reducing the impact of the Western Sahara issue on Morocco's African policy.

After over two decades in power, King Mohammed continues to rule confidently. However, many social and economic questions remain. The status of women is also a difficult question for Moroccan society, as is the role of Islam, Morocco's Jewish heritage, and broader questions concerning the foundations of Moroccan identity. These topics play out in Moroccan textbooks and educational initiatives, echoing the ongoing debate and underscoring their importance in contemporary Moroccan society.

Moroccan Education System:

The Moroccan education system is under the purview of the Ministry of National Education, and this policy is devolved on a regional level: each of the 12 administrative regions of Morocco established in 2015 have been charged with implementing national educational policy.[1] School attendance is compulsory until age 13, and about 56% of young people are enrolled in secondary education.[2] Basic education, introduced in the 1960s, divides all levels of education in Morocco into two parallel tracks: "modern general education" or the "modern" track (in French*: l'enseignement général moderne,* in Arabic: *at-ta'līm al-'umūmī al-'aṣrī)*, and "original education" or the "original" track (*l'enseignement original, at-ta'līm al-'aṣīl).* In the modern track, a continuation of the French education system, basic education is split into two cycles of six and three years, respectively. Modern Standard Arabic is the language of instruction, and French is introduced as a second language in the third year. In contrast, the original track focuses on Islamic disciplines which include Islamic law, Arabic, history, Arab civilization, Islamic thought and philosophy, and sciences.[3] Given the composition of the textbooks studied, and that the original

[1] Mohammed Sassi et al., "Morocco: Overview of Education System," TIMSS 2015 Encyclopedia, undated. Retrieved 20 December 2022. https://timssandpirls.bc.edu/timss2015/encyclopedia/countries/morocco/

[2] "Education in Morocco," K12 Academics, undated. Retrieved 20 December 2022. https://www.k12academics.com/Education%20Worldwide/education-morocco

[3] Nick Clark, "Education in the Maghreb: Morocco," World Education Services, 1 April 2006. Retrieved 20 December 2022. https://wenr.wes.org/2006/04/wenr-apr-2006-education-in-morocco

education enrolls far fewer students than the former track, it is our assumption that the textbooks researched by IMPACT-se fall into the category of modern education.

Year groups in the Moroccan school system follow a similar structure to the French educational system.[4] A minority of children the ages of 4-6 attend preschool (*préscolaire, at-ta'līm al-'awwalī*), of which the vast majority attend public Qur'anic schools, and a minority attend private kindergartens.[5] Primary education (*primaire, al-ibtidā'ī*) lasts 6 years (between the ages of 7-13); in 2006 it comprised 4,301,157 students in total, 219,539 of which were educated in the private sector.[6] Students attend middle school (*collège*) as part of junior secondary education (*secondaire collégial, aθ-θānawī al-'i'dādī*), between the ages of 13-16, equivalent to grades 7 to 9. The final three years of high school (*lycée*) are known as "qualifying secondary" (*secondaire qualifiant, aθ-θānawī at-ta'hīlī*); the first year of high school, equivalent to the tenth grade, is called "common core" (*tronc commun, al-jiḏ' al-muštarak*), and is followed by two years of studying for the baccalaureate (*baccalauréat*),[7] which grants access to higher education, or vocational training. In 2006, 559,497 students attended *lycée*, 28,736 of which were enrolled in private schools.[8] Parents are able to choose between public and private schools at all educational levels.

Since 1989, the primary language of instruction in schools has been Arabic; however, as of 2015, some primary schools have started offering education in Tamazight, the second official language of Morocco.[9] The teaching of Tamazight has been endorsed, and teaching materials and teacher education programs have been designed in Tamazight since the creation of the Royal Institute for the Amazigh Culture (IRCAM) in 2001.[10] Furthermore, French, although it has no official status in the kingdom, is taught as a second language from primary school onwards, and is also the language of instruction for sciences and economics in most secondary schools and in higher education.[11]

[4] "Présentation générale du système éducatif marocain," Centre national de documentation pédagogique, 25 January 2006. Retrieved 20 December 2022. http://www.ecoliers-berberes.info/presentation%20systeme%20educatif.htm

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] "Enseignement secondaire qualifiant," Kingdom of Morocco Ministry of National Education, Preschool and Sports, undated. Retrieved 22 December 2022. https://www.men.gov.ma/Fr/Pages/Ens-secoqualif.aspx

[8] "Présentation générale...".

[9] "Guide sur l'éducation internationale – Maroc," Government of Alberta, 2022. Retrieved 20 December 2022. https://www.alberta.ca/fr-CA/iqas-education-guide-morocco.aspx#:~:text=L'enseignement%20scolaire%20au%20Maroc,offrir%20un%20enseignement%20en%20tamazight

[10] Sassi et al., "Morocco: Overview...".

[11] Chloe Pellegrini, "Language Teaching in State Schools in Morocco: Multilingual Literacies and the Conflicting Making of National and Cultural Identity," European Educational Research Association, 2019. Retrieved 20 December 2022. https://eera-ecer.de/ecer-programmes/conference/24/contribution/48333/

Textbooks in Morocco are composed and published by private entities, but with the approval of the Ministry of National Education. In this research, at least 10 publishers of learning materials have been identified, some of whom exclusively publish school textbooks, and others who produce other types of publications as well. For every subject and every grade, at least two publishers are contracted; each publisher titles its textbooks with a distinct brand name alongside the name of the subject, e.g., *Rehab Social Studies, Fadaa Social Studies*, etc. Textbooks of a given grade and subject by different publishers are not identical in terms of content and structure, but largely adhere to common themes and the same topics, indicating extensive government oversight in terms of dictating textbook content. The extent to which publishers retain freedom to innovate educational materials (provided government approval) is taken into account in this research when observing unusual or uncharacteristic examples, to ensure that findings are representative of the overall national vision.

Literature Review:

As far as was possible to discern, no comprehensive study of educational content produced by the Moroccan state has been published to date. In recent years, a significant portion of research conducted into Moroccan textbooks has focused on English Language Teaching (ELT), for example two studies by Hassan Ait Bouzid (2016, 2020) which assessed how a small sample of ELT textbooks promote religious tolerance[12] and values of global citizenship.[13] Existing research tends to focus on multiple aspects of the Moroccan curriculum. Of note, Mostafa Hassani-Idrissi (2015) examined how Moroccan textbooks construct national identity,[14] Laila Aboussi (2011) analyzed the use of literature from the Maghreb in Moroccan school contexts,[15] and Mathias de Meyer reviewed an elementary school textbook to determine the relationship between Islam and modernity.[16] In light of this, IMPACT-se's comprehensive, multidisciplinary study of currently taught and produced Moroccan textbooks offers an unparalleled perspective compared to existing literature.

[12] Hassan Ait Bouzid, "Promoting Values of Religious Tolerance through Moroccan ELT Textbooks," Asian TEFL, 2016. Retrieved 25 December 2022. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Hassan-Ait-Bouzid-2/publication/324127747

[13] Hassan Ait Bouzid, "Exploring Global Citizenship as a Cross-Curricular Theme in Moroccan ELT Textbooks," Eurasian Journal of Applied Linguistics, 31 July 2020, pp. 229–242. https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/ejal/article/775801

[14] Mostafa Hassani-Idrissi, "Manuels d'histoire et identité nationale au Maroc," Revue internationale d'éducation de Sèvres, no. 69, 1 September 2015, pp. 53–64. https://journals.openedition.org/ries/4425

[15] Laila Aboussi, "Réception des textes littéraires maghrébins dans l'institution scolaire marocaine," Theses.hal.science, 31 May 2010. Retrieved 25 December 2022. https://theses.hal.science/tel-00551694/

[16] Mathias De Meyer, "Islam et modernité dans un manuel d'école au Maroc," Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée, no. 150, 30 December 2021, pp. 127–148. https://journals.openedition.org/remmm/17128#tocto2n3

Current research:

This report aims to evaluate the Moroccan state school curriculum's adherence to international education standards and explore its major themes and trends. To this end, the study featured in this report employs the IMPACT-se standard method of textbook content analysis. Textbooks used in Moroccan state (modern general) education were acquired both in digital and hard-cover formats; a very small number of textbooks were acquired only in digital fragments, and are marked as "unverified version." The textbooks were analyzed individually on the basis of UNESCO standards of peace and tolerance education, as represented by IMPACT-se's methodology (detailed on p.92), and scanned for overarching themes and issues. A total of 127 textbooks have been studied in full (see list on p.94) from grades 1-12. Textbooks were selected primarily from humanities subjects, i.e., social studies, history, Islamic studies, Arabic, English and French languages. For the purpose of this report, the latest available edition of each textbook was analyzed; in practice, this means that most books were dated 2020 or 2021, with the earliest dated 2013. In some instances, where older versions of the textbooks were available, these were compared with the latest ones to produce diachronic insights into the developing nature of the curriculum.

This report presents the study's findings in six sections, based on central themes, trends, and issues identified in Moroccan textbooks. These are representations of Morocco's monarchy and democracy; elements of peace, tolerance and intolerance in the curriculum; a discussion of Morocco's foreign policy; women and gender issues; Amazigh representation; and the portrayal of Morocco's Jewish community in the textbooks. Each section explores a specific theme using concrete examples taken from the textbooks, each of which includes a screenshot of the original Arabic text and its translation into English. Report conclusions reiterate the main takeaways from these central themes, and provide an overall assessment of the curriculum's adherence to international education standards.

Acknowledgements

The Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education (IMPACT-se) very grateful to and the Jeffrey M. Talpins Foundation and its President, Oren Eisner for making this report possible.

The research of a single curriculum often involves the analysis of thousands of pages of textbooks, measured against UNESCO-based standards of peace and tolerance. We thank our IMPACT-se team, including Asher Spekterman and Shahar Levikson for their Arabic translations, extensive textbook research, and analysis. Our thanks as well to Samuel Hyde for his editing, and Talia Glazer for her proofreading and textbook research.

Supporting them, we are fortunate to have a plethora of expert researchers. Our great appreciation to: Yonatan Cohen, Omer Elazar, Ofir Hadass, Itay Halevi, Eitan Ishai, Or Lev-Tzion, Stav Nacson, Matan Pe'er, and Shoshana Smbatyan.

We would also like to thank Odeliya Zahfire for her advice and support, in program management as well as other areas.

IMPACT-se COO Arik Agassi's unending efforts to find textbooks—along with the relentless pursuit of perfection—made the report a reality.

Finally, our thanks to IMPACT-se's CEO Marcus Sheff, for his leadership, guidance and insight throughout the process.

We remember Jean-Claude Niddam, a Board member of IMPACT-se, native of Fez, Morocco, graduate of the Faculty of Law, Mohammed V University in Rabat, Morocco, member of the Moroccan and Israel Bar Associations, and a passionate advocate of coexistence.

Constitutional Monarchy

Morocco's monarchy – the Alaouite dynasty – has been in power since the late 17th century, and plays a central role in constructing and promoting the national identity and historical memories of the Kingdom. King Mohammed VI holds the highest temporal and spiritual authority in the state, possessing extensive powers, including; choosing the prime minister from the largest political party that won in parliamentary elections; removing ministries; and, if necessary, dissolving the parliament and government. According to its subjects, the dynasty also possesses 'holy charisma,' which helps explain continued support, leading to the monarchy's longevity and the King's political and religious position in Moroccan society.

These themes are reflected in Moroccan textbooks. A Grade 9 Islamic education textbook asserts that the King of Morocco is the "Commander of the Faithful," and that Moroccans should obey him, and are not allowed to challenge his rule.[17] Another Social Studies textbook outlines the King's authority over parliament and government.[18] Grade 1 students are similarly taught the Moroccan slogan, "God, Country, King."

Since framing its first constitution in 1962, Morocco has been a constitutional monarchy. The key element of the new constitution, adopted in 2011, states that "Morocco is a constitutional, democratic, parliamentary, and social monarchy. The constitutional system of the Kingdom is based on the separation, balance, and collaboration of powers, as well as citizenship and participatory democracy, and the principles of good governance, and the correlation between responsibility and accountability."[19]

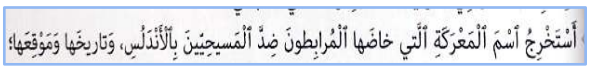
Notwithstanding its official designation, Morocco's political system has always been weak, as most critical decisions are channeled through the royal palace. The monarchy remains the focal point for policy and decision-making, while the parliament and political parties maintain a more marginal position in areas of public life. Although Morocco has become a far more open society over the past decade, with greater attention on protecting civil liberties and human rights, the breadth and scope of democracy within the Kingdom remain unclear. Despite these uncertainties, recent textbooks reflect the Kingdom's growing emphasis on promoting democracy, equality, civil liberties, and human rights.[20] Textbooks also stress the importance of these values, which are guaranteed in the Moroccan constitution,[21] where it is stated that human rights are crucial for building a

[17] *Islamic Education (Manar),* Grade 9, 2019, pp. 84-85.
[18] *Social Studies (Manar)*, Grade 8, 2021, p. 146
[19] Constitution of the Kingdom of Morocco, Article 1. https://morocco-emba.jp/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Morocco_2011.pdf
[20] *Social Studies (Najah)*, Grade 8, 2021. p. 141; *Social Studies (Manar),* Grade 8, 2021, p. 166.
[21] *Social Studies (Najah)*, Grade 8, 2021. p. 141.

democratic society.[22] Students learn about the Moroccan government and parliament, their roles and relation with the king,[23] and are taught about the importance of political pluralism.[24] Students are presented with the idea that Morocco is in the midst of completing its democratic transition.

Emphasis is placed on teaching students how to practice democracy[25] – they are taught about the democratic process in an active manner by holding mock elections in class.[26] Textbooks portray King Mohamed VI in a positive light; he is praised for strengthening Moroccan democracy and promoting openness toward all citizens.[27]

Furthermore, Moroccan textbooks emphasize the history of Morocco's monarchies, often focusing on earlier dynasties that preceded the Alaouites, such as the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties, who are portrayed as the historical protectors of Morocco from Christian rule.[28]


أَسْتَخْرِجُ ٱسْمَ ٱلْمَعْرَكَةِ ٱلَّتِي خَاضَهَا ٱلْمُرَابِطُونَ ضِدَّ ٱلْمَسِيحِيِّينَ بِٱلْأَنْدَلُسِ، وَتَارِيخَهَا وَمَوْقِعَهَا؛

I will find out the name, date, and location of the battle that the Almoravid Dynasty waged against the Christians in Al-Andalus.


« وَقَدْ قَيَّضَ ٱللَّهُ (هَيَّأَ لَهُ) لِشَخْصِيَّةِ يوسُفَ بْنِ تاشَفِينَ ... تَوْحِيدَ ٱلْمَغْرِبِ ٱلْأَقْصَى فِي ظِلِّ زَعَامَةٍ مُوَحَّدَةٍ ... وَٱلانْطِلاقُ إِلَى الأَنْدلس، كَمُنْقِذٍ لِأَرْضِ الإِسْلامِ مِنْ أَيْدِي النَّصارَى...وَأَصْبَحَ يَحْكُمُ مَمْلَكَةً مُتَرامِيَةَ الأَطْرافِ». د.حسن علي حسن « الحضارة الإسلامية في المغرب والأندلس: عصر المرابطين والموحدين»، جامعة القاهرة، 1980 ، ط1 ، ص ص 22 و 23 .

أَقْرَأُ ٱلنَّصَّ ثُمَّ أُجِيبُ :

- أَعْرِفُ بِشَخْصِيَّةِ ٱلْأَمِيرِ يوسُف بْنِ تاشَفِينَ.
- أُبْرِزُ ٱلدَّوْرَ ٱلَّذِي قَامَ بِهِ فِي كُلٍّ مِنَ ٱلْمَغْرِبِ وَبِلَادِ ٱلْأَنْدَلُسِ.
- أَشْرَحُ ٱلْمَقْصُودَ بِمَمْلَكَةٍ مُتَرَامِيَةِ ٱلْأَطْرَافِ.

Social Studies (Moufid), **Grade 5, 2020, pp. 35, 37.**

Allah destined Yusuf ibn Tashfin to unite al-Maghrib al-Aqsa under a united leadership, and to set out to Al-Andalus as the savior of the land of Islam from the hands of the Christians [...]

The Almoravid Dynasty is presented as the protector of Muslim lands from Christians, although they still maintained relations with Christians by upholding various pacts and treaties. This shift from an anti-Christian stance to a more moderate stance, allowing Muslims to protect their homeland while maintaining relations with Christians, is significant. It reflects Moroccan efforts to present a model of religious coexistence with other faiths, and present the Kingdom as a model of tolerance, which can already be found in its distant past.


سِيَاسَةُ ٱلْمُرَابِطِينَ تُجَاهَ ٱلْمَسِيحِيِّينَ

1 - ٱلْعَمَلُ عَلَى إِنْقَاذِ أَرَاضِي ٱلْمُسْلِمِينَ.

2 - ٱلْمُحَافَظَةُ عَلَى ٱلْعُهُودِ مَعَ ٱلْمَسِيحِيِّينَ.

3 - ٱلِاسْتِفَادَةُ مِنْ خِبْرَتِهِمُ ٱلْحَرْبِيَّةِ بِضَمِّ عَنَاصِرَ مِنْهُمْ لِجَيْشِ ٱلْمُرَابِطِينَ

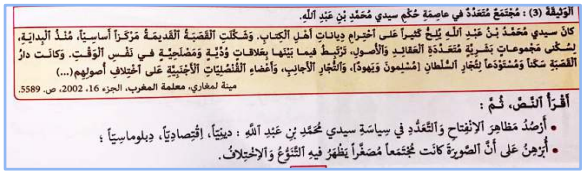
Social Studies (Jadid), **Grade 6, 2021, p.25**

[22] *Arabic Language (Raïd)*, Baccalaureate Year I, 2020, p. 34.
[23] *Social Studies (Najah)*, Grade 8, 2021, pp. 147-154.
[24] *Arabic Language (Manar),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2021, p. 37, 39.
[25] *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 6, p. 112.
[26] *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 6, 2021. p. 119.
[27] *Social Studies (Tajdid),* Grade 9, 2021, pp. 68-70.
[28] *Social Studies (Moufid),* Grade 5, 2020, pp. 35, 37, 39.

The Almoravid Dynasty's Policy Toward the Christians:
Striving to save the lands of the Muslims.
Maintaining the treaties with the Christians.
Making use of their combat experience by enlisting some of their members to the Almoravid's army.

The Idrisid Dynasty is credited with spreading Islam.[29] Architectural achievements of the earlier dynasties such as the Almohads are emphasized, as is the Saadi Dynasty and its role in the sugar industry.[30] This instils a sense of pride, and confidence in their ability to aspire to similar goals.

The current reign of the Alaouite Dynasty is credited in Moroccan textbooks with the reunification of Morocco.[31] Much emphasis is placed on the 18th-century rule of Alaouite Sultan Mohammed III, who promoted Moroccan openness for diversity, respected Christianity and Judaism, and promoted coexistence.


الوَثِيقَةُ (3) : مُجْتَمَعٌ مُتَعَدِّدٌ في عاصِمَةِ حُكْمِ سيدي مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللهِ.

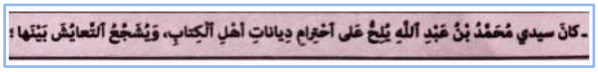
كانَ سيدي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللهِ يُلِحُّ كَثِيراً عَلى اِحْتِرامِ دِياناتِ أَهْلِ الْكِتابِ. وَشَكَّلَتِ الْقَصَبَةُ الْقَديمَةُ مَرْكَزاً أَساسِيّاً، مُنْذُ الْبِدايَةِ، يَشْكُلُ مَجْموعاتٍ بَشَرِيَّةٍ مُتَعَدِّدَةَ الْعَقائِدِ وَالأُصولِ، تَرْتَبِطُ فيما بَيْنَها بِعَلاقاتٍ وُدِّيَّةٍ وَمَصالِحَ في نَفْسِ الْوَقْتِ. وَكانَتْ دارُ الْقَصَبَةِ سَكَناً وَمُسْتَوْدَعاً لِبَضائِعِ السُّلْطانِ (مُسْلِمونَ وَيَهودٌ)، وَالتُّجّارِ الأَجانِبِ، وَأَعْضاءِ الْقُنْصُلِيّاتِ الأَجْنَبِيَّةِ عَلى اخْتِلافِ أُصولِهِم(...)

مدينة لمغاربي، معلمة المغرب، الجزء 16، 2002، ص. 5589.

أَقْرَأُ النَّصَّ، ثُمَّ :

- أَرْصُدُ مَظاهِرَ الاِنْفِتاحِ وَالتَّعَدُّدِ في سِياسَةِ سيدي مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللهِ : دينِيّاً، اِقْتِصادِيّاً، دِبلوماسِيّاً ؛
- أُبْرِهِنُ عَلى أَنَّ الصّورَةَ كانَتْ مُجْتَمَعاً مُصَغَّراً يَظْهَرُ فيهِ التَّنَوُّعُ وَالاِخْتِلافُ.

Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah greatly insisted on respecting the religions of the People of the Book. Since the beginning, the old Casbah was a fundamental center to house groups of multiple beliefs and origins, who at the same time are tied by relations of friendship and interest. The house of the Casbah was a residence and storehouse for the Sultan's merchants [Muslims and Jews] to foreign merchants and to members of foreign consulates, with their different origins. I will read the text and then:
- *I will track the aspects of openness and diversity in the policy of Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah, in terms of religion, economy, and diplomacy.*
- *I will prove that Essaouira was a small community in which diversity and variety were apparent.*


كانَ سيدي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللهِ يُلِحُّ عَلى اِحْتِرامِ دِياناتِ أَهْلِ الْكِتابِ، وَيُشَجِّعُ التَّعايُشَ بَيْنَها ؛

Social Studies (Massar), **Grade 6, 2021, pp. 44, 47.**

Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah insisted on respecting the religions of the People of the Book and encouraged coexistence with them.


أَقْوَمُ تَعَلُّمي

أُنْمي مُعْجَمي

سياسة الباب المفتوح : خطة اعتمدها السلطان لجلب كل طاقم الموانئ أمام التجار الأوربيين، وعقد المعاهدات مع دولهم.

رهبان : علماء دين مسيحي.

التوابين في الدولتين.

زاوية : كلمة تركية، تعني ملحقة للمعبد الحاكم.

وظيفة الأفعار : ضريبة تؤدى للتجار، تبلغ عشر قيمة السلع المتاجر بها.

أَقْرَأُ الْفِقْرَةَ الْمُرْفَقَةَ جَيِّداً، ثُمَّ أُعَيِّنُ شَفَهِيّاً الْفراغاتِ بِما يُناسِبُ مِنَ الْعِباراتِ الآتِيَةِ :

تَنَوُّعِ وَتَسامُحِ - الْمُحيطِ الأَطْلَنْتي - الأَوربِّيّينَ - الصّويرَةِ - الأَمازيغيَّةِ - الأَفْعارِ - الْيَهودِيَّةِ - سِياسَةِ الاِنْفِتاحِ

قامَ السُّلْطانُ سَيِّدي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللهِ في إِطارِ... عَلى أُورْبّا بِبِناءِ مَدينَةِ... سَنَةَ 1765م، اَلْوافِدَةِ عَلى... وَشَجَّعَ التُّجّارَ الْمَغارِبَةَ وَ... عَلى الإِقامَةِ وَالتِّجارَةِ فيها بِإِعْفائِهِمْ مِنْ ضَريبَةِ... فَعَمَرَتْ بِالسُّكّانِ مِنْ مُخْتَلِفِ الأُصولِ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ وَ... وَالإِفْريقِيَّةِ وَ... وَالأُورُوبِّيَّةِ. وَيَشْهَدُ عَلى ذَلِكَ آثارُ الْمَدينَةِ وَمَتْحَفُ «بَيْتِ الذّاكِرَةِ» الَّذي زارَهُ الْمَلِكُ مُحَمَّدُ السّادِسُ في يَنايِرَ 2020م، مِمّا يَدُلُّ عَلى... سُكّانِ الْمُجْتَمَعِ الْمَغْرِبِي في الْماضي وَالْحاضِرِ.

Social Studies (Najah), **Grade 6, 2021, p. 45.**

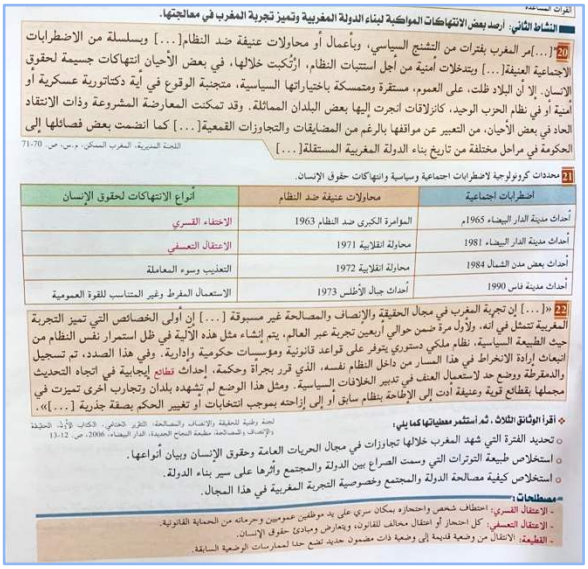
I will properly read the attached paragraph and then orally fill in the empty spaces in a way that corresponds with the following words:
Diversity and tolerance; the Atlantic Ocean; Europeans; Essaouira; Amazigh; tithe; Jewish; the openness policy.
As part of the openness policy toward Europe, Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah built the city of Essaouira in 1765, which is located on the Atlantic Ocean. He encouraged Moroccan and European merchants to reside and trade there by absolving them of the tithe tax. It was inhabited by residents of different Arab, Jewish, African, Amazigh, and European origins. The city's relics and the Bayt Dakira Museum, which was visited by King Mohammad VI in January 2020, serve as witnesses to this, which proves the diversity and tolerance of the people of Moroccan society in the past and present.

Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah is also noted for respecting peace treaties with France[32] and for conducting an "open door" policy.[33] The role of Alaouite Sultans in developing education and sciences is also featured.[34] These positive references are to be expected, as is the emphasis on the

[29] *Social Studies (Jadid),* Grade 5, 2021, p. 29.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 44.
[31] *Social Studies (Jadid)*, p. 47.
[32] *Social Studies (Massar),* Grade 6, 2021, p. 48.
[33] *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 6, 2021, p. 45.
[34] *History (Rehab),* Common Core, 2019, p. 164.

monarchy's continuity that has continued since the Idrisid Dynasty.[35]

Reference to political instability and the state's shortcomings is rarely found in Arab textbooks. There is little acknowledgment, references, or discussions of periods of political unrest that often accompanied transitions between Moroccan rulers; however, one example is conspicuous. A Grade 12 History textbook instructs students to address and discuss complex events of social and political turmoil that bolstered the establishment of the Moroccan state, including examples of grave violations of human rights by the regime. Notably, the textbook portrays these events as unique and unfortunate cases perpetrated to preserve the regime. In exposing the pupils to this subject, the exercise features two historical records and a list of events, which the pupils are required to inspect and consider before answering questions pertaining to: the period of events in question, the types of violence (perpetrated by and against the regime), the nature of the political tensions, and the state and social reforms that followed. As such, the exercise confronts pupils with a controversial chapter in their country's history, constituting a telling example of the willingness of the Moroccan government to hold itself accountable for past shortcomings in statecraft.



النشاط الثاني: أرصد بعض الانتهاكات المواكبة لبناء الدولة المغربية وتميز تجربة المغرب في معالجتها.

20 «[...]مر المغرب بفترات من التشنج السياسي، وبأعمال أو محاولات عنيفة ضد النظام[...] وبسلسلة من الاضطرابات الاجتماعية العنيفة[...] وبتدخلات أمنية من أجل استتباب النظام، ارتُكبت خلالها، في بعض الأحيان انتهاكات جسيمة لحقوق الإنسان. إلا أن البلاد ظلت، على العموم، مستقرة ومتمسكة باختياراتها السياسية، متجنبة الوقوع في أية دكتاتورية عسكرية أو أمنية أو في نظام الحزب الوحيد، كانزلاقات انجرت إليها بعض البلدان المماثلة. وقد تمكنت المعارضة المشروعة وذات الانتقاد الحاد في بعض الأحيان، من التعبير عن مواقفها بالرغم من المضايقات والتجاوزات القمعية[...] كما انضمت بعض فصائلها إلى الحكومة في مراحل مختلفة من تاريخ بناء الدولة المغربية المستقلة[...]

اللجنة المركزية. المغرب الممكن. و.م.ن. ص. 70-71

21 محددات كرونولوجية لاضطرابات اجتماعية وسياسية وانتهاكات حقوق الإنسان.

اضطرابات اجتماعية	محاولات عنيفة ضد النظام	أنواع الانتهاكات لحقوق الإنسان
أحداث مدينة الدار البيضاء 1965م	المؤامرة الكبرى ضد النظام 1963	الاختفاء القسري
أحداث مدينة الدار البيضاء 1981	محاولة انقلابية 1971	الاعتقال التعسفي
أحداث بعض مدن الشمال 1984	محاولة انقلابية 1972	التعذيب وسوء المعاملة
أحداث مدينة فاس 1990	أحداث جبال الأطلس 1973	الاستعمال المفرط وغير المتناسب للقوة العمومية

22 «[...] إن تجربة المغرب في مجال الحقيقة والإنصاف والمصالحة غير مسبوقة [...] إن أولى الخصائص التي تميز التجربة المغربية تتمثل في أنه، ولأول مرة ضمن حوالي أربعين تجربة عبر العالم، يتم إنشاء مثل هذه الآلية في ظل استمرار نفس النظام من حيث الطبيعة السياسية، نظام ملكي دستوري يتوفر على قواعد قانونية ومؤسسات حكومية وإدارية. وفي هذا الصدد، تم تسجيل انبعاث إرادة الانخراط في هذا المسار من داخل النظام نفسه، الذي قرر بجرأة وحكمة، إحداث قطاع إيجابية في اتجاه التحديث مجملها بقطائع قوية وعنيفة أدت إلى الإطاحة بنظام سابق أو إلى إزاحته بموجب انتخابات أو تغيير الحكم بصفة جذرية [...]».

لجنة وطنية للحقيقة والإنصاف والمصالحة. التقرير الختامي. الكتاب الأول: الحقيقة والإنصاف والمصالحة. مطبعة النجاح الجديدة. الدار البيضاء. 2006. ص. 12-13

❖ اقرأ الوثائق الثلاث، ثم استثمر معطياتها كما يلي:

- تحديد الفترة التي شهد المغرب خلالها تجاوزات في مجال الحريات العامة وحقوق الإنسان وبيان أنواعها.
- استخلاص طبيعة التوترات التي وسمت الصراع بين الدولة والمجتمع وأثرها على سير بناء الدولة.
- استخلاص كيفية معالجة الدولة والمجتمع وخصوصية التجربة المغربية في هذا المجال.

مصطلحات:

- الاختفاء القسري: اختطاف شخص واحتجازه بمكان سري على يد موظفين عموميين وحرمانه من الحماية القانونية.
- الاعتقال التعسفي: كل احتجاز أو اعتقال مخالف للقانون، ويتعارض ومبادئ حقوق الإنسان.
- القطيعة: الانتقال من وضعية قديمة إلى وضعية ذات مضمون جديد، تضع حدا لممارسات الوضعية السابقة.

In the Realm of History (Rehab History), Grade 12, 2021, p. 199.

Activity 2: I will monitor some violations which accompanied the building of the Moroccan state and the unique Moroccan experience in addressing them.
20. "Morocco experienced periods of political upheaval, and violent actions or attempted actions against the regime… and security interventions in order to preserve the regime, during which, in some cases, grave violations of human rights were perpetrated. And yet, our country generally remained stable and true to its political choices, avoiding descent into military dictatorship or one-party rule, slides which took place in some comparable countries. The legitimate opposition, which had sharp criticism, was able in some cases to express its positions, in spite of harassments and excessive oppression… In addition, some factions of the opposition joined the government at various stages during the history of the building of the independent Moroccan state…"
Executive board, The Possible Morocco, 2006, pp. 70-71
Chronological milestones of social and political turmoil and violations of human rights:
[Right column]
Social turmoil:
1965 Casablanca events, 1981 Casablanca events, 1984 northern cities events, 1990 Fez events
[Middle column]
Violent attempts against the regime:
1963 great conspiracy against the regime, 1971 coup attempt, 1972 coup attempt, 1973 Atlas Mountains events

[35] *History (Rehab),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, p. 192.

[Left column]
Types of violations of human rights:
Forced disappearance, Arbitrary arrests, Torture and mistreatment, Excessive and inappropriate use of force
[...]
I will read the three documents and then use the information provided therein to do the following:

- *Define the time period in which Morocco witnessed violations in the area of general freedoms and human rights, and explain what type they were.*
- *Deduce the nature of tensions which defined the conflict between the state and society, and their impact on the process of nation building.*
- *Deduce how state and society were reformed and the uniqueness of the Moroccan experience in this regard.*

[The final three rows define the terms "forced disappearance", "arbitrary arrests", and "paradigm shift".]

Overall, the examined textbooks promote democracy and emphasize the importance of human rights and civil liberties. A more moderate approach toward relations with Christians reflects Morocco's growing efforts to be a model of religious tolerance and coexistence without compromising its Islamic identity. This praiseworthy approach leaves some unanswered questions, such as the parliament's political weight, and the ability of political parties to play a more active role in policymaking. These questions are still a matter of debate in Moroccan public life.

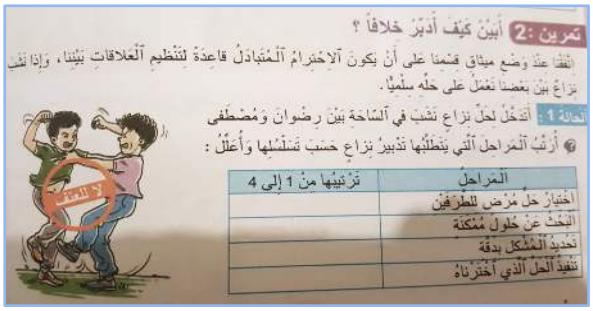
Peace and Tolerance

One of the main goals of education is to impart shared values around which a society develops its identity, and which also provide the framework upon how it functions. While every society has its distinct priority of values, it is possible to look for a set of universal values which allow all societies, without distinction, to interact with each other in a positive and mutually beneficial way. Chief among these universal values are peace and tolerance; any given country may not be considered to have a peaceful and tolerant curriculum unless it teaches students the core principles of peace and tolerance, and how they may be adhered to in various settings. It is instructive, therefore, to examine how these are addressed in Moroccan textbooks.

Peace and peaceful conflict resolution:

Non-violent conflict resolution begins with the peaceful resolution of interpersonal conflicts. When students learn that they are to resolve disagreements without using violence, they may later apply this notion to national and international contexts.

In the example below, a fourth-grade Social Studies textbook prompts students to prepare a "class charter" outlining rules of conduct in the classroom. The textbook stresses that such a charter must include mutual respect as a basis for interpersonal relations, and non-violent settlement of conflicts. The textbook then walks students through the stages of peaceful conflict resolution: understanding the issue, searching for possible solutions, finding which solution is acceptable to both sides, and carrying it out.


تمرين 2: أبيّن كيف أدبّر خلافاً ؟

اتفقنا عند وضع ميثاق قسمنا على أن يكون الاحترام المتبادل قاعدة لتنظيم العلاقات بيننا، وإذا نشب نزاع بين بعضنا نعمل على حله سلمياً.

الحالة 1 : أتدخل لحل نزاع نشب في الساحة بين رضوان ومصطفى

أرتب المراحل التي ينطلبها تدبير نزاع حسب تسلسلها وأعلل :

المراحل	ترتيبها من 1 إلى 4
اختيار حل مُرض للطرفين	
البحث عن حلول ممكنة	
تحديد المشكل بدقة	
تنفيذ الحل الذي اخترناه	

Social Studies (Jadid), Grade 4, 2021, p. 84.

Exercise 2: I shall explain how I manage a dispute
When drafting a charter in our department, we agreed that mutual respect will be a basis for organizing our relations, so if a conflict breaks out between some of us, then we will work on resolving it peacefully.
Situation 1: I intervene to resolve a conflict that broke out in the courtyard between Radwan and Mustafa.

Central to peacemaking is the value of forgiveness. Dialogue and compromise cannot be achieved without setting aside resentment. Islamic Education textbooks for the second year of high school corroborate this idea, teaching that forgiveness (*'afw*) is a significant value of Islam and crucial for creating a tolerant society.


تعرف قضايا العنف في المحاكم ارتفاعا مهولا بسبب مسارعة كثير من الناس إلى العنف والعنف المضاد، وغياب خلق العفو عن العلاقات الاجتماعية، ولجوء الإنسان المقهور إلى قهر من هو أضعف منه، حتى تفشى المراء والفجور في الخصومة، في الأسر، وبين الأزواج، والإخوة والأقارب. فصارت حياة الناس جحيما لا يطاق، فصار العفو عند البعض ضعفا، وصار التسامح بلاهة وغفلة. فما العفو وما أثره في الإصلاح بين المتخاصمين؟ وما معنى التسامح وما تجلياته السلوكية؟ وما السبيل لاكتساب هذه القيمة وفق الهدي النبوي؟

قال تعالى: ﴿خُذِ الْعَفْوَ وَأْمُرْ بِالْعُرْفِ وَأَعْرِضْ عَنِ الْجَاهِلِينَ ﴿١٩٩﴾﴾ سورة الأعراف، الآية 199

قال تعالى: ﴿قَالُوا يَا أَبَانَا اسْتَغْفِرْ لَنَا ذُنُوبَنَا إِنَّا كُنَّا خَاطِئِينَ ﴿٩٧﴾ قَالَ سَوْفَ أَسْتَغْفِرُ لَكُمْ رَبِّي إِنَّهُ هُوَ الْغَفُورُ الرَّحِيمُ ﴿٩٨﴾﴾ سورة يوسف، الآيات 97 و98

أستنبط من الآية الكريمة تكامل منهج العفو ...

أناقش فضل العفو والتسامح على المسيء.

Islamic Education (Rehab), Baccalaureate Year I, 2020, p. 62.

*Courts have been seeing an alarming rise in lawsuits over violence, due to many people hurrying to violence and counter violence, due to the absence of forgiveness from social relations, and due to oppressed people resorting to oppressing those who are weaker than them, even spreading controversy and debauchery in discord, in families, and between spouses, brothers, and relatives. People's life has turned to an unbearable hell; forgiveness, to some, has turned to a weakness; tolerance has turned to foolishness and negligence. So, what is forgiveness and what is its impact on making amends between people in dispute? What is the meaning of tolerance and how is it manifested in terms of behavior? What is the way to adopt this value, according to the Prophetic guidance? The Almighty said: "Be gracious, enjoin what is right, and turn away from those who act ignorantly." (7:199) * I shall draw conclusions from the verse regarding the complete approach to forgiveness. The Almighty said: "They begged, 'O our father! Pray for the forgiveness of our sins. We have certainly been sinful.' He said, 'I will pray to my Lord for your forgiveness. He is indeed the All-Forgiving, Most Merciful." (12:97-98) * I shall discuss the virtue of forgiveness and tolerance to the offender.*

The textbook mentioned above also employs Islamic sources to teach practical conflict resolution. Rather than merely advocating for peace as a vague concept, the example of the Prophet Muhammad teaches students how conflicts can be resolved through forgiveness, dialogue, and compromise.

This textbook teaches about the Treaty of Hudaybiyyah, a truce signed in 628 AD between Muhammad and the pagans of Mecca. Instead of focusing on how the treaty served the Muslims' strategic interests and was later violated, the textbook frames this treaty as an example of peaceful conflict resolution, showing that the Prophet viewed this course of action as favorable. Doing so encourages present-day Muslim students to pursue peaceful conflict resolution as a way of emulating the Prophet's example.


أتأمل
الوضعية
وأتساءل

بعدما ذاق المسلمون الأوّلونَ والمُهاجِرون أصنافا من البأساء والضراء، وألوانا من الإيذاء والحرب من كفار قريش، وبعد غزوة بدر الكبرى وانتصارها المعجز، وبعد غزوة أحد ونصرها المؤلم، وغيرها من أحداث صعبة، جاءت رؤيا رسول الله ﷺ بدخول البيت الحرام بردا وسلاما على نفوس الصحابة ﷺ، بشارة للمسلمين بقرب الفرج وإيذانا بفتح مكة. فما الدروس الإيمانية والعبر التربوية المستخلصة من صلح الحديبية؟

قال تعالى: ﴿قَالَ لَا تَثْرِيبَ عَلَيْكُمُ الْيَوْمَ يَغْفِرُ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ وَهُوَ أَرْحَمُ الرَّاحِمِينَ ﴿92﴾﴾

سورة يوسف، الآية 92

أبين أثر العفو في تحقيق الصلح بين المتخاصمين.

مهمة الدرس

أناقش في مقالة قيمة الصلح في فض النزاعات، ودرء الخصومات، وتجنب العداوات. وأضم المقالة إلى مجموع أعمال فريقي في القسم لإعداد المجلة المدرسية.

Islamic Education (Rehab), Baccalaureate Year I, 2020, p. 22.

I shall reflect and contemplate:
After the first Muslims and Migrants from Mecca experienced forms of conflict and distress, and all kinds of harm and war from the Infidels of the Quraysh tribe; after the great Battle of Badr and its miraculous victory; and after the Battle of Uhud and its painful victory, as well as other difficult events – the Messenger of Allah's vision that they would enter the Kaaba came to soothe the Companions of the Prophet and bring them peace of mind, it informed the Muslims that joy that was drawing near, and foretold the conquest of Mecca. What are the religious and educational lessons that are derived from the Treaty of Hudaybiyyah?
The Almighty said: "Joseph said, 'There is no blame on you today. May Allah forgive you!
He is the Most Merciful of the merciful!" (12:92)
** I shall clarify the impact of forgiveness on reconciling people in dispute.*
The Lesson's Assignment:
In an article, I shall discuss the value of reconciliation in resolving conflicts, in fending off disputes, and in avoiding hostilities. I will add this article to a collection of my group's works in the department, in preparation for the school magazine.

Having been taught the importance of peace as a value and how it is achieved, students learn how to apply it on the international stage. While several Arabic Language texts speak of the woes of war or advocate against it,[36] some textbooks explore the notion of peace as a principle of international relations.

In a ninth-grade Social Studies text, peace between nations is defined as one of the key goals of Morocco's foreign policy. The textbook bases this notion on a 1967 royal speech, which commends the UN for its work to guarantee peace and declares that Morocco shall henceforth refrain from interfering in other sovereign states' affairs. Note that the quoted text does not allude to practical conflict resolution.


المقطع التعلمي الأول : أستجلي مكانة السلم في سياسة المغرب الخارجية وفي استكمال وحدته الترابية.

النشاط الأول : أستخلص موقع السلم في المبادئ الأساسية لسياسة بلادي الخارجية

«... لَقَدْ بَرْهَنَ الْمَغْرِبُ، قَوْلاً وَفِعْلاً، عَلَى أَنَّ إِيمَانَهُ بِالْعَمَلِ الدَّوْلِيِّ الْمُشْتَرَكِ فِي إِطَارِ الأُمَمِ الْمُتَّحِدَةِ إِيمَانٌ لاَ تُزَعْزِعُهُ الأَيَّامُ إِلاَّ رُسُوخاً، ذَلِكَ بِأَنَّهُ يَرَى فِي هَذَا الْعَمَلِ الدَّوْلِيِّ الْمُتَآلِفِ، إِنْقَاذاً لِلْحَضَارَةِ مِنَ الدَّمَارِ، وَإِنْصَافاً لِلشُّعُوبِ الْمُسْتَضْعَفَةِ مِمَّا تُعَانِيهِ مِنْ تَخَلُّفٍ اقْتِصَادِيٍّ وَاجْتِمَاعِيٍّ، وَتَرْسِيخاً لِعَقِيدَةِ السَّلاَمِ وَالأَمْنِ وَالطُّمَأْنِينَةِ، وَضَمَاناً لِلتَّعَايُشِ السِّلْمِيِّ بَيْنَ الدُّوَلِ وَالشُّعُوبِ عَلَى اخْتِلاَفِ مَشَارِبِهَا وَمَذَاهِبِهَا. وَانْطِلاَقاً مِنْ هَذَا الْمَبْدَإِ السَّامِي الَّذِي آمَنَّا بِهِ، ظَلَّ شُعُوبُنَا فِي مِهَادِ السِّيَاسَةِ الْخَارِجِيَّةِ يَنْبُذُ بِعَدَمِ التَّدَخُّلِ فِي الشُّؤُونِ الدَّاخِلِيَّةِ لِلدُّوَلِ الأُخْرَى، مَعَ احْتِرَامِ سِيَادَتِهَا وَاخْتِيَارَاتِهَا، وَالتَّعَامُلِ مَعَهَا عَلَى مُقْتَضَى قَوَاعِدِ التَّعَاوُنِ الدَّوْلِيِّ...».

من خطاب العرش، 3 مارس 1967، خطب وندوات، ع 3، ص. 143 نشر وزارة الإعلام

اقرأ النص واقترح مصطلحات ومفاهيم، ثم:

- أبين موقف المغرب من العمل الدولي المشترك، وأبرره.
- أستخرج المبادئ التي تكون توجهات سياسة المغرب الخارجية وأشرحها.
- أستخلص مكانة السلم في المبادئ التي يعتمدها المغرب في سياسته الخارجية.

المصطلحات والمفاهيم: تعايش سلمي: سياسة تقوم على التشبث بالحلول السلمية في حل النزاعات والمشاكل الدولية، وتفادي الحروب وبذ استعمال العنف.

Social Studies (Manar), **Grade 9, 2021, p. 202.**

The First Learning Piece: Explore the status of peace in Morocco's foreign policy and in perfecting its territorial unity.
The First Activity: I shall summarize the status of peace in the basic principles of my country's foreign policy:

"Morocco has demonstrated - in words and actions - its enduring faith in the joint international activity within the UN, because it views this harmonious international activity as saving civilization from destruction; as rescuing vulnerable populations from suffering from economic and social stagnation; as strengthening the principle of peace, security, and tranquility; and as guaranteeing a peaceful coexistence between countries and peoples, with all their different tendencies and doctrines. Based on this sublime principle in which we believe, our behavior in the field of foreign policy continues to be characterized by non-interference in other countries' interior matters, while respecting their sovereignty and choices, and dealing with them according to the requirements of the rules of international cooperation."

I shall read the text and the paragraph on terms and definitions, and then:
- I shall clarify and emphasize Morocco's attitude towards joint international activity.
- I shall extract and explain the principles that form the basics of Morocco's foreign policy.
- I shall summarize the status of peace in the principles that Morocco relies on in its foreign policy.

Terms and Definitions: Peaceful coexistence: A policy that is based on adhering to peaceful solutions that solve international conflicts and problems, that fend off wars, and that avoid using violence.

Tolerance and respect:

Tolerance is one of the defining themes of the Moroccan curriculum. The term appears frequently throughout grades and subjects and is embedded in diverse themes, or taught as a standalone lesson. In either case, tolerance is often presented as an inseparable part of any civilized human society, particularly in Morocco. One textbook defines "tolerance" as "accepting the diversity and difference of cultures, respecting them, and recognizing basic rights such as the right to life, property, freedom, dignity, and security,"[37] connecting this amorphous term with the

[36] For example: *Arabic Language (Moufid),* Grade 7, 2021, pp. 74-75.
Arabic Language (Mourchidi), Grade 9, 2021, pp. 63-65.
Arabic Language (Manar), Baccalaureate Year I, 2021, p. 154.

[37] *Arabic Language (Manar),* Grade 6, 2021, p. 86.

well-established idea of universal human rights.

Another textbook uses a more visual approach, showing students a drawing by a girl named Lilia which contains various expressions of tolerance: gender, opinion, skin color, geographical origin, and physical appearance; a drawing of human faces of various complexions; an illustration of a person in a wheelchair, representing disabilities; and symbols of major Abrahamic faiths – crescent moon for Islam, the cross for Christianity and the Star of David for Judaism – symbolizing religious tolerance.



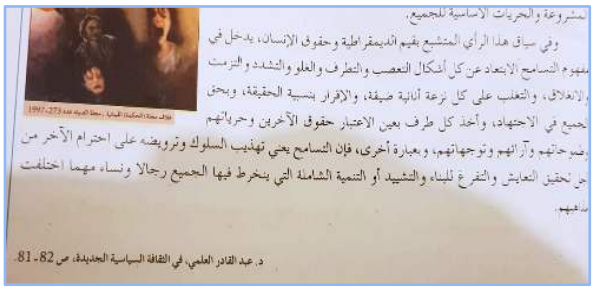
Social Studies (Jadid), **Grade 5, 2021, p. 154.**

[Center:] Tolerance
[Top, right to left:] women-men; color [of skin]; dress
[Bottom, right to left:] thoughts; accepting and respecting the Other as they are! diversity and equality; desert-city
I will extract from Lilia's drawing the situations which express tolerance

The message of tolerance develops as students mature. Arabic Language textbooks for high school expand on the idea of tolerance by way of reading texts which mention forms of tolerance and legitimize it as an ideal with various arguments. Some of these references to tolerance appear to invoke religion, implicitly or explicitly advocating for a tolerant and moderate, rather than violent and extremist, form of Islam.

An interesting example of this may be found in a textbook for the second year of high school, which contains an excerpt from a book by Moroccan writer Abdelkader El-Alami. The text asserts that tolerance means "distancing oneself from all forms of zealotry, extremism, fanaticism, radicalism, bigotry, and close-mindedness" – all potential descriptions of religious belief – as well as "recognizing the relativity of truth" and "the right of all to conscientiousness*" (ijtihād).* This possibly references the homonymous Islamic principle of using individual reasoning to innovate jurisprudence.[38] While the text does not openly mention religion as a source of intolerance, nor does it preclude other interpretations (e.g. political ideologies), the fact remains that this text, like others, associates the idea of tolerance with moderation and open-mindedness, and regards it as an antidote to extremism.

[38] For further reading see: Joseph Schacht and Duncan B. MacDonald, "Iǧtihād," in *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition,* retrieved 19 December 2022. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/15733912_islam_COM_0351.



د. عبد القادر العلمي، في الثقافة السياسية الجديدة، ص 82-81.

Arabic Language (Raïd), **Baccalaureate Year I, 2020, p. 137.**

In the context of this loaded view regarding the values of democracy and human rights, the concept of tolerance includes distancing oneself from all forms of zealotry, extremism, fanaticism, radicalism, bigotry, and close-mindedness; overcoming any selfish narrow tendency; recognizing the relativity of the truth and the right of all to conscientiousness; and everyone taking into consideration others' rights, freedoms, aspirations, views, and approaches. In other words, tolerance means improving one's behavior and coaching it to respect the Other, in order to achieve coexistence and dedication to a comprehensive building, construction, or development, in which everyone – man and woman – regardless of their beliefs – is involved.

Racial tolerance is one of the most common forms of tolerance that can be identified in Moroccan textbooks. Students learn that despite human beings having different appearances, they must be respected equally. This principle is embedded in multiple subjects through multiple contexts.

A fifth-grade Social Studies textbook does so by employing both visual and textual methods. In a chapter titled "Knowing the Other," students are shown photos of boys and girls of various ethnic groups from around the world, with the heading reading, "we are all from the same human race." A page later, students read a dialogue between two children, one of whom scolds the other for mistreating an immigrant from sub-Saharan Africa, reminding him that she had fled her country involuntarily and that in spite of her external appearance, which is different to that of native Moroccans, she is still a human being.



We are from the same human race: Rakiatou, François, Shakila, Carmen, Zhao, Ghitha.



A conversation between students, the girl Amal and the boy Sa'ad, about how he behaved toward an immigrant from Sub-Saharan Africa:
Amal: My friend Sa'ad, I want to talk to you about how you behaved yesterday on the way home from school, if that's okay.
Sa'ad: Yes, sure, Amal. What is it?
Amal: Okay, thanks. I wanted to discuss your behavior. Sa'ad: Please, explain what you mean? Amal: I mean how you reacted yesterday toward an immigrant from Sub-Saharan Africa who was with her baby. Sa'ad: Did you see how aggravated she was? She kept insisting on her request, which made me very worried. Amal: The way you behaved might have been insulting, and your movements indicated you were tense. Sa'ad: Yes, that is true, but I see those people as a burden on us. Why don't they return to their countries? Amal: My friend, you must consider their misery, for they did not choose this situation. Sa'ad: I have nothing to do with that.

Amal: They are people just like us, so you and I and others must accept them despite our differences in color, roots, and origins. Sa'ad: Yes, yes. Amal: We must abandon grudges and hatred, for tolerance is the path to living together.

Religious tolerance is another prominently featured theme. Content teaching respect toward religions other than Islam appears across all grades and in various subjects. This is particularly common in Islamic Education textbooks, which typically teach that tolerance toward other religions is a core feature of Islam, thus simultaneously educating Muslim students to respect non-Muslims, and elevating the status of Islam itself as a progressive faith. Some textbooks invoke the example of the Prophet Muhammad[39] or one of his companions.[40]

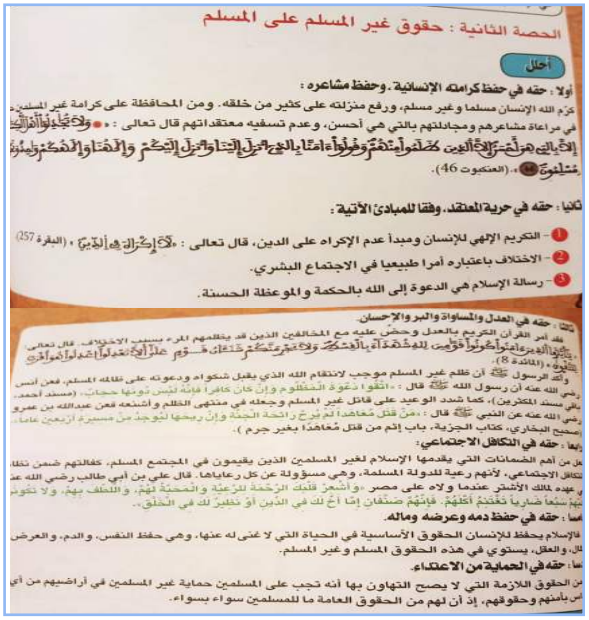
An eighth-grade textbook conveys this message unambiguously, devoting a chapter to "the Brotherhood of Man," and asserting that respecting non-Muslims is "one of the most important intentions of the Message of Islam." The textbook then lists the rights that Islam guarantees non-Muslims, including the right to life, property, dignity, freedom, and even solidarity with non-Muslim compatriots. It is noteworthy that the textbook does not attempt to limit these rights to recognized monotheistic faiths, i.e., Christianity and Judaism, but implies that they apply to all non-Muslims.


الدرس التاسع عشر:
الأخوة الإنسانية: حق غير المسلم على المسلم
إن تحقيق الأخوة الإنسانية من بين أهم مقاصد رسالة الإسلام، ومن صميم دعوة رسول الله ﷺ الذي
جاء رحمة للعالمين، وذلك من خلال ترسيخ مبدأ التعارف والتعايش والتسامح بين الأمم والشعوب دون اعتبار
أو لغة أو جنس.
إن هذه الأسس التي تقوم عليها الأخوة الإنسانية في الإسلام يجب أن تكون هي
معيار التعايش والتسامح والتعارف والاحترام والتعاون وتبادل المنافع والعمل
مع غير المسلمين.
ولا يجوز أن يكون اختلاف الدين واللغة والجنس واللون سببا في التنافر والتناز
وانتهاك الحقوق والحريات، وليس لأحد عند الله فضل إلا بالتقوى والعمل الصالح
قال رسول الله ﷺ في خطبة حجة الوداع: «ألا لا فضل لعربي على عجمي ولا لعجمي
على عربي، ولا لأحمر على أسود، ولا لأسود على أحمر إلا بالتقوى».
(مسند أحمد، باقي مسند الأنصار)
مقتضيات أسس الأخوة الإنسانية في الإسلام

Nineteenth Lesson: Human Brotherhood: The Non-Muslim's Right Over the Muslim.
Ensuring human brotherhood is one of the most important objectives of the message of Islam and is at the core of the calling of the Messenger of Allah, who sent mercy to mankind by firmly establishing the principle of making acquaintance, coexistence, and tolerance between nations and peoples, regardless of religion, language, or race.
The Requirements of the Foundations of Human Brotherhood in Islam:
These foundations of human brotherhood in Islam must be the criterions of coexistence, tolerance, making acquaintance, respect, cooperation, and exchange of benefits and interests with non-Muslims.
Difference in religion, language, race, and color cannot be a reason for disharmony, antipathy, or violation of rights and freedoms, as Allah holds credit only for those who are pious and do good deeds. In his Farewell Pilgrimage speech, the Messenger of Allah said: "An Arab has no advantage over a non-Arab, nor does a non-Arab over an Arab, nor does a red [person] over a black [person], nor does a black [person] over a red [person], besides when it comes to piety."

[39] For example: *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Grade 9, 2021, p. 89.

[40] For example, Muhammad's successor 'Umar ibn al-Khattab: *Islamic Education (Rehab*), Common Core, 2021, p. 117.



الحصة الثانية : حقوق غير المسلم على المسلم

أحلل

أولا : حقه في حفظ كرامته الإنسانية. وحفظ مشاعره :

كرّم الله الإنسان مسلما وغير مسلم، ورفع منزلته على كثير من خلقه. ومن المحافظة على كرامة غير المسلم، في مراعاة مشاعرهم ومجادلتهم بالتي هي أحسن، وعدم تسفيه معتقداتهم قال تعالى : ﴿ وَلَا تُجَٰدِلُوٓاْ أَهۡلَ ٱلۡكِتَٰبِ إِلَّا بِٱلَّتِي هِيَ أَحۡسَنُ إِلَّا ٱلَّذِينَ ظَلَمُواْ مِنۡهُمۡۖ وَقُولُوٓاْ ءَامَنَّا بِٱلَّذِيٓ أُنزِلَ إِلَيۡنَا وَأُنزِلَ إِلَيۡكُمۡ وَإِلَٰهُنَا وَإِلَٰهُكُمۡ وَٰحِدٞ وَنَحۡنُ لَهُۥ مُسۡلِمُونَ ﴾ (العنكبوت 46).

ثانيا : حقه في حرية المعتقد. وفقا للمبادئ الآتية :

1 – التكريم الإلهي للإنسان ومبدأ عدم الإكراه على الدين، قال تعالى : ﴿ لَآ إِكۡرَاهَ فِي ٱلدِّينِۖ ﴾ (البقرة 257).

2 – الاختلاف باعتباره أمرا طبيعيا في الاجتماع البشري.

3 – رسالة الإسلام هي الدعوة إلى الله بالحكمة والموعظة الحسنة.

ثالثا : حقه في العدل والمساواة والبر والإحسان.

وقد أمر القرآن الكريم بالعدل وحض عليه مع المخالفين الذين قد يظلمهم المرء بسبب الاختلاف. قال تعالى: ﴿ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُواْ كُونُواْ قَوَّٰمِينَ لِلَّهِ شُهَدَآءَ بِٱلۡقِسۡطِۖ وَلَا يَجۡرِمَنَّكُمۡ شَنَـَٔانُ قَوۡمٍ عَلَىٰٓ أَلَّا تَعۡدِلُواْۚ ٱعۡدِلُواْ هُوَ أَقۡرَبُ لِلتَّقۡوَىٰۖ ﴾ (المائدة 8).

وأكد الرسول ﷺ أن ظلم غير المسلم موجب لانتقام الله الذي يقبل شكواه ودعوته على ظالمه المسلم، فعن أنس رضي الله عنه أن رسول الله ﷺ قال : «اتقوا دعوة المظلوم وإن كان كافرا فإنه ليس دونها حجاب». (مسند أحمد، باقي مسند المكثرين)، كما شدد الوعيد على قاتل غير المسلم وجعله في منتهى الظلم وأشنعه فعن عبدالله بن عمرو رضي الله عنه عن النبي ﷺ قال : «من قتل معاهدا لم يرح رائحة الجنة وإن ريحها توجد من مسيرة أربعين عاما». (صحيح البخاري، كتاب الجزية، باب إثم من قتل معاهدا بغير جرم).

رابعا : حقه في التكافل الاجتماعي:

من أهم الضمانات التي يقدمها الإسلام لغير المسلمين الذين يقيمون في المجتمع المسلم، كفالتهم ضمن نظام التكافل الاجتماعي، لأنهم رعية للدولة المسلمة، وهي مسؤولة عن كل رعاياها. قال علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه في عهده لمالك الأشتر عندما ولاه على مصر «وأشعر قلبك الرحمة للرعية والمحبة لهم، واللطف بهم، ولا تكونن عليهم سبعا ضاريا تغتنم أكلهم، فإنهم صنفان إما أخ لك في الدين أو نظير لك في الخلق..

خامسا : حقه في حفظ دمه وعرضه وماله.

فالإسلام يحفظ للإنسان الحقوق الأساسية في الحياة التي لا غنى له عنها، وهي حفظ النفس، والدم، والعرض، والمال، والعقل، يستوي في هذه الحقوق المسلم وغير المسلم.

سادسا : حقه في الحماية من الاعتداء.

من الحقوق اللازمة التي لا يصح التهاون بها أنه تجب على المسلمين حماية غير المسلمين في أراضيهم من أي اعتداء على أبدانهم وحقوقهم، إذ أن لهم من الحقوق العامة ما للمسلمين سواء بسواء.

Islamic Education (Mounir), Grade 8, 2021, pp. 91-93.

The Second Part: The Non-Muslim's Rights Over the Muslim
I will analyze:
First: His right to protect his human dignity and feelings:
Allah has honored Muslims and non-Muslims and elevated their status over much of His creation. As part of protecting the dignity of non-Muslims, it is in their right that their feelings and arguments are taken into consideration in a graceful manner, while their beliefs are not being deprecated. The Almighty said: "Do not argue with the People of the Book unless gracefully, except with those of them who act wrongfully. And say, 'We believe in what has been revealed to us and what was revealed to you. Our God and your God is One. And to Him we submit." (29:46)
Second: His right to freedom of religion, according to the following principles:
[...]
Third: His right to justice, equality, honesty, and kindness:
[...]
Fourth: His right to social solidarity:
[...]
Fifth: His right to protect himself, his good name, and his property:
[...]
Sixth: His right to protection from aggression:
[...]

Religious tolerance is likewise treated as an attribute of Moroccan identity itself. Students are often reminded of the coexistence between religious communities in Morocco across the ages. This has the benefit of legitimizing and entrenching religious tolerance, while also providing a reason to take pride in Morocco, its diversity, and the good virtues of its society.

Thus, a sixth-grade lesson about the history of Morocco under the Alaouite Dynasty chooses to place significant focus on the port city of Essaouira founded by the dynasty, "the capital of open Morocco" and "the city of coexistence," which is described as a place where Christians and Jews prospered alongside Muslims for centuries.[41] Contemporary Morocco is likewise praised as a place for religious coexistence, with one ninth grade Social Studies textbook, seen below, describing the country's enthusiastic support for interfaith dialogue, complete with a photo of former King Hassan II meeting with Pope John Paul II and pictures of a church, a synagogue and a mosque in Morocco.



10 المغرب وحوار الأديان

أهداف تعلماتي

- ترسيخ مفهوم حوار الأديان، واستجلاء أساليبه.
- تبين موقف المغرب من حوار الأديان، وإبراز مشاركته فيه.
- تنمية الاشتغال المنهجي على خطاطات ونصوص.

أمهد لتعلماتي وأتساءل.

يقول الله عز وجل: ﴿ قُلۡ يَٰٓأَهۡلَ ٱلۡكِتَٰبِ تَعَالَوۡاْ إِلَىٰ كَلِمَةٖ سَوَآءِۭ بَيۡنَنَا وَبَيۡنَكُمۡ أَلَّا نَعۡبُدَ إِلَّا ٱللَّهَ وَلَا نُشۡرِكَ بِهِۦ شَيۡـٔٗا وَلَا يَتَّخِذَ بَعۡضُنَا بَعۡضًا أَرۡبَابٗا مِّن دُونِ ٱللَّهِۚ فَإِن تَوَلَّوۡاْ فَقُولُواْ ٱشۡهَدُواْ بِأَنَّا مُسۡلِمُونَ ﴾

المقطع التعليمي الأول : أرسخ معرفتي بمفهوم حوار الأديان، وأستجلي بعض أساليبه.

النشاط الأول : أرسخ معرفتي بمفهوم حوار الأديان بواسطة نص وخطاطة

1 نص: معنى حوار الأديان

اقرأ النص، ثم :

- أعرف معنى حوار الأديان.
- أحدد هدف حوار الأديان.
- أستنتج أهمية حوار الأديان.

[41] *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 6, 2021, pp. 42-43.

Morocco and Interreligious Dialogue:
[Caption above picture:] His Highness the late King Hassan II with His Holiness the Pope.
[...]
The First Activity: I will firmly establish what I know about the dialogue between religions, with a text and a diagram.
1. Text: The Meaning of Dialogue Between Religions:
Hatred threatens opportunities of coexistence and peace in multireligious, multi-sectarian and multiethnic societies, through sectarian and religious means. The spread of interreligious dialogue can lower the intensity of this hatred. It does not mean giving up principles, faith, or a belief, rather it is recognizing the right of all parties to have equal opportunities to live with security, freedom, and peace, held by their right to maintain their beliefs and protect their followers, as dialogue does not occur without letting go of former convictions and inflexible views.
I will read the text, and then:
- *I will define the meaning of dialogue between religions.*
- *I will explain the upholding of the dialogue between religions.*
- *I will draw conclusions as to the importance of the dialogue between religions.*

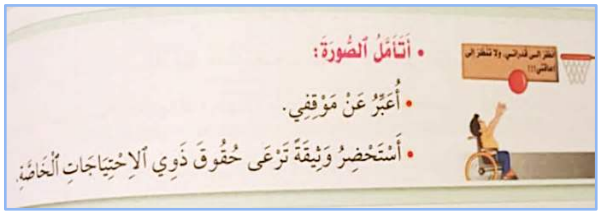


Social Studies (Manar), **Grade 9, 2021, pp. 198, 200.**

First Activity: I will clarify Morocco's position towards the dialogue between religions.
6. Text and pictures: Article 3 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Morocco: "Islam is the religion of the State, which guarantees to all the free exercise of beliefs."
[Captions of pictures, right-to-left:] A synagogue in Casablanca; A church in Rabat; A mosque in Casablanca.
I will read Article 3 of the Constitution, look at the pictures, and then:
- *I will name the freedom that is mentioned in Article 3 of the Constitution.*
- *I will define a topic to each picture individually, naming the religion it represents.*
- *I will extract the significance of having multiple places of worship in my country.*

Lastly, the Moroccan curriculum also advocates tolerance and respect toward people with disabilities. While not quite as ubiquitous or explored as in-depth as the other themes of tolerance mentioned above - and typically paired with other issues, such as racism - it is clear that textbooks attempt to draw attention to this topic in particular.

For instance, a sixth-grade Islamic Education textbook briefly shows a cartoon of a boy in a wheelchair playing basketball, as part of a lesson on optimism and satisfaction in Islam, with the caption, "look at my abilities, not at my disabilities!" On this occasion, students are asked to research treaties that guarantee the rights of people with special needs.



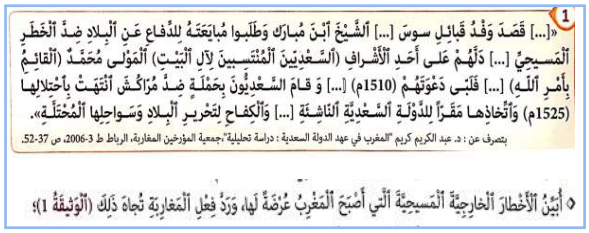
Islamic Education (Rehab), **Grade 6, 2021, p. 22.**

[Cartoon title, right:] Look at my abilities, not at my disabilities!
[Left:] I shall consider the picture:
- *I will express my opinion.*
- *I will cite a treaty that protects the rights of people with special needs.*

Alongside established themes of tolerance and peacemaking, the Moroccan curriculum contains some material that may undermine these themes —teaching about the "Other" negatively, whether as worthy of harm or simply contempt, contributes to feelings of antipathy and hostility. In some cases, the "Other" is an

external, alien party, such as European nations. Textbooks generally describing their history of warfare and colonialism with Morocco through the lens of victimhood (see chapter on foreign relations). Moreover, some Social Studies textbooks quote external, historical texts describing hostile European powers as "the Christians" or even "the Infidels,"[42] essentializing these parties as enemies of the Islamic faith while implying their hostility is timeless and religiously driven. Usually, the texts in question are not composed by the textbooks' authors, and appear to be authentic historical documents. Nevertheless, citing them without contextualizing their use of the word "Christian" may leave room to develop resentment.

An interesting exception to this rule is a fifth grade Social Studies text which refers to 16th-century Portuguese incursions into Morocco as "the Christian danger" (*al-xaṭar al-masīḥī*). The text in question is entirely modern, written by a Moroccan historian in 2006, and its wording is reiterated in the textbook's own words as "the Christian external threats" (*al-'axṭār al-xārijiyyah al-masīḥiyyah*).


«[...] قَصَدَ وَفْدٌ قَبائِلِ سوسَ [...] ٱلشَّيْخَ ٱبْنَ مُبارَك وَطَلَبوا مُبايَعَتَهُ لِلدِّفاعِ عَنِ ٱلبِلادِ ضِدَّ ٱلْخَطَرِ ٱلْمَسيحِيِّ [...] دَلَّهُمْ عَلى أَحَدِ ٱلْأَشْرافِ (ٱلسَّعْدِيِّينَ ٱلْمُنْتَسِبينَ لِآلِ ٱلْبَيْتِ) ٱلْمَوْلى مُحَمَّدٌ (ٱلْقائِمُ بِأَمْرِ ٱللّٰهِ) [...] فَلَبّى دَعْوَتَهُمْ (1510م) [...] وَ قامَ السَّعْدِيُّونَ بِحَمْلَةٍ ضِدَّ مُرّاكُشَ ٱنْتَهَتْ بِٱحْتِلالِها (1525م) وَٱتِّخاذِها مَقَرّاً لِلدَّوْلَةِ السَّعْدِيَّةِ ٱلنّاشِئَةِ [...] وَٱلْكِفاحِ لِتَحْريرِ ٱلْبِلادِ وَسَواحِلِها ٱلْمُحْتَلَّةِ».
يتصرف عن : د. عبد الكريم كريم "المغرب في عهد الدولة السعدية : دراسة تحليلية"،جمعية المؤرخين المغاربة، الرباط ط 3-2006، ص 37-52.
1
◊ أَبَيِّنُ ٱلْأَخْطارَ ٱلْخارِجِيَّةَ ٱلْمَسيحِيَّةَ ٱلَّتي أَصْبَحَ ٱلْمَغْرِبُ عُرْضَةً لَها، وَرَدُّ فِعْلِ ٱلْمَغارِبَةِ تُجاهَ ذٰلِكَ (ٱلْوَثيقَةُ 1)؛

Social Studies (Moufid), **Grade 5, 2021, p. 46.**

[Document] 1: "A delegation from the tribes of the Souss region… approached Sheikh ibn Mubarak and asked to swear allegiance to him, to defend the country from the Christian danger […]"
- With permission from: Dr. Abdelkarim Karim, "Morocco in the Saadi Period: An Analytical Study", Association of Moroccan Historians, Rabat T., March 2006, pp. 37-52
[…]
- I shall explain about the Christian external threats Morocco became exposed to, and how Moroccans responded to them (Doc. 1).

In other cases, the target of intolerance may be non-Muslims in general. Despite the vast quantity of teaching materials which entrench the idea of religious tolerance, as explored above, some isolated elements of the Moroccan curriculum express the opposite idea. One expression of this is content in Islamic Education textbooks which encourages students to persuade non-Muslims to join the Islamic faith.[43] While not violent in nature, the choice to include proselytism in school textbooks may lead students to the assumption that there is something fundamentally flawed in holding non-Islamic beliefs. Furthermore, one textbook, though not through the authors' own words or interpretation, cites the Qur'an to call polytheistic beliefs "foolishness"

[42] For example, 19th century France is referred to as "the Infidel Enemy" (*al-'adūw al-kāfir*) in: *History and Geography (Maourid),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2021, p. 50.

[43] *Islamic Education (Fadaa),* Grade 7, 2021, p. 95.

(*suxf*),[44] while another in the same way cites a hadith which may be interpreted as arguing that Islam is the faith of human nature (*fiṭrah*), in contrast to religions like Christianity and Judaism, which are instilled through education.[45]

These isolated examples aside, a regular theme of the Moroccan curriculum appears to be the idea that non-Muslims are destined to burn in Hell. Most often, the textbooks do not profess this notion in their own words, but merely quote Islamic scriptures which support it; but they do so with noticeable consistency. Students encounter the idea that some or all non-Muslims will suffer in Hell, or be otherwise punished by God for their disbelief. This is especially prevalent in Islamic Education textbooks from the fourth grade onward, and is found in 19[46] out of the 22 examined textbooks for these grades. 36 instances of such messaging have been found in the Moroccan curriculum, 28 of which mention Hell *(an-nār or jahannam*) explicitly; verses from no fewer than 21 distinct surahs from the Qur'an are cited to this end,[47] as well as two hadiths. Most often, the group of people threatened with divine punishment are "infidels" *(kuffār* or *kāfirūn*), or "those who accuse [the prophet(s)] of lying" (*mukaððibūn*), i.e., reject the message of Islam; in 6 cases it is "idolators" (*mušrikūn*). In three instances, "the People of the Book" (*ahl al-kitāb*), i.e., Jews and Christians, are condemned to Hell, based on a quote from Surat al-Bayyinah.

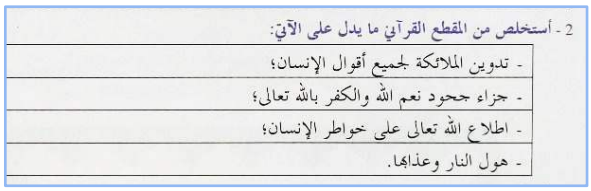
In all cases, the collective in question are understood to be non-Muslims or people who deny the Islamic faith, and the cause for their punishment is their act of refuting God or Islamic teaching. While alternative interpretations are possible for some individual verses, the consistency at which content of this nature appears decreases the likelihood that these quotes from scripture were selected randomly. Students could easily conclude that Islam should be followed out of fear, and that

---

[44] *Islamic Education (Manar),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2022, pp. 148-149.
[45] *Islamic Education (Manar*), Baccalaureate Year I, 2021, p. 122.
[46] *Islamic Education (Moumtaz)*, Grade 2, 2017, p. 44.
Islamic Education (Moufid), Grade 4, 2021, pp. 12, 46-47, 54, 74.
Islamic Education (Mounir), Grade 4, 2021, pp. 10, 35, 62.
Islamic Education (Ouaha), Grade 4, 2020, pp. 8, 12-13, 42-43, 67, 70.
Islamic Education (Manar), Grade 5, 2021, pp. 22, 63.
Islamic Education (Rehab), Grade 5, 2022, pp. 26, 52, 61.
Islamic Education (Mounir), Grade 6, 2021, p. 17.
Islamic Education (Rehab), Grade 6, 2021, pp. 44-45.
Islamic Education (Fadaa), Grade 7, 2021, p. 37.
Islamic Education (Ouaha), Grade 7, 2018, p. 40.
Islamic Education (Rehab), Grade 7, 2022, pp. 36, 39, 70.
Islamic Education (Ihya), Grade 8, 2019, pp. 51, 73.
Islamic Education (Mounir), Grade 8, 2021, p. 54.
Islamic Education (Manar), Grade 9, 2019, pp. 7, 37, 94-95.
Islamic Education (Manar), Common Core, 2021, pp. 77, 80.
Islamic Education (Rehab), Common Core, 2021, pp. 110-111, 132.
Islamic Education (Manar), Baccalaureate Year I, 2021, pp. 14-15, 44, 132.
Islamic Education (Manar), Baccalaureate Year II, 2022, pp. 73, 117-118.
Islamic Education (Rehab), Baccalaureate Year II, 2020, pp. 88, 121, 145.
[47] Including: Surat al-Baqarah (2), An-Nisa (4), Yusuf (12), Al-Kahf (18), Luqman (31), Ya-Sin (36), Muhammad (47), Qaf (50), Al-Qamar (54), Al-Hadid (57), Al-Mulk (67), Al-Haqqah (69), Al-Ma'arij (70), Al-Mudaththir (74), Al-Insan (76), Al-Mursalat (77), An-Naba (78), Al-Infitar (82), Al-Mutaffifiin (83), Al-Ghashiyah (88), and Al-Bayyinah (98).

abandoning Islam or merely refusing to accept it is a crime of faith, which carries violent consequences.

The two examples below demonstrate material of this sort: in one, students are asked to read a portion of the Qaf surah, and then tasked with extracting from the text what the textbook considers to be its main messages, including the idea that disbelief leads to infernal punishment; in the second, the textbook states in its own words that "idolatry" or "polytheism" (*širk,* lit. "sharing [the divinity of Allah]") is an unforgivable sin which leads to infernal punishment, and cites quotes from the Qur'an to support this idea.

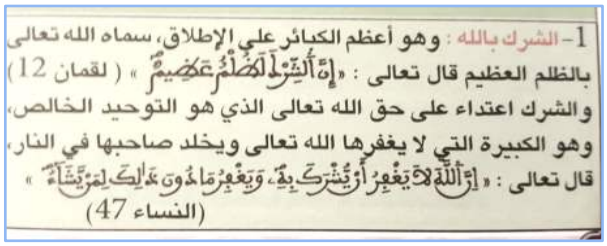

2 - أستخلص من المقطع القرآني ما يدل على الآتي:

- تدوين الملائكة لجميع أقوال الإنسان؛
- جزاء جحود نعم الله والكفر بالله تعالى؛
- اطلاع الله تعالى على خواطر الإنسان؛
- هول النار وعذابها.

Islamic Education (Fadaa), **Grade 7, 2021, p. 37.**

2.I will extract from the Qur'anic excerpt [50:15-30] the following:

- *The angels register every saying of Man;*
- *There is repayment for denial of Allah's blessings, and disbelief in Allah Almighty;*
- *Allah Almighty oversees the thoughts of Man;*
- *The terror of Hellfire and its torment.*


1- الشرك بالله : وهو أعظم الكبائر على الإطلاق، سماه الله تعالى بالظلم العظيم قال تعالى : « إِنَّ ٱلشِّرْكَ لَظُلْمٌ عَظِيمٌ » (لقمان 12) والشرك اعتداء على حق الله تعالى الذي هو التوحيد الخالص، وهو الكبيرة التي لا يغفرها الله تعالى ويخلد صاحبها في النار، قال تعالى : « إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ لَا يَغْفِرُ أَن يُشْرَكَ بِهِۦ وَيَغْفِرُ مَا دُونَ ذَٰلِكَ لِمَن يَشَآءُ » (النساء 47)

Islamic Education (Mounir), **Grade 8, 2021, p. 54.**

Idolatry: is the worst sin in the absolute sense. Allah named it "the Great Wrongdoing": "Indeed, association with Allah is great injustice" (31:13). Idolatry is a transgression on the Truth of Allah Almighty, which is the absolute oneness of God. It is the sin which Allah Almighty does not forgive, and condemns anyone who perpetrates it to an eternity in Hellfire: "Indeed, Allah does not forgive association with Him, but He forgives what is less than that for whom He wills." (4:48)

A deliberate examination of the values of peace and tolerance in Moroccan textbooks reveals that these are crucial curriculum features. Lessons teaching or invoking these values, directly or indirectly, are found in the vast majority of textbooks, regardless of grade or subject. Peace is taught to be a key component of respectful human relations, as well as a core principle of Morocco's national policy. Practical peacemaking is taught on an interpersonal level, based on principles such as mutual respect, compromise, and non-violence. Islamic examples are cited to this end. Tolerance is a recurring theme of the curriculum, and students encounter Interpretations of the concept which tie it to universal human rights, Islamic teaching, and Moroccan identity. Forms of tolerance explored include racial, ideological, and ability-based tolerance, and most prominently, religious tolerance, the last of which is not necessarily limited to other monotheistic religions. However, the curriculum contains certain elements that undermine notions of tolerance, specifically religious tolerance, with the significantly recurring idea that non-Muslims will face divine retribution for their disbelief in Islam.

Foreign Policy

Morocco is proud of its extensive diplomatic activity, and willingness to cultivate relationships with a wide range of foreign countries. This notion is reflected in the examined textbooks, which portray Morocco as striving to project an image of a moderate, pro-Western country, and a dependable ally in an otherwise turbulent region. Social studies textbooks emphasize the importance of peace in Moroccan foreign policy, and the country's support for international conventions, including emerging world causes like environmental protection.[48] This emphasis places Morocco into the realm of cutting-edge international diplomacy, while underscoring its support for peaceful solutions to regional and global conflicts. Although the Kingdom's colonial past is a faded memory to most citizens, Morocco's anti-colonial struggle for independence remains an essential element that informs the principles of its foreign policy. Concurrently, relations with neighboring Europe continue to be a top foreign policy priority. Morocco's former colonizers, France and Spain, are its primary European Union interlocutors.

This duality is evident in textbooks, which criticize European colonialism and the exploitation of native populations in the past while presenting cautious, indirect references to contemporary issues that generate tension in Morocco's relations with Spain and France.



المقطع التعلمي الأول : أستجلي مكانة السلم في سياسة المغرب الخارجية وفي استكمال وحدته الترابية.

النشاط الأول : أستخلص موقع السلم في المبادئ الأساسية لسياسة بلادي الخارجية

1 «... لَقَدْ بَرْهَنَ الْمَغْرِبُ، قَوْلاً وَفِعْلاً، عَلَى أَنَّ إِيمَانَهُ بِالْعَمَلِ الدَّوْلِيِّ الْمُشْتَرَكِ فِي نِطَاقِ الْأُمَمِ الْمُتَّحِدَةِ إِيمَانٌ لاَ تَزِيدُهُ الْأَيَّامُ إِلاَّ رُسُوخاً، ذَلِكَ لِأَنَّهُ يَرَى فِي هَذَا الْعَمَلِ الدَّوْلِيِّ الْمُتَآلِفِ إِنْقَاذاً لِلْحَضَارَةِ مِنَ الدَّمَارِ، وَاتِّبْثَالاً لِلشُّعُوبِ الْمُسْتَضْعَفَةِ مِمَّا تُعَانِيهِ مِنْ تَخَلُّفٍ اقْتِصَادِيٍّ وَاجْتِمَاعِيٍّ، وَتَرْسِيخاً لِعَقِيدَةِ السَّلاَمِ وَالْأَمْنِ وَالطُّمَأْنِينَةِ، وَضَمَاناً لِتَعَايُشٍ سِلْمِيٍّ بَيْنَ الدُّوَلِ وَالشُّعُوبِ عَلَى اخْتِلاَفِ مَشَارِبِهَا وَمَذَاهِبِهَا. وَانْطِلاَقاً مِنْ هَذَا الْمَبْدَإِ السَّامِي الَّذِي آمَنَّا بِهِ، ظَلَّ مُلُوكُنَا فِي مَيْدَانِ السِّيَاسَةِ الْخَارِجِيَّةِ يَتَّسِمُ بِعَدَمِ التَّدَخُّلِ فِي الشُّؤُونِ الدَّاخِلِيَّةِ لِلدُّوَلِ الْأُخْرَى، مَعَ احْتِرَامِ سِيَادَتِهَا وَاخْتِيَارَاتِهَا، وَالتَّعَامُلِ مَعَهَا عَلَى مُقْتَضَى قَوَاعِدِ التَّعَاوُنِ الدَّوْلِيِّ...».

من خطاب العرش (3 مارس 1967) خطب وندوات، م 3، ص: 143 نشر وزارة الاعلام

أقرأ النص وفقرة مصطلحات ومفاهيم، ثم:

- أبين موقف المغرب من العمل الدولي المشترك، وأبرره.
- أستخرج المبادئ التي تكون ثوابت سياسة المغرب الخارجية وأشرحها.
- أستخلص مكانة السلم في المبادئ التي يعتمدها المغرب في سياسته الخارجية.

المصطلحات والمفاهيم

- تعايش سلمي: سياسة تقوم على التشبث بالحلول السلمية في حل الصراعات والمشاكل الدولية ؛ ونقادي الحروب ونبذ استعمال العنف.

Social Studies (Manar), **Grade 9, 2021, pp. 202-203.**

I will find out the importance of peace in Morocco's foreign policy and in completing its territorial unity.
I will infer the importance of peace as a part of the fundamental values of my country's foreign policy.
"Morocco has proved in its words and actions, that its belief in international cooperation in the framework of the United Nations grows strong as time passes. Morocco believes that this cooperation [...] entrenches the faith in peace and security, and ensures peaceful coexistence between countries and peoples despite their different inclinations and ideologies..."
I will read the text and the paragraph explaining the terms, and then:
- I will explain Morocco's position regarding international cooperation, and present it.
- I will deduce the principles which serve as the main principles of Morocco's foreign policy, and explain that.
- I will infer the importance of peace as a part of the principles that Morocco applies in its foreign policy.

[48] *Social Studies (Manar),* Grade 9, 2021, pp. 202-203 ; *Islam (Rehab),* Common Core, 2021, pp. 126-127.

Terms and concepts:

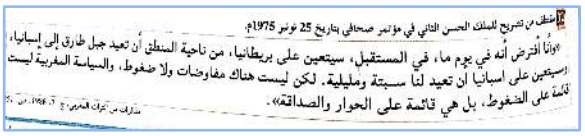
Peaceful coexistence: a policy based on adhering to peaceful solutions to solve international conflicts and problems, avoiding wars, and rejecting the use of violence.

Relations with Europe are referenced in various texts. One text cites Morocco's cooperation with France, or the Kingdom's positive economic ties with the European Union.[49] One point of friction that is dealt with cautiously is the Spanish control of Ceuta and Melilla. Some maps in different textbooks present these cities as Moroccan territories that are "still under Spanish occupation."[50] However, one textbook presents an excerpt from a statement by King Hassan II weeks after the Green March, in which he expresses his hope that one day Spain will return Ceuta and Melilla to Morocco. However, it stresses that Moroccan policy regarding this issue is not predicated on pressures, but on dialogue and friendship.[51] This cautious approach reflects the delicate manner in which Morocco relates to the two enclaves, careful not to irritate Spain while not neglecting to acknowledge the issue.



27. Map: Stages of completion of Morocco's territorial unity.
[Map key:]
Territories recovered in 1956
Territories recovered in 1957
Territories recovered in 1958
Territories recovered in 1959
Territories recovered in 1975
Territories recovered in 1979
Two cities still under Spanish occupation
The capital

History (Rehab), **Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, p. 162.**



«وأنا أفترض أنه في يوم ما، في المستقبل، سيتعين على بريطانيا، من ناحية المنطق أن تعيد جبل طارق إلى إسبانيا، وسيتعين على اسبانيا ان تعيد لنا سبتة ومليلية. لكن ليست هناك مفاوضات ولا ضغوط، والسياسة المغربية ليست قائمة على الضغوط، بل هي قائمة على الحوار والصداقة».

History (Rehab), **Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, p. 163.**

32. Excerpt from King Hassan II's statement in a press conference on 25 November 1975:
"I imagine that someday, in the future, reason would have it that it would be incumbent upon Britain to return Gibraltar to Spain, and it would be incumbent upon Spain to return Ceuta and Melilla to us. Yet there are no negotiations and no pressures, and Moroccan policy is not predicated on pressure, but dialogue and friendship."
- Memoirs from Moroccan Heritage, Vol. 7, 1986, p. 251

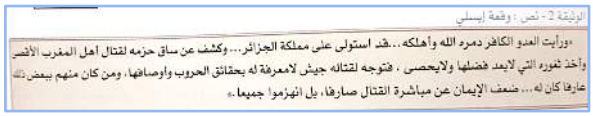
More negative depictions of Europe are evident in references that appear in historical studies. In one instance, countries like Spain and Portugal are referred to as "the Christians," and are accused of exploiting native Americans.

[49] *L'heure de français,* Grade 7, 2021, p. 20 ; *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 8, 2021, p. 65.
[50] *History (Jadid),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2018, p. 179; *History (Rehab*), Baccalaureate Year II, p. 162; *History and Geography (Maourid),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2021, p. 105; *History (Chamel),* Baccalaureate Year II, p. 170.
[51] *History (Rehab),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, p. 163.

There are also general discussions on European settler colonialism, and its "extermination" of indigenous populations.[52] More indirect, subtle criticism of Europe appears in a textbook that discusses the violations of human rights in Europe during the industrial revolution (an era that preceded the stated principles of human rights).[53] Similar negative references appear in discussions of earlier periods, and are presented in a general manner, without specifics.

The emphasis is on Moroccan dynasties that protected the Kingdom from the Christians. The Almohad dynasty is credited in a Grade 5 Social Studies book with confronting the Christians (no specified nationality given), and in preserving the Maghreb's unity (note: Morocco's name in Arabic is al-Maghreb; it is not often clear if the references to the Maghreb reflects Morocco, or the broader North African region). The Saadi Dynasty, in the same text, is described as facing the "Christian threat."[54] Some references use the term *jihad* to describe the war waged against the Iberians in Spain.[55] Students in Grade 8 are informed that *jihad* was revived as a means to confront "Christian expansion" in 13th-century Andalucía.[56] *Jihad* was also waged against the Iberian invasion of Morocco.[57] The concept of *jihad* is not elaborated upon, although in these texts the term can be inferred to as a holy religious-inspired war against Christians, rather than against a specific country.

In a few cases, textbooks quote sources referring to the Spanish, the French, and the Portuguese who fought Morocco in past centuries as "the infidel enemy" (*al-'adūw al-kāfir*), which can also reflect the idea of religious war.[58]


الوثيقة 2 - نص : وقعة إيسلي

«ورأيت العدو الكافر دمره الله وأهلكه...قد استولى على مملكة الجزائر...وكشف عن ساق حزمه لقتال أهل المغرب الأقصى وأخذ ثغوره التي لايعد فضلها ولايحصى ، فتوجه لقتاله جيش لامعرفة له بحقائق الحروب وأوصافها، ومن كان منهم يبعض ذلك عارفا كان له... ضعف الإيمان عن مباشرة القتال صارفا، بل انهزموا جميعا.»

History and Geography (Maourid), **2021, Baccalaureate Year I, p. 50.**

Document 2 – Text: Battle of Isly [a 19th century battle between Morocco and France]
"I saw that the Infidel Enemy, may God destroy him, has taken over the Kingdom of Algiers, and is determined to fight the people of Morocco..."


الوثيقة 2 أسباب تأسيس الدولة السعدية

ولمَّا ضَعُفَتْ دَوْلَةُ بَنِي مَرِين وَتَلاشَتْ أَسْبَابُهُمْ وَفَشِلَتْ رِيَاحُهُمْ، كَلِبَ العَدُوُّ الكَافِرُ عَلَى السَّوَاحِلِ مِن بِلادِ المَغْرِبِ وأَرْبَاضِهَا، وكانَ ذَلِكَ سَبَبَ قِيامِ الدَّوْلَةِ السَّعْدِيَّةِ بأَقْصَى المَغْرِبِ في بِلادِ السُّوسِ.

أبو عبد الله محمد بن أحمد الكنسوسي العياشي الحسني في دولة أولاد مولانا علي الشجلماسي، الجزء الأول، تحقيق أحمد بن يوسف الكنسوسي، المطبعة والوراقة الوطنية، المغرب، ص : 31

1- أبين ما يقصد صاحب النص «بالعدو الكافر» استعانة بمضمون الخريطة (الوثيقة 1).
2- أستخرج من النص سببين أديا إلى قيام الدولة السعدية.

Social Studies (Fadaa), **Grade 8, 2021, pp. 21-22.**

Document 2
The causes for the establishment of the Saadi state
"When the Banu Marin dynasty became weak [...] the Infidel Enemy coveted the coasts and Rif of Morocco. This was the cause for the establishment of the Saadi state in the Souss region of Morocco."
1. I will explain what the writer means by "the Infidel Enemy", using the content of the map (document 1).

[52] *Social Studies (Fadaa),* Grade 8, 2021, p. 53.
[53] *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 8, 2021, p. 56.
[54] *Social Studies (Moufid),* Grade 5, 2020, pp. 39, 46, 47, 90, 96, 98.
[55] *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 8, 2021. p. 18, p. 26, p. 36; *Social Studies (Fadaa),* Grade 8, 2021, p. 19, pp. 21-22.
[56] *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 8, 2021, p. 18.
[57] *Social Studies (Fadaa),* Grade 8, 2021, pp. 19, 21-22.
[58] *History and Geography (Maourid),* 2021, Baccalaureate Year I, p. 50; *Social Studies (Fadaa),* Grade 8, 2021, pp. 21-22.

Criticism of Christians in these texts is, for the most part, moderate. There are no detailed descriptions specifying what constituted the Christian "threat," for example. Previous anti-Christian expressions that underscored saving Islamic territory from Christians have been altered in the 2021 edition of the above-mentioned Social Studies book. In a curious twist at odds with the historical reality of the 16th century, the Moroccan people are described to Grade 8 students as uniting against "Iberian aggression" to protect their independence. This appears to be an effort to consolidate the idea of an independent Moroccan nation, which was a concept unknown at that time, and only later developed in the 20th century.[59]

Some textbooks provide specific examples of Morocco's favorable historic position toward European countries (but not vice versa). The Almoravid Dynasty is noted for saving Muslim lands from the Christians, but is also praised in one textbook for keeping its agreements with Christians.[60] The Moroccan Sultan Mohammed III (ben Abdallah), who reigned in the 18th century, is praised for respecting peace treaties with France, and for assisting a group of French Christians who arrived in Morocco after fleeing their sinking ships. He is also noted for securing a trade treaty with France and pursuing an "open door" policy,[61] which contrasted with the isolationist policies of most Moroccan monarchs until the mid-19th century, in a deliberate effort to avoid contact with foreign powers. These self-imposed isolationist efforts are not mentioned, further promoting the ideal of an open, moderate, and tolerant Kingdom. The 18th-century Moroccan Sultan Mohammed is noted for his religious tolerance, and later for Morocco's demonstration of religious tolerance toward Christian Spaniards.[62]


أُقَوِّمُ تَعَلُّمي

أَقْرَأُ الْفِقْرَةَ الْمُرْفَقَةَ جَيِّداً، ثُمَّ أُعَبِّئُ الْفَراغاتِ بِما يُناسِبُ مِنَ الْعِباراتِ الْآتِيَةِ:

تَنَوُّعٍ وَتَسامُحٍ - الْمُحيطِ الْأَطْلَنْتي - الْأَوْرُبِّيّينَ - الصُّويرَةِ - الْأَمازيغِيَّةِ - الْأَعْشارِ - الْيَهودِيَّةِ - سِياسَةِ الِانْفِتاحِ

قامَ السُّلْطانُ سَيِّدي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ في إطارِ... عَلى أوروبّا بِبِناءِ مَدينَةِ... سَنَةَ 1765م، الْواقِعَةِ عَلى...، وَشَجَّعَ التُّجّارَ الْمَغارِبَةَ وَ... عَلى الْإِقامَةِ وَالتِّجارَةِ فيها بِإِعْفائِهِمْ مِنْ ضَريبَةِ...، فَعَمَرَتْ بِالسُّكّانِ مِنْ مُخْتَلِفِ الْأُصولِ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ وَ... وَالْإِفْريقِيَّةِ وَ... وَالْأوروبِّيَّةِ. وَيَشْهَدُ عَلى ذَلِكَ آثارُ الْمَدينَةِ وَمُتْحَفُ «بَيْتِ الذّاكِرَةِ» الَّذي زارَهُ الْمَلِكُ مُحَمَّدُ السّادِسُ في يَنايِرَ 2020م، مِمّا يَدُلُّ عَلى.... سُكّانِ الْمُجْتَمَعِ الْمَغْرِبِي في الْماضي وَالْحاضِرِ.

I will evaluate what I learned
I will read the following paragraph and then fill in the blanks using the following words:
diversity and tolerance – Atlantic Ocean – European – Essaouira – Imazighen – tithe – Jewish – policy of openness
As a part of [the policy of openness] toward Europe, the Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah built the city of [Essaouira], which is located on the [Atlantic Ocean] in 1765. He encouraged Moroccan and [European] merchants to reside and trade in it, by exempting them from the [tithe] tax. The city became populated by inhabitants of a variety of origins – Arabs, [Imazighen], African, [Jewish], and European. The remnants of the city testify to this past and, as well as the Bayt Dakira Museum which King Mohammed VI visited in January 2020, which shows the [diversity and tolerance] of the inhabitants of Moroccan society in the past and present.

[59] *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 8, 2021, p. 26.
[60] *Social Studies (Jadid),* Grade 6, 2021, p. 25.
[61] *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 6, 2021, pp. 43, 45.
[62] *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 8, 2021, p. 36, pp. 38-41.



الدرس 10 المَغْرِبُ في عَهْدِ العَلَوِيِّينَ : السُّلْطانُ سِيدي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللهِ وَانْفِتاحُ المَغْرِبِ عَلى المُحيطِ وَعَلى التَّعَدُّدِ

... وَفي سَبيلِ تَقْوِيَةِ الواجِهَةِ الأَطْلَنْتِيَّةِ لِلْمَغْرِبِ، شَيَّدَ السُّلْطانُ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللهِ [سَنَةَ 1765م] ميناءً جَديداً صارَ رَمْزاً لِسِياسَتِهِ المَبْنِيَّةِ عَلى الانْفِتاحِ. وَهُوَ ميناءُ الصُّويرَةِ... سَعى مِنْ وَراءِ ذَلِكَ تَحْويلَ مَصَبِّ [طَريقِ] التِّجارَةِ الصَّحْراوِيَّةِ إِلى ميناءٍ أَقْرَبَ إِلى مَرّاكُشَ مِنْ ميناءِ أَكادير... وَأَصْبَحَتِ الصُّويرَةُ مَرْكَزَ اسْتِقْطابٍ لِلتُّجّارِ المُسْلِمينَ وَاليَهودِ، وَمَحَجّاً [مَقْصِداً] لِلتُّجّارِ الأَجانِبِ، وَعَرَفَتْ رَواجاً اقْتِصادِيّاً هامّاً. وَشَكَّلَتْ رَمْزَ انْفِتاحِ الدَّوْلَةِ المَغْرِبِيَّةِ عَلى أوْرُبّا...

نحمد الكبلي (إشراف وتقديم)، 2012، تاريخ المغرب تحيين وتركيب، الشعب الثاني، نص مراجع معدل، منشورات المعهد الملكي للبحث في تاريخ المغرب، الرباط، ص. 435 (بتصرف)

Social Studies (Najah), **Grade 6, 2021, pp. 45, 46.**

Lesson 10: Morocco in the Alaouite period: Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah and Morocco's openness to the [Atlantic] Ocean and to diversity
"In order to strengthen Morocco's Atlantic orientation, Sultan Mohammed ben Abdallah built in 1795 a new port, that became a symbol for his policy that was based on openness, this is Essaouira port… By doing so, he tried to move the trade route of the Sahara to a port closer to Marrakesh than Agadir… Essaouira became a center that attracted Muslim and Jewish merchants, and a destination for foreign merchants. It enjoyed an important economic boom, and became a symbol for the openness of the Moroccan State towards Europe…"
- Mohammed Kably (supervision and submission), 2012, Moroccan History – Timeline and Structure […] Royal Institute of Research on the History of Morocco, Rabat, p. 435 (with permission).

The colonial era in Morocco is presented in various books as a negative period in Moroccan history, that affected Moroccan society. Much attention is given to the two colonial powers, France and Spain, which established protectorates in Morocco. Curiously, more criticism is directed at France rather than Spain. A Grade 11 History textbook contends that while Spain was interested in Morocco because of a historical connection, France had a purely "colonial" interest in exploiting Morocco, which is what students are asked about.[63] Another Grade 12 textbook asserts that France used Morocco's dependency on it to force the establishment of a protectorate in Morocco.[64]

The French protectorate in Morocco is presented negatively and is depicted as harming and exploiting Morocco.[65] Additional textbooks contain similar vitriolic references to France. This is noteworthy in a Grade 12 History book, where an entire chapter is devoted to the colonial exploitation of Morocco.[66] In another book, the colonial economic exploitation of the Kingdom is noted.[67] A quotation attributes colonialism to capitalism, describing the protectorate as "occupation."[68] An Arabic reader for Grade 6 contains a story about the cruelty of colonial soldiers toward Moroccans.[69] Under the protectorate, according to one book, Moroccans were subjected to plagues, slavery, and the expropriation of land.[70] While no one denies Moroccan suffering under colonial rule, these allegations are undeniably exaggerated. In addition, while the negative aspects of colonial rule are presented, a general overview of the economic and social developments within Moroccan society during that era (without praising colonial rule) could enrich the discussion concerning the later rise of nationalist

[63] *History and Geography (Maourid),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2021, pp. 62, 91.
[64] *History (Chamel),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, p. 68.
[65] *History and Geography (Maourid),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2021, pp. 106, 113.
[66] *History (Jadid),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2018, pp. 82-91.
[67] *History (Rehab),* Baccalaureate Year II, pp. 75-83.
[68] *History (Rehab),* Baccalaureate Year II, pp. 63-74.
[69] *Arabic (Ketabi),* Grade 6, 2021, p. 59.
[70] *History (Chamel),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, p. 82.

politics in Morocco, and the struggle for independence.

French education in Morocco (offered only to a small group of Moroccan Muslims) allegedly discouraged independent thinking.[71] In another book, France is accused of promoting the French language at the expense of Arabic.[72] French authorities are described as "conspiring against the Sultan and people of Morocco."[73]

Although much of the vitriol is aimed against France, Spain is not entirely exempt from criticism. The Spanish army is accused of using toxic gas bombs during the Rif uprising in the 1920s.[74] The uprising's initial attack on Spanish troops in 1921 resulted in the worst defeat of a colonial army in Africa in the 20th century. At least 10,000 Spanish soldiers and their commander, General Manuel Fernandez Silvester, were killed. Spain's repression was harsh, and they ultimately defeated the rebels by cooperating with France. For all its early success, the revolt, and its leader Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi's ability to unify tribal forces against colonial rule, remain problematic for Morocco. Although it had many hallmarks of an anti-colonial uprising, the revolt also intended, as Abd al-Karim later stated, to create an independent state that could undermine the Sultan's authority and legitimacy. This is why Morocco remains ambivalent toward the event, acknowledging its success in challenging colonial forces while avoiding presenting a detailed discussion of the uprising and its influence on Moroccan Muslim society.[75]

Whether or not the Rif uprising signaled the opening salvo of Morocco's anti-colonial struggle, Moroccan textbooks contain numerous examples of Moroccan efforts to ward off foreign rule. Resistance to foreign rule is highlighted in a Grade 6 Social Studies textbook,[76] and another book for the same grade stresses the different phases of this resistance, including armed struggle and political protests.[77] The armed struggle is presented as an unequal battle between Moroccans with light rifles and an occupying army with tanks and planes.[78] Textbooks emphasize the Moroccan Sultan, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef's (later known as King Mohammed V) leadership in the struggle for independence. This underscores the Moroccan monarchy's centrality in public life while paying less attention to political movements that also participated. The monarchy's commanding position in Morocco cannot be overstated, and is featured in history textbooks that cover the Kingdom's history from earlier centuries to the present.

[71] *History (Chamel),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, p. 77.
[72] *History (Jadid),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2018, p. 168.
[73] *History (Rehab),* Baccalaureate Year II, pp. 155-166.
[74] *History (Jadid),* Grade 12, 2018, p. 79.
[75] *History (Jadid),* Baccalaureate Year II, p. 77.
[76] *Social Studies (Jadid),* Grade 6, 2021, pp. 50-52.
[77] *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 6, 2021, p. 49.
[78] *History (Jadid),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2018, p. 78.



History (Jadid), Baccalaureate Year II, 2018, p. 78.

2- I will explain the steadfastness and heroic efforts of the armed resistance in face of the occupation.
Document 1 – two pictures:
a- Weapons of the Moroccan resistance warriors: light rifles.
b- Weapons of the occupation army: tanks and planes.

Morocco's territorial integrity, as it sees it, occupies a significant amount of attention, which is reflected in the educational curriculum. This primarily includes the status of the Western Sahara region. The Western Sahara conflict, which had been festering for decades, broke out in the early 1970s, as Spain abandoned the territory which had historical ties to Morocco but was not always under Moroccan sovereignty. The mineral-rich region was attractive to Morocco, which lacks natural resources. Rallying the Moroccan public behind the issue assisted King Hassan in neutralizing domestic opposition to his rule, and united the public behind his leadership. An inconclusive verdict issued by the International Court of Justice in 1975 recognized Morocco's historical claims to the region, but declined to declare it part of Morocco. Local residents opposed the Moroccan claim, and demanded independence.

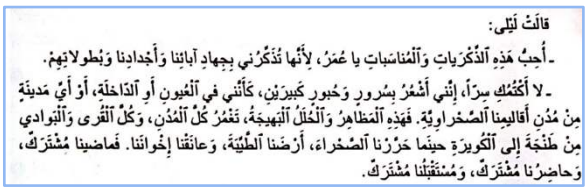
Emboldened by the rising public support for Morocco's claims, King Hassan called on Moroccans to peacefully liberate the region by marching into the territory and taking control. To the monarchy's surprise, the number of volunteers exceeded expectations, and over 500,000 Moroccans participated in the "Green March" of November 1975, in which Morocco took control of the territory. Although subjected to guerrilla warfare launched by Sahrawi militants, diplomatic pressure following the declaration of independence by Sahrawis, increasing tension with neighboring Algeria, which supported the Sahrawis, and the impact of a humanitarian crisis in which tens of the thousands of Saharan refugees fled to camps across the Algerian border, Morocco's position regarding the Western Sahara remains unchanged. From its perspective, the region is an integral part of the Kingdom. In recent years, Morocco has benefited from growing international acceptance of its rule over the territory (the most significant expression of this was US recognition of Moroccan sovereignty over the region in December 2020). However, for the international community, the conflict remains unresolved and awaits settlement.

None of this uncertainty over the region's future is evident in Moroccan textbooks, which focus exclusively on Morocco's claims to the region, with scant mention of any alternative to Moroccan sovereignty there. In this regard, the textbooks conform to the Kingdom's general approach. Much attention is given to the "Green March." That event is mentioned as one of Morocco's national holidays,[79] and is referenced as a historical

[79] *Arabic (Mourchidi),* Grade 2, 2021, p. 133.

moment.[80] It is featured in a Grade 4 Arabic reader, which features a story about a child who yearns to visit the region after hearing about the march, and the efforts to "resist colonialism."[81]

Another Grade 4 textbook presents a dialogue between two people, of which one is a Sahara resident, where they express their happiness about the region's "liberation."[82]

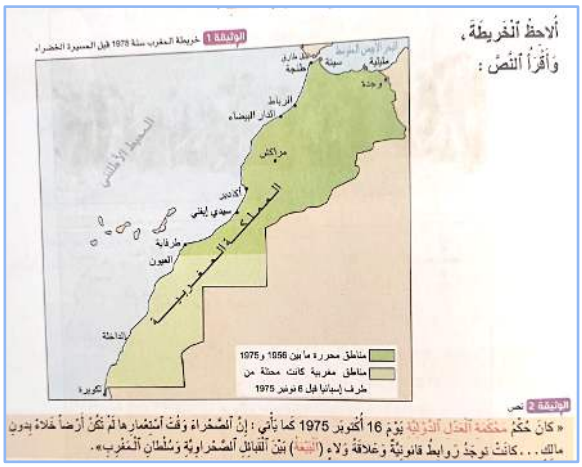


قالَتْ لَيْلى:
- أُحِبُّ هَذِهِ ٱلذِّكْرَياتِ وَٱلْمُناسَباتِ يا عُمَرُ، لِأَنَّها تُذَكِّرُني بِجِهادِ آبائِنا وَأَجْدادِنا وَبُطولاتِهِمْ.
- لا أَكْتُمُكِ سِرّاً، إِنَّني أَشْعُرُ بِسُرورٍ وَحُبورٍ كَبيرَيْنِ، كَأَنَّني في ٱلْعُيونِ أَوِ ٱلدّاخِلَةِ، أَوْ أَيِّ مَدينَةٍ مِنْ مُدُنِ أَقاليمِنا ٱلصَّحْراوِيَّةِ. فَهَذِهِ ٱلْمَظاهِرُ وَٱلْحُلَلُ ٱلْبَهيجَةُ، تَغْمُرُ كُلَّ ٱلْمُدُنِ، وَكُلَّ ٱلْقُرى وَٱلْوِديانِ مِنْ طَنْجَةَ إِلى ٱلْكُوَيْرَةِ حينَما حَرَّرْنا ٱلصَّحْراءَ، أَرْضَنا ٱلطَّيِّبَةَ، وَعانَقْنا إِخْوانَنا. فَماضينا مُشْتَرَكٌ، وَحاضِرُنا مُشْتَرَكٌ، وَمُسْتَقْبَلُنا مُشْتَرَكٌ.

***Arabic (Ouaha),* Grade 4, 2021, pp. 14-15.**

Layla said:
- I love these annual commemorations and occasions [referring to the annual commemoration of the Green March], Omar, because they remind me of the jihad of our fathers and grandfathers and their bravery.
- I cannot hide it, I feel great happiness and joy, as if I'm in Laayoune or Dakhla, or any city of our Saharan regions. These views and these beautiful clothes are seen everywhere in all the cities, and all the towns and deserts from Tangier to La Güera, when we liberated [Western] Sahara, our good land, and embraced our brothers, as we have a common past, a common present, and a common future.

Further attention to the topic is given in a social studies book for the same grade, highlighting Morocco's revised constitution and that one of the elements of Moroccan identity is Sahrawi.[83] Indeed, maintaining Morocco's territorial integrity within the region is also presented as a "religious responsibility," echoing the Moroccan monarch's temporal and religious leadership as the "commander of the faithful" (*amīr al-mu'minīn*). The entire issue is presented as an effort to liberate territories occupied by Spain rather than a territorial dispute with regional implications.[84] No mention or reference is made to Sahrawi demands, the complexity of the issue, or claims that counter the Moroccan position. The region is naturally featured in maps as an integral part of the Kingdom.[85] The textbooks are intended to solidify Morocco's claim to the territory and leave no doubt as to its centrality in the country's national identity.



أُلاحِظُ ٱلْخَريطَةَ، وَأَقْرَأُ ٱلنَّصَّ:

الوثيقة 1 خريطة المغرب سنة 1975 قبل المسيرة الخضراء

مناطق محررة ما بين 1956 و1975
مناطق مغربية كانت محتلة من طرف إسبانيا قبل 6 نونبر 1975

الوثيقة 2 نص

«كانَ حُكْمُ مَحْكَمَةِ ٱلْعَدْلِ ٱلدَّوْلِيَّةِ يَوْمَ 16 أُكْتوبر 1975 كَما يَأْتي: إِنَّ ٱلصَّحْراءَ وَقْتَ ٱسْتِعْمارِها لَمْ تَكُنْ أَرْضاً خَلاءً بِدونِ مالِكٍ... كانَتْ توجَدُ رَوابِطُ قانونِيَّةٌ وَعَلاقَةُ وَلاءٍ (البَيْعَة) بَيْنَ ٱلْقَبائِلِ ٱلصَّحْراوِيَّةِ وَسُلْطانِ ٱلْمَغْرِبِ».

***Social Studies (Jadid),* Grade 6, 2021, p. 7.**

[80] *Social Studies (Jadid),* Grade 6, 2021, p. 8.
[81] *Arabic (Moufid),* Grade 4, 2021, p. 17.
[82] *Arabic (Ouaha),* Grade 4, 2021, pp. 14-15.
[83] *Social Studies (Rehab),* Grade 4, 2022, p. 75.
[84] *Social Studies (Jadid),* Grade 6, 2021, p. 7.
[85] *Arabic (Al-Moufid),* Grade 1, 2019, p. 70; *L'école des mots Français*, Grade 2, 2018, p. 12; *Arabic (Jadid),* Grade 4, 2021, p. 32; *L'Oasis des mots Français*, Grade 3, 2021, p. 138; *Arabic (Jadid*), Grade 4, 2021, p. 201; *Arabic (Mounir),* Grade 4, 2021, p. 72; *Pour Communiquer en Français,* Grade 4, 2020, pp. 14, 34, 191; *L'école des mots Français*, Grade 4, 2021, pp. 13,14,16,40,103; *French - Mes apprentissages en français,* Grade 4, 2021, pp. 12, 19, 30, 35, 102; *Social Studies (Jadid),* Grade 4, 2021, pp. 75, 104; *Social Studies (Rehab*), Grade 4, 2020, p. 1; *Social Studies (Jadid),* Grade 5, 2021, p. 55; *Arabic (Rehab),* Grade 6, 2021, pp. 24; *Social Studies (Massar),* Grade 6, 2021, p. 63; *Social Studies (Najah)*, Grade 6, 2021, p. 8; *Les œuvres intégrales,* Common Core, 2021, p. 150.

I will observe the map and read the text:
Document 1: map of Morocco in 1975 before the Green March
[the writing on the map:] Kingdom of Morocco
[map key:]
[dark green:] Areas liberated between 1956 and 1975
[light green:] Moroccan areas that were occupied by Spain before 6 November 1975
Document 2: text:
"The verdict of the International Court of Justice on the 16th of October 1975 was as follows: [Western] Sahara was not a territory belonging to no-one at the time of its colonization [by Spain]…and there were legal ties of allegiance [bay'ah] between the Sultan of Morocco and the tribes of [Western] Sahara."
Abdelkrim Ghallab, History of the National Movement in Morocco […]

Morocco has often stressed its relations with the US, and their long history of bilateral cooperation (dating back to 1797), promoting a favorable view of its American ally, and seeking ways to enhance ties further.[86]

A focus on the Middle East and North Africa region is naturally central to Moroccan education. Morocco promotes its strong religious and ethnic connections, and attachment to the region. Much effort is made to underscore harmony and good relations between Morocco and these countries, overlooking disagreements and tensions. Morocco has been engaged in a longstanding quest for regional hegemony in North Africa, generating tensions with neighboring Algeria over this issue. Little reference is given to these tensions in the surveyed textbooks. Instead, texts discuss economic relations with other North African countries or teach about efforts to establish the Arab Maghreb Union, a regional body established in 1989. The references to the union refrain from mentioning that the organization failed to materialize, and that the possibility of regional unity remains somewhat a pipe dream.[87]

Although tensions between Morocco and Algeria are generally not mentioned in the textbooks, some maps evoke the past border conflict between the two countries. Most of the Algeria-Morocco border was in dispute until 1972, as only the northern part of the border was previously delineated during French control over Algeria. This led to a border conflict between Morocco and Algeria in 1963-1964, following Algerian independence, known as the Sand War. The war ended with no territorial changes, and Morocco and Algeria later reached an agreement regarding the borders in 1972. Despite this agreement, some maps in textbooks mark only the northern part of the border, and most of the border does not appear.[88] In some cases, when the countries are shown on the map in different colors, Moroccan territory seems consistent with the recognized borders. However, the borderline itself is not marked, unlike other borders.[89] In one textbook, some of the maps even mark significant parts of Algerian territory as Moroccan territory.[90] It

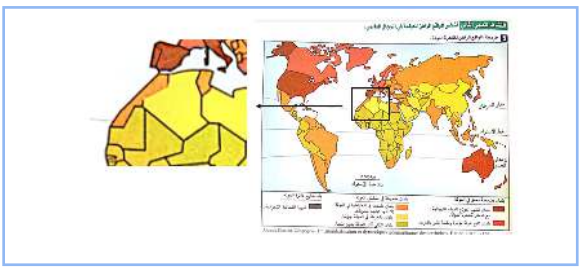
[86] *Social Studies (Najah*), Grade 8, 2021, p. 65.
[87] *Arabic (Moukhtar),* Grade 7, 2021, p. 134.
[88] *Social Studies (Manar),* Grade 9, 2021, pp. 21, 85, 139; *Social Studies (Fadaa),* Grade 7, 2021, p. 86; *Social Studies (Fadaa*), Grade 8, 2021, pp. 77, 147; *Social Studies (Tajdid),* Grade 9, 2021, pp. 82, 84, 111, 149, 150.
[89] *Geography (Manar),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2019, p. 13; *Social Studies (Tajdid*), Grade 9, 2021, p. 66; *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 6, 2021, pp. 54, 59, 60, 107.
[90] *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 8, 2019, pp. 72, 73, 77, 79, 81, 84, 94, 135.

should be noted that many maps do present the recognized borders between Morocco and Algeria. This inconsistency regarding the Moroccan-Algerian border suggests that Morocco still claims a right to certain territories in Algeria, which might promote irredentist ideas among students.

Below, the Moroccan-Algerian border is partially marked:



Social Studies (Manar), **Grade 9, 2021, p. 85.**



Geography (Manar), **Baccalaureate Year II, 2019, p. 13.**

Some Algerian territory is presented as Moroccan:



Social Studies (Najah), **Grade 8, 2019, p. 94.**

Morocco adopted a unique position on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict under former King Hassan II (who ruled from 1961-1999). Hassan pursued secret ties with Israel and met Israeli leaders, later endorsing a two-state solution in which a Palestinian state would be established alongside a Jewish state, which the current King, Mohamed VI, has maintained.[91] Hassan's efforts complemented earlier Moroccan mediation efforts between Israel and Egypt, which paved the way for Egyptian President Sadat's historic visit to Israel in November 1977. These were not common positions taken among Arab leaders, and further promoted Morocco's image as a moderate country eager to reach a diplomatic solution to the conflict. The Moroccan monarch quietly approved the entry of Israeli visitors to Morocco, but refrained from publicizing his interest in pursuing open relations with Israel. Low-level diplomatic ties were established in 1994, but severed by King Hassan's successor, Mohamed VI, in 2000, following the outbreak of the second Palestinian *intifada* (uprising) against Israel. While Morocco quietly maintained unofficial ties with Israel, it publicly retained an ambivalent attitude toward Israel. Morocco restored relations with Israel in December 2020, and has since demonstrated much greater interest in enhancing bilateral ties. The surveyed textbooks precede said normalization of ties.

Many textbooks play out this ambivalence between Morocco's willingness to accept Israel, while avoiding a more concrete

[91] *Social Studies (Manar),* Grade 9, 2021, p. 204.

approach to that position. Grade 12 students are exposed to the Palestinian issue, and learning about it is presented as a key goal in a history textbook. It is the only specific, non-Moroccan topic taught in the textbook.[92] Israel's history is presented to students: a short overview concerning the rise of Jewish nationalism and the Zionist movement is offered in one book in quite an objective manner, with antisemitism highlighted as one of its main driving forces.[93] Nevertheless, the approach presented to students is often simplistic. There is no discussion of Jewish historic and religious ties to their ancient homeland, or the ideals of a social and cultural revival that underpinned Jewish nationalism. Jewish and British violence during British-mandated Palestine is emphasized, while Palestinian violence is ignored. British support of Zionism is exaggerated, and restrictions imposed on Zionist activity are left unmentioned.[94] A Grade 12 textbook quotes a text criticizing Israel for conspiring with colonial powers, particularly the US, for taking Palestinian rights and expelling Palestinians.[95] Another textbook explains that one of the reasons for US support of Zionism was Jewish influence in the US.


الوثيقة 2 : نص دعائم الاحتلال الاسرائيلي لفلسطين

«إن حرب اكتوبر 1973... نتيجة حتمية لسياسة العدوان والأمر الواقع التي تنهجها إسرائيل، ضاربة عرض الحائط بالمبادئ والقرارات الدولية وحقوق الإنسان... ذلك أن إسرائيل لم تفتأ منذ أن سلبت حقوق الشعب الفلسطيني وطردته من وطنه، تعمل على التوسع، معتمدة في ذلك على تواطؤ الدول الاستعمارية ودعمها الاقتصادي والتقني والعسكري لها، وخصوصا من الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. ولقد برز هذا التواطؤ مؤخرا في تجنيد الوسائل المالية والمادية بشكل لم يسبق له مثيل... وفي تنظيم حملة سياسية التفي على صعيدها كل أعداء تحتحرير العالم الثالث.

مقتطفات من البيان الختامي لمؤتمر الجزائر 1973.
عمر عبد العزيز عمر، مرجع سابق، ص 251

History (Chamel), **Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, p. 192.**

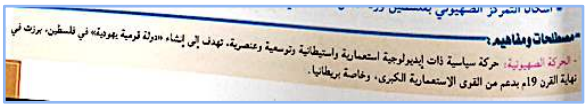
Document 2: text: actors supporting the Israeli occupation of Palestine.
"The October 1973 War … was the inevitable result of Israel's policy of aggression and establishing facts on the ground, ignoring international principles and resolutions and human rights… Since Israel deprived Palestinian people of its rights and expelled it from its homeland, it strives to expand, relying on their collusion with the imperialistic countries and their economic, technical, and military support, especially from the United States of America. This collusion came into view recently in the recruitment of financial and material means in an unprecedented manner, and in arranging a political campaign which involved all of the enemies of the liberation of the third world."
Excerpt of the closing statement of the Algiers Conference 1973.

Zionism is described in a chapter on the Palestinian issue as a colonial movement, spurred by Western capitalist countries who are motivated by economic interests. In another book, Zionism is described as a "racist" movement with an "expansionist" (*tawassu'iyya*) ideology.[96] Another Grade 9 Social Studies textbook suggests the "Israeli expansion" causes regional instability in the Middle East, while Zionist aspirations are described as "greedy

[92] *History (Rehab),* Baccalaureate Year II ,2021, p. 11.
[93] *Social Studies (Manar),* Grade 9, 2021, p. 52.
[94] *Social Studies (Manar),* Grade 9, 2021, p. 53.
[95] *History (Chamel),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, p. 192.
[96] *History (Jadid),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2018, pp. 102-105; *History (Rehab),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, p. 91.

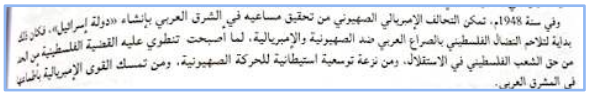
ambitions" *(aṭmā')*.[97] A Grade 11 textbook on water problems in "Occupied Territories" describes the "greedy ambitions" of Israeli occupation of Arab waters."[98] One noteworthy change is a reference to "ugly Zionist crimes" that appeared in a 2014 edition of a Grade 6 reader, and was omitted in 2020.[99] Yet interestingly, this text, which still teaches about the Palestinian cause, is juxtaposed with a text on Morocco's Jewish community, possibly linking Jewish communities outside of Israel with the Palestinian issue. The same reader also omitted a poem on the Israeli colonial occupier's cruelty in the 2020 edition.[100]

Curiously, there is no significant mention of or detailed discussion on the Palestinian refugee issue in the surveyed textbooks. The 1948 Palestinian *Nakba* – the mass exodus of Palestinian Arabs simultaneously with Israel's establishment – is mentioned rarely, and without much detail or historical context. Grade 12 students are taught, however, that Zionism is a racist colonial movement which has an unbreakable link with imperialism.[101]


مصطلحات ومفاهيم:
- الحركة الصهيونية: حركة سياسية ذات إيديولوجية استعمارية واستيطانية وتوسعية وعنصرية، تهدف إلى إنشاء «دولة قومية يهودية» في فلسطين، برزت في نهاية القرن 19م بدعم من القوى الاستعمارية الكبرى، وخاصة بريطانيا.

***History (Rehab),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, p. 91.**

Terms and concepts: Zionist Movement: a political movement with a settler colonialist, expansionist, racist ideology, which seeks to establish a "Jewish nation state" in Palestine. It emerged in the end of the 19th century with support from the major colonialist powers, particularly Britain.


وفي سنة 1948م، تمكن التحالف الإمبريالي الصهيوني من تحقيق مساعيه في الشرق العربي بإنشاء «دولة إسرائيل». فكان ذلك بداية لتلاحم النضال الفلسطيني بالصراع العربي ضد الصهيونية والإمبريالية، لما أصبحت تنطوي عليه القضية الفلسطينية من حق الشعب الفلسطيني في الاستقلال، ومن نزعة توسعية استيطانية للحركة الصهيونية، ومن تمسك القوى الإمبريالية بأقطاب في الشرق العربي.

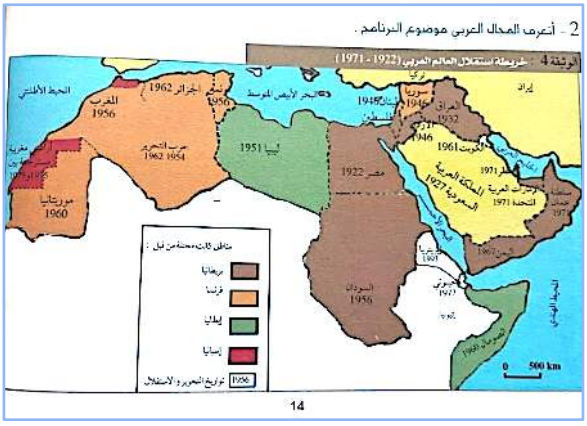
***History (Rehab),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, p. 184.**

In 1948, the imperialist-Zionist coalition succeeded in realizing its endeavors in the Arab Orient, establishing the "State of Israel". This was the start of the merger between the Palestinian struggle and the Arab conflict with Zionism and imperialism, since the Palestinian issue involves the constraints imposed on the Palestinian people's right to independence, an expansionist colonial tendency of the Zionist movement, and the imperial powers maintaining their schemes in the Arab Mashreq.

In the textbooks, one particular issue relating to Israel and Palestine is the inconsistency and inaccuracy of maps. In one textbook, a map refers to sovereign Israel as "occupied Palestine."[102] In another textbook, the entire land (under pre-1967 lines), as well as the West Bank and Gaza, is presented to students as a map of Palestine, or labeled the "occupied territories."[103] Similarly, a map describing water problems in the "Occupied Territories" presents all of the territory of Mandatory Palestine as modern-day "Palestine," essentially erasing Israel from maps.[104] A geography textbook for Grade

[97] *Social Studies (Tajdid),* Grade 9, 2021, p. 55.
[98] *History and Geography (Maourid),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2021, p. 170.
[99] *Arabic (Ketabi),* Grade 6, 2014, p. 50 ; *Arabic (Ketabi),* Grade 6, 2020, p. 237.
[100] *Arabic (Ketabi*), Grade 6, 2014, pp. 28-29.
[101] *History (Rehab),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, pp. 91, 184; *History (Chamel),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, p. 96.
[102] *History (Rehab),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, pp. 187, 188, 191, 192.
[103] *History (Chamel),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, pp. 14, 95, 192, 194, 195.
[104] *History and Geography (Maourid),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2021, p. 170.

12 offers a table of economic data, where one of the countries is listed as the "Occupied Palestinian Territories."[105] Despite this, a map of Europe and the Middle East in an eight-grade textbook presents the Green Line, therefore showing Israel and the Palestinian Authority separately; however, their names, as with the names of all other countries, are not mentioned.[106]



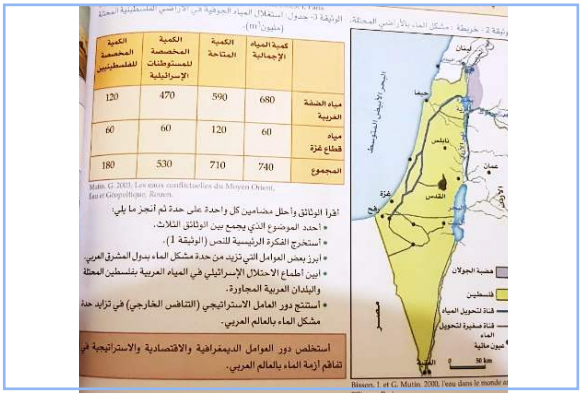
History (Chamel), Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, p. 14.

Document 4: a map of independence in the Arab world (1922-1971) [the writing near Israeli and Palestinian territories:] Palestine
[map key:]
Areas that were occupied by:
Britain
France
Italy
Spain
The dates of liberation and independence



Document 1: the map of the Arab Israeli conflict
[map key:]
Lands occupied in 1947
Lands occupied in 1949 and 1967
Lands occupied in 1967
Palestinian refugee camps

History (Chamel), **Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, p. 192.**



History and Geography (Maourid), Baccalaureate Year I, 2021, p. 170.

Document 2: map: the water problem in the Occupied Territories
[map key:]
Golan Heights
Palestine
…
I will explain the Israeli Occupation's greedy ambitions in the Arab water in occupied Palestine and in neighboring Arab countries.



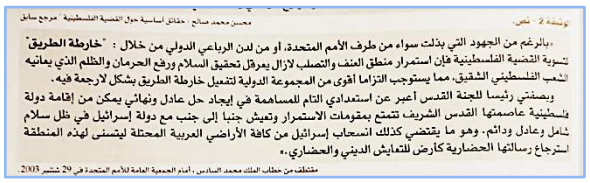
Social Studies (Fadaa), **Grade 8, 2021, p. 78.**

[105] *Geography (Manar),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2019, p. 39.

[106] *Social Studies (Fadaa),* Grade 8, 2021, p. 78.

Much attention is given to Palestinian suffering, and their struggle for liberation. An Arabic reader for Grade 12 students highlights a poem by Mahmoud Darwish that deals with the theme of exile, and yearning for a lost homeland.[107] Grade 8 students study a poem by Samih al-Qasim, a Palestinian-Druze poet and an Israeli citizen, who self-identified as a Palestinian. The poem discusses the *Nakba*, referring to it as an open wound, and presenting Israelis as wolves continually attacking this wound. A poem by Fadwa Tuqan, a Palestinian poet, describes the land that was taken from her.[108] Other references to the Palestinian struggle are from quoted poems that appear in a Grade 10 Arabic reader,[109] and in a Grade 12 textbook, where self-sacrifice is identified as the core of that struggle.[110] Palestine is described as having been stolen from its original inhabitants.[111] Students are taught that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was established in 1964 to liberate Palestinian lands occupied in 1948 through armed struggle.[112] Another Grade 12 books highlights the PLO's recognition by the United Nations, and recognition of the Palestinian right of return.[113]

Simultaneously, there is a focus on Israeli-Palestinian negotiations and the 1993 Oslo Accords.[114] Students are taught about political efforts to resolve the conflict, along with a quote from King Mohammed VI supporting the establishment of a Palestinian state that would coexist with Israel in peace.[115]



History (Jadid), **Baccalaureate Year II, 2018, p. 203.**

Document 2 – text:
"[…] As the head of the Al-Quds Committee, I express my complete willingness to partake in finding a final and just solution that will enable the establishment of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital, which will enjoy viability, and which will live side by side with the State of Israel in a state of comprehensive, just, and enduring peace. This requires Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, so that this region will be able to regain its cultural message as a land of religious and cultural coexistence."
- Excerpt from the speech of King Mohammed VI before the UN General Assembly, 29 December 2003

References to the Palestinian cause are often presented indirectly, and form part of learning general topics and concepts. When learning about tolerance, Grade 7 students are presented with a photo of a "Zionist soldier threatening a Palestinian woman and her two daughters with a weapon."[116] They learn about the concept of liberty via images, including one of a Palestinian throwing an object, with the

[107] *Arabic (Rehab),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2020, p. 83.
[108] *Arabic (Rehab),* Grade 8, 2020, pp. 74-75.
[109] *Arabic (Rehab),* Common Core, 2021, pp. 177-182.
[110] *History (Chamel),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, p. 195.
[111] *History (Jadid),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2018, p. 197.
[112] *History (Jadid),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2018, p. 198.
[113] *History (Chamel),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, p. 196.
[114] *History (Chamel),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, pp. 200-201.
[115] *History (Jadid),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2018, pp. 201-204.
[116] *Social Studies (Rehab),* Grade 7, 2020, p. 173.

caption "Stone Children's Intifada in Palestine."[117] A Grade 8 Social Studies lesson on freedom of expression and International Labor Day features images of a demonstration with Palestinian flags.[118]



Social Studies (Rehab), **Grade 7, 2020, p. 173**

I will discover the meaning of tolerance using some pictures and definitions
[....]
c. A Zionist soldier threatening a Palestinian woman and her two daughters with his weapon.
I will observe the two pictures and the poster and describe what it presents.
I will infer the idea that the two pictures and the poster express.

Examples on foreign policy issues in Moroccan textbooks reflect a negative approach to European colonialism and foreign rule, while striving to adopt a moderate tone toward European powers. Discussions on Morocco's territorial integrity center on the Kingdom's claims to the Western Sahara region, which is a non-negotiable issue to Morocco and is presented as such. Much attention is also given to the Arab-Israeli conflict. While the surveyed textbooks endorse and support the Palestinian cause, some efforts are made to introduce students to Israel and its history, which are commendable. However, a more sophisticated, nuanced approach to the topic would enrich the debate, and offer a rewarding educational experience for Moroccan students.

[117] *Social Studies (Rehab),* Grade 7, 2020, p. 154.

[118] *Social Studies (Fadaa),* Grade 8, 2021, pp. 179, 185, 187.

Gender

Despite significant progress in the role women play in Moroccan society, the challenges they face are notable. In 1963, Moroccan women gained the right to vote and stand for election; in practice, however, no female representative was elected to the national parliament before 1993.[119] In 2021, the United Nations Development Program listed Morocco as having a gender inequality index (GII) of 0.425 – representing an observed 42.5% loss of potential human development due to gender inequalities, and placing it 104th in the world. According to the UN, Moroccan women are underrepresented in parliament and the workforce.[120] The World Economic Forum, meanwhile, gives Morocco a global gender gap index score of 0.612, meaning that in its assessment, 61.2% of the gender gap in the country has been closed as of 2021; this puts Morocco in 144th place globally, out of 156 examined countries.[121]

According to the aforementioned report, Morocco performs below par in terms of political empowerment, with few women in ministerial positions and no female head of state in its history. Moreover, this report indicates that Morocco lacks representation of women in positions of power and management across its economic sectors. At the same time, it demonstrates Moroccan women performing equally well as men, if not better, in most areas of education and science.[122] The factors which impede gender equality in politics and elsewhere in Moroccan society are patriarchal-societal stereotypes, inadequate access to education, underage marriage, lack of economic power, and male-dominated political organizations.[123]

Since the beginning of the 21st century and the ascension of Mohammed VI to the Moroccan throne, the government has introduced several laws which significantly improved the status of women, including raising the minimum age of marriage, restricting polygamy, and expanding women's rights in divorce, guardianship and child custody.[124] Furthermore, the new Moroccan constitution, adopted in 2011, explicitly addresses women's rights, and defines the duty of the Moroccan State to realize parity between women and men.[125]

[119] Ghita Tadlaoui, "EU support for women's political participation and leadership under the EU's Gender Action Plan: A case study on Morocco," *European Democracy Hub,* 2021, p. 4. https://epd.eu/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/gap-morocco-final.pdf

[120] In 2021, 20.4% of Moroccan parliament seats were held by women, and 22% of Moroccan women participated in the workforce compared to 66% of men. United Nations Development Programme, *Gender Inequality Index,* 2021. http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/GII

[121] World Economic Forum, *Global Gender Gap Report,* March 2021, p. 10. http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2021.pdf

[122] *Ibid.*, p. 285.

[123] Tadlaoui, p. 6.

[124] Marielle Marlys, "AlNour: Helping Disabled Women in Morocco," *The Borgen Project,* 14 January 2021. https://borgenproject.org/alnour/

[125] Constitution of the Kingdom of Morocco, Article 19: "The man and the woman enjoy, in equality, the

To what extent these top-down efforts will yield the desired results remains to be seen.

In general terms, Moroccan textbooks feature women frequently and prominently. Many textbooks try to show mixed-gender groups or, at a minimum, represent female and male individuals in similar situations and capacities.

For example, a first-grade Islamic Education lesson about Al-Fatiha Surah - the first *surah* (portion) of the Qur'an - is accompanied by an illustration of young girls and boys at a mosque listening to a recitation of scripture. Children of both sexes sit together side by side in the house of prayer, some wearing traditional Moroccan clothing, some modern Western attire; one girl wears a *hijab* to cover her hair, another does not. Showing children of both genders pursuing education in an equal capacity and exhibiting diversity of appearance in textbooks, which teach the fundamentals of Islamic faith and practice, can be understood as a clear statement of intent that pervades the entire curriculum.



Islamic Education (Rehab), **Grade 1, 2021, p. 7**

The type of diversity seen in the image above is replicated throughout the textbooks, but there is a lack of consistency. Some Islamic Education textbooks display a solid tendency to depict women in Islamic head covering,[126] while some French, English, and Social Studies textbooks almost exclusively show women with exposed hair, often in Western attire.[127] In such textbooks, however, there are exceptions to the rule. Crucially, Moroccan textbooks seem to lack normative prescriptions regarding the "proper" appearance of women (or men), even in the context of religious teaching.

Women appear in Moroccan textbooks in a variety of situations. Beyond incidental representations of female individuals alongside males, where both are participating in the same activity - as seen above - one may also find instances where the textbooks appear to feature women or girls in a non-stereotypical capacity. In these instances, women are featured engaging in an activity traditionally

rights and freedoms of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and environmental character, enounced in this Title and in the other provisions of the Constitution, as well as in the international conventions and pacts duly ratified by Morocco and this, with respect for the provisions of the Constitution, of the constants of the Kingdom and of its laws. The State works for the realization of parity between men and women." English translation by William S. Hein & Co., Inc., *Comparative Constitutions Project,* 2012. https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Morocco_2011.pdf

[126] For example: *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Grade 6, 2021.

[127] For examples: *Le français pratique,* Grade 6, 2021; Ticket to English, Baccalaureate Year 1, 2021; *Social Studies (Massar),* Grade 6, 2022.

considered unfeminine, in order to challenge a societal stereotype, usually left unwritten, about gendered activities and professions.

For example, one textbook teaches a story for second-graders featuring a female police officer helping young school children cross a road. The policewoman is acknowledged in terms of her profession, as well as her gender, both in text as well as visually in the accompanying illustration, challenging an implied notion that women cannot be police officers.



Arabic Language (Rehab): **My Illustrated Stories, Grade 2, 2021, p. 90**

Chourouk prepared to cross the road, with signs of joy already showing on her. She said to the policewoman: "Thank you, madame police officer! Now I will safely cross to the other sidewalk. [...]"

In some cases, women's participation in certain activities is explicitly stated, prompting students to be conscious of women's contributions in some areas of national life. One fourth-grade Social Studies textbook, seen below, emphasizes women's sports, describing the Moroccan national women's football (soccer) team. It then asks students to research female Moroccan athletes and their achievements. In another example, also seen below, an eighth-grade Arabic language textbook displays a photo of women partaking in the act of traditional weaving. In terms of gender stereotypes, this is an otherwise unremarkable sight that suggests proof of women's contribution to the national industry and economy. This type of content encourages students to consider women's work as legitimate and respectable; on the other hand, the excessive focus on women may lead students to view some women's contributions in these areas as exceptional, and non-trivial.



Social Studies (Jadid), **Grade 4, 2021, p. 107.**

Exercise 1: Rules of the Game
I was very excited to see a match between the [Moroccan] national women's soccer team and their French counterparts.
I noticed that this competition - as others like it - is based on rules, which include rights and duties, and which carry punishment in case they are violated.
[...]
- I will list the names of players in this team, and the names of female Moroccan champions who carried the flag of Morocco onto the world stage in sports competitions or other achievements.


أَنْشِطَةُ التَّطْبِيق

- تَأَمَّلِ الصُّورَةَ الْآتِيَةَ وَحَوِّلْهَا إِلَى نَصٍّ مَكْتُوبٍ.

لِإِنْجَازِ هَذَا النَّشَاطِ اتَّبِعِ الْخُطُوَاتِ الْآتِيَةَ :

أ- وَصْفُ الصُّورَةِ :

1- نَوْعُهَا : (صُورَةٌ فُوتُوغْرَافِيَّةٌ لِمَجْمُوعَةٍ مِنَ النِّسَاءِ يَنْسُجْنَ زَرْبِيَّةً ...الخ)

2- مَوْضُوعُهَا : (تُمَثِّلُ نَمُوذَجاً لِمَنْسُجٍ تَقْلِيدِيٍّ مُتَخَصِّصٍ فِي نَسْجِ الزَّرَابِيِّ التَّقْلِيدِيَّةِ) (حِرْفَةُ النِّسَاجَةِ)

3- فَضَاؤُهَا : (مَنْسَجٌ تَقْلِيدِيٌّ يَشْتَمِلُ عَلَى آلَةِ نَسِيجٍ خَشَبِيَّةٍ، مُكَوَّنَةٍ مِنْ رَافِعَاتٍ خَشَبِيَّةٍ، قُضْبَانٍ مِنَ الْقَصَبِ، وَخُيُوطٍ مِنَ الصُّوفِ ...)

4- شَخْصِيَّاتُ الصُّورَةِ : (مَجْمُوعَةٌ مِنَ النِّسَاءِ يَجْلِسْنَ أَمَامَ آلَةِ النَّسِيجِ - الْمِنْسَاجِ - يَقُمْنَ بِعَمَلِيَّةِ النَّسْجِ، يَرْتَدِينَ مَلَابِسَ تَقْلِيدِيَّةً ...)

5- الْغَرَضُ مِنَ الصُّورَةِ : (إِبْرَازُ دَوْرِ الْمَرْأَةِ فِي التَّنْمِيَةِ الِاقْتِصَادِيَّةِ وَمُسَاهَمَتِهَا فِي الصِّنَاعَةِ التَّقْلِيدِيَّةِ ...)

Arabic Language (Rehab), Grade 8, 2020, p. 176.

Practical activities
Consider the following picture and transcribe it into a written text. To achieve this task follow these steps:
A. Describe the picture
1. The type of picture: (e.g., a photograph of a group of women weaving a rug... etc.) [...]
4. The characters in the picture: (e.g., a group of women sitting in front of a weaving instrument - a loom - and performing the act of weaving, while wearing traditional clothing...)
5. The purpose of the picture: (e.g., to highlight the role of women in economic development and their participation in traditional manufacturing...)

Women represented in Moroccan textbooks include real-life named individuals. The vast majority are Moroccan in heritage, if not nationality, and serve a triple role in the textbooks: they instill a sense of pride in the achievements of the Moroccan nation; they present female role models for female students to emulate and for male students to respect; and they demonstrate how Moroccan women and girls can meaningfully contribute to their community and nation.

This triple role is well-represented in a fifth-grade text, seen below, about Moroccan-born explorer and astronomer Merieme Chadid reaching the South Pole. The lesson encapsulates her Moroccan identity – by highlighting the Moroccan flag she was carrying – and her identity as a woman, noting that her achievement is largely unprecedented for people other than men. However, it also addresses her identity as a Moroccan woman by prompting students to discuss "*Moroccan women's aspirations*" after reading the text.


عاشِقَةُ النُّجومِ وَالْمَجَرّات

كانَ إِحساساً بِطَعْمِ خاصٍّ أَنْ تَعْتَلِيَ الْباخِرَةُ مَرْيَمَ شَديدَ صَهْوَةَ الْقُطْبِ الْمُتَجَمِّدِ الْجَنُوبِيِّ، حامِلَةً الْعَلَمَ الْمَغْرِبِيَّ، غَيْرَ مُتَأَثِّرَةٍ بِدَرَجَةِ الْحَرارَةِ الْمُنْخَفِضَةِ جِدّاً، وَكانَ حَدَثاً مُثيراً بِالنِّسْبَةِ لِوَسائِلِ الْإِعْلامِ وَالْمُحيطِ الْعِلْمِيِّ الْغَرْبِيِّ. أَوَّلُ عالِمَةِ فَلَكٍ عَرَبِيَّةٍ مَغْرِبِيَّةٍ تَصِلُ إِلى هذا الْقُطْبِ، في رِحْلَةٍ طَلَبَتْ إِلى عَهْدٍ قَريبٍ حِكْراً عَلى الرِّجالِ. اسْتَطاعَتْ مَرْيَمُ أَنْ تَقْتَحِمَ الْمَعْهَدَ الْوَطَنِيَّ لِلْبَحْثِ الْعِلْمِيِّ في باريس، بِفَضْلِ حَماسِها الشَّديدِ، وَعِشْقِها لِلْعُلومِ الْفَلَكِيَّةِ، الَّتي داعَبَتْ خَيالَها وَطُموحَها مُنْذُ كانَتْ صَغيرَةً في الْمَرْحَلَةِ الْإِعْدادِيَّةِ بِالدّارِ الْبَيْضاء.

تَتَمَيَّزُ مَرْيَمُ شَديدٌ، بِصَفاءِ ذِهْنِها، وَقُدْرَتِها عَلى الْاحْتِفاظِ بِالْمَعْلوماتِ الَّتي فيها الْكَثيرُ مِنَ التَّحَدّي، وَالرُّؤْيَةِ الْعِلْمِيَّةِ النّافِذَةِ، كانَتْ تَتَحَدَّثُ عَنِ النُّجومِ كَما تَتَحَدَّثُ عَنْ أَصْدِقائِها الْحَقيقِيّينَ مِنْ لَحْمٍ وَدَمٍ.

اكْتَسَبَتِ الْقُدْرَةَ عَلَى التَّوَغُّلِ في هذا الْعالَمِ الشّاسِعِ الْمُلْهِمِ، مُتَحَلِّيَةً بِالْبَساطَةِ وَالتَّواضُعِ بَيْنَ نُظَرائِها مِنَ الْعُلَماءِ، وَلَمْ يَكُنِ الْمُرورُ عَبْرَ سَنَواتِ التَّحْصيلِ وَالْمَعْرِفَةِ في هذا الْمَجالِ مَفْروشاً بِالْوُرودِ، وَلَمْ

23

يا لَهُ مِنْ إِنْجازٍ لِعائِلَةِ فَلَكٍ مَغْرِبِيَّةٍ، تُحِبُّ وَطَنَها وَتَهيمُ فيهِ !! بِفَضْلِها بَدا الْعَلَمُ الْمَغْرِبِيُّ مَغْروساً في بَياضِ لا مُتَناهٍ رَمْزاً عَرَبِيّاً مَغْرِبِيّاً إِلى جانِبِ أَعْلامٍ دَوْلِيَّةٍ أُخْرى.

حَكيم عنكر – جريدة : العربي الجديد – صفحة المرأة والمجتمع / 19 فبراير 2016 بتصرف.

أُرَكِّبُ وَأُقَوِّمُ :

1- أُلَخِّصُ الْفِقْرَةَ الثّالِثَةَ مِنَ النَّصِّ.

2- أُبْدي رَأْيي في الْاجْتِهادِ مَرْيَمَ شَديدٍ، وَمُثابَرَتِها.

3- أُحاوِرُ أَصْدِقائي وَصَديقاتي حَوْلَ طُموحِ الْمَرْأَةِ الْمَغْرِبِيَّةِ.

Arabic Language (Mounir), Grade 5, 2021, pp. 23-25.

Lover of Stars and Galaxies
It was a special kind of feeling when the feet of Merieme Chadid stepped on the South Pole, carrying the Moroccan flag, unfazed by the extremely low temperature. It was an exciting event for the media and Western academic circles. She was the first Moroccan Arab astronomer to reach this pole, in a journey that until recently was the

exclusive domain of men. Merieme managed to break her way into the Centre national de la recherche scientifique in Paris, thanks to her strong enthusiasm and her love for astronomy, which had captured her imagination and aspirations since she was a middle school student in Casablanca. […] What an achievement for a Moroccan astronomer who loves and feels proud of her country! Thanks to her, the Moroccan flag appeared planted in an endless whiteness, a Moroccan Arab symbol alongside other flags of the world. - Hakim Anker, Al-Araby Al-Jadeed, Women and Society, 19 February 2016, with permission I compose and assess:

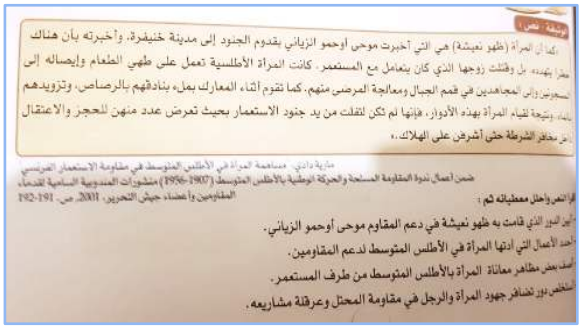
1. I will summarize the third passage in the text.
2. I will express my opinion about Merieme Chadid's hard work and her perseverance.
3. I will discuss with my friends about Moroccan women's aspirations.

In general, the textbooks carefully select personalities from various domains to serve as female Moroccan role models, including athletes, scientists, politicians, and historical figures. Moroccan women featured in name, and details of their achievements in the textbooks include mountain climber Bouchra Baibanou;[128] hurdler Nezha Bidouane;[129] paralympic athlete Najat El Garaa;[130] microbiologist Sara Bellali;[131] NASA researcher Saloua Rachdan;[132] physicist Rajaâ Cherkaoui; 9th century notable Fatima al-Fihri;[133] 11th century ruler Zaynab an-Nafzawi;[134] 16th century ruler Sayyida al-Hurra;[135] 17th-18th century stateswoman Khnata bent Bakkar;[136] Moroccan-born Italian civil servant Nadia Khadaidi;[137] and Moroccan-born French politician Najat Belkacem.[138] A French politician of Moroccan Jewish descent, Audrey Azoulay, is also featured in one French Language textbook.[139] It is noteworthy, however, that many of these examples are of accomplished women who have enjoyed much of their success outside of Morocco. This may have the additional advantage of increasing Moroccan students' awareness and respect for the Moroccan diaspora worldwide, but it may inadvertently highlight the difficulties Moroccan women face within Moroccan society, which force them to pursue education and careers overseas. These difficulties, whatever they may be, are usually not mentioned in conjunction with these women's achievements.

The representation of women is sometimes employed to convey political messaging beyond the issue of gender equality. Textbooks teaching about Morocco's colonial history often spotlight female participation in the anti-colonial struggle, thus elevating the status of Moroccan women, while underlining the importance of the national endeavor to overthrow foreign rule – often at the expense of demonizing the historic adversary. In this position, women are presented as active agents of their own destiny and of their nation.

[128] *Arabic Language (Mounir),* Grade 4, 2020, p. 106.
[129] *Arabic Language (Ouadeh),* Grade 4, 2019, p. 37.
[130] *Islamic Education (Ouaha),* Grade 4, 2020, p. 34.
[131] *Arabic Language (Mounir),* Grade 5, 2021, pp. 29-30.
[132] *Arabic Language (Mounir),* Grade 5, 2021, p. 46.
[133] *Arabic Language (Jadid),* Grade 4, 2021, p. 50.
[134] *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 6, 2021, p. 24.
[135] *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 8, 2019, p. 20.
[136] *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 8, 2019, p. 30.
[137] *Arabic Language (Mourchidi),* Grade 5, 2021, p. 6.
[138] *Arabic Language (Mourchidi),* Grade 5, 2021, pp. 25-26.
[139] *Mes apprentissages en français,* Grade 5, 2021, p. 38.

In the example below, a history textbook teaches that women played a vital role in the Zayan War (1914-1921), fought between French colonial forces and Amazigh tribes of the Middle Atlas region, the latter led by local chieftain Mouha ou Hammou Zayani. Students are made aware of how women of the Atlas region contributed to the war effort against the French. These women's noble efforts are contrasted with the conduct of the colonial forces, described as immoral. Elsewhere in Moroccan textbooks, other political causes taught through active female participation include Morocco's efforts to claim Western Sahara,[140] and Palestinian resistance to Zionism.[141] One eleventh grade History textbook draws attention to women's experience of 19th-century social struggles by accusing "European capitalists" of exploiting women as labor,[142] and European colonialism of "marginalizing the role of women in life" in African colonies.[143] However this example, which largely puts women in a position of victimhood and non-agency to support a hostile narrative, appears to be a singular case in the curriculum.



History and Geography (Maourid), Baccalaureate Year 1, 2021, p. 113.

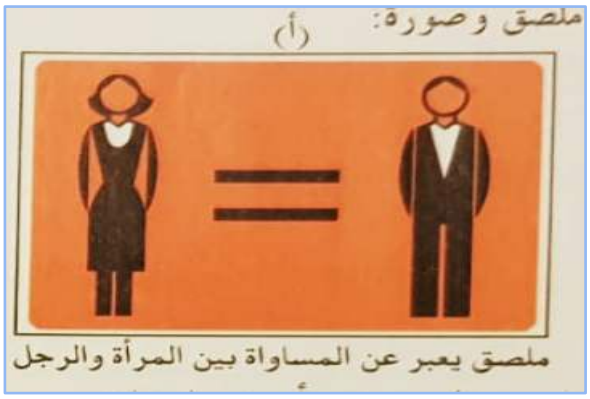
Document - text:
"In addition, a woman named Zahou Naicha [vocalization approximated] was the one who informed Mouha ou Hammou Zayani that soldiers were approaching Khénifra. She told him that he is in danger, and she even killed her husband who was collaborating with the Colonizer. The women of the Atlas would cook food and send it to the prisoners and the jihad fighters on the mountaintops, and treat their infirm. They would also fill their guns with bullets in battle, and supply them with water. A result of women fulfilling these roles was that they did not escape the clutches of the Colonization forces, as some of them were subjected to imprisonment and detention in police stations to the point where they were on the verge of death."

- *Maria Dadi, "The Participation of Women in the Middle Atlas in the Resistance to French Colonization," Seminar on Armed Resistance and National Movement in the Middle Atlas (1907-1956), pamphlets by the High Commision for Former Resistance Fighters and Members of the Liberation Army, 2001, pp. 191-192*
- *I will read the text, analyze the data, and then:*
- *Explain what the role played by Zahou Naicha was in supporting the Resistance fighter Mouha ou Hammou Zayani.*
- *List the actions taken by women in the Middle Atlas to support the Resistance fighters.*
- *Describe some ways in which women in the Middle Atlas suffered from the Colonizer.*
- *Deduce how the efforts of women and men were intertwined in resisting the Occupier and sabotaging his endeavors.*

[140] *History (Jadid),* Baccalaureate Year 2, 2018, p. 177.
[141] *History (Jadid),* Baccalaureate Year 2, 2018, p. 178.
[142] *History (Jadid),* Baccalaureate Year 1, 2016, p. 48.
[143] *History (Jadid),* Baccalaureate Year 1, 2016, p. 86.

Textbooks make an effort to raise awareness of the concept of women's rights. One approach to this is by anchoring the principle of gender equality and women's rights in national and international source documents, thus illustrating their importance for Moroccan society and mankind as a whole. A Social Studies textbook for the seventh grade demonstrates this by quoting relevant sections from the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the Moroccan constitution which prescribe gender equality, as well as a cartoon on a sticker that promotes the same idea. Note that UDHR is quoted with some errors, as Article 2 does not mention "discrimination between men and women" as the textbook claims, but rather "distinction of any kind, such as [...] sex".[144] Other textbooks also quote the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).[145]





Social Studies (Rehab), **Grade 7, 2020, p. 158.**

Sticker and picture:
A. A sticker expressing equality between women and men.
[...]
[First:]
B. "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction... without discrimination between men and women..."
· Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 2
[Second:]
C. "The man and the woman enjoy, in equality, the rights and freedoms of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and environmental character... The State works for the realization of parity between men and women..."
· Constitution of the Kingdom of Morocco, Article 19, 2011

Textbooks also tie the concept of women's rights to Islamic teachings. Multiple Islamic Education textbooks contain messages calling for respect toward women or gender equality on the basis of Islamic scripture, emphasizing the egalitarian nature of the Islamic faith, or providing examples of female role models from Islamic tradition. Islamic content advocating for gender equality helps provide further legitimacy for gender-related causes, and potentially colors Islam as a tolerant, egalitarian, and forward-looking religion, encouraging

[144] United Nations, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 2, 1948. https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights
The official Arabic translation closely follows the English version. See: https://www.un.org/ar/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights

[145] *Social Studies (Fadaa),* Grade 7, 2021, p. 157.

Muslim students to take pride in their faith, and interpret it positively. Often, however, the link between the textbooks' "feminist" messages and the Islamic sources used as the basis for those messages is not immediately apparent.

In the example below, a fifth-grade Islamic Education textbook uses the Qur'anic account of Moses, helping the daughters of Shu'ayb (identified with Jethro in the Judeo-Christian tradition) to water their flocks, to teach that respect for women is a core Islamic virtue. The same lesson also reminds students about the pre-Islamic Arabian custom of burying girls alive as evidence of the progressive nature of the Islamic religion, which has since abolished that misogynistic practice. Furthermore, the lesson quotes a saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad: Muslims should treat women fairly. Bringing these sources together, the textbook conveys the general message that the Islamic faith teaches respect for women as a fundamental idea. However, the perspective is still decidedly that of men acting for women, rather than women acting for themselves.





Islamic Education (Rehab), Grade 5, 2022, p. 44.

I *Respect Women:*
Lesson goals:
- *I will acquaint myself with appreciation for women;*
- *I will treat women with respect and kindness.*

I Adhere to the Right Path:
God Almighty said: "And when the girl who was buried alive is asked, for what sin she was killed" (81:8-9)
I consider these Noble Verses, and infer how women were treated before Islam, and how God has honored them since [the foundation of] Islam.
I read and consider:
God Almighty said: "[Moses] said, 'What is your circumstance?' [The two women] said, 'We do not water until the shepherds dispatch their flocks; and our father is an old man.' So, he watered their flocks for them; then he went back to the shade and said, 'My Lord, indeed I am, for whatever good You would send down to me, in need." (28:23-24) I infer:
Noble people respect and appreciate women:
- *They treat women with respect and do not hurt them;*
- *They help women and protect them with faithfulness;*
- *They treat women with kindness. God's Messenger, peace be upon him, said: "Treat women well" (from Sahih Muslim [...])*

I am charged with values:
- *I make sure to treat women with kindness and respect, and give them aid with strength and faithfulness.*

A key women's issue taken up by the Moroccan curriculum is violence against women. Textbooks do not shy away from discussing this topic, sensitive as it may be in a conservative Islamic society, although they refrain from offering graphic details or

specific examples. Physical violence against women is described in one Social Studies textbook, which tells the story of an anonymous woman beaten by her spouse, who then informs her brother, who files a lawsuit with the help of a women's rights group, leading to the husband's arrest.[146] Sexual violence, bodily autonomy, and consent are concepts addressed in some textbooks for primary school students. However, these are presented as issues that concern children regardless of sex, rather than adult women in particular.[147] As a result, it is questionable whether students at such a young age will understand the relevance of these lessons once they reach puberty.

Most commonly, however, when violence against women is mentioned in Moroccan textbooks, it is in the context of underage marriage. It is already quite noteworthy that this practice is discussed as a form of violence, given how it differs from other, more easily identifiable and culpable forms of violence, and how it is accepted in certain elements of society. The practice of underage marriage is explicitly described as an issue that concerns Moroccan society, particularly women, and needs to be addressed. The curriculum's sharp take on this issue seems to be a recent development: in 2021 alone, at least three textbooks have added new content about this topic, all from the sixth grade, compared to their 2020 versions.[148]

In the example seen here, which predates 2021, students are asked to put themselves in the shoes of a hypothetical underaged girl who was forced to marry against her will and write a letter to her parents, expressing her feelings. Before that, they are bluntly informed that 65% of Moroccan women face violence, underlining the importance of the issue. In addition to sympathizing with underage girls who are forced to marry, students are asked to research other forms of violence against women as well, such as harassment on the internet, and to suggest solutions.



Social Studies (Jadid), **Grade 6, 2021, p. 137**

Situation 2: sixty-five percent of Moroccan women are subjected to violence, just for being women…
Let us learn, using the following graph, about the spaces where girls and women generally face violence:
[Table, right to left:]
At school -?
On the street -?
At home -?
Environment - marriage of minors
Internet – harassment
- *Let us mention the forms of violence which may occur in these spaces.*
- *Let us examine a case of psychological violence carried out by some boys [or: children] against girls in schools, and suggest solutions.*
- *Let us put ourselves in the shoes of a girl named Saïda, whose parents want to marry her off, and write them a letter containing the following words (not in order):*

[146] *Social Studies (Rehab),* Grade 7, 2020, p. 153.
[147] *Social Studies (Moufid),* Grade 5, 2021, pp. 137-140.
[148] *Arabic Language (Manar),* Grade 6, 2021, pp. 58-55;
Arabic Language (Rehab), Grade 6, 2021, pp. 197-199;
Social Studies (Jadid), Grade 6, 2021, p. 147.

"school" - "I don't want" - "[my] right" - "I feel" - "I dream".

Another women's issue the curriculum addresses is women's education. Several textbooks contain texts calling for equal access to education for both genders, asserting the importance of this cause and providing justification for it. One justification, conveyed indirectly by an Islamic Education textbook, is that women and men have fundamentally equal intellectual abilities.[149] Another justification is seen in a twelfth-grade History textbook, quoting a 1947 speech attributed to Princess Aïcha of Morocco, which holds women's education as "the best measure for (Morocco's) renaissance." [150]

This issue is dealt with in the greatest detail in a reading text for an eighth-grade Arabic Language textbook, seen below. The text, a 2002 essay by Moroccan writer Mostafa Mohsine, calls education "the only way to liberation" for women, and to the "sustainable development" of Moroccan and Arab society(s). Likewise, it candidly describes some factors believed to stand in the way of gender equality, including "unsuitable traditions," and "misunderstanding of religious teachings." Students are then tasked with analyzing the text and making a strong case for women's education, which is considered a challenge of national and regional importance.



ممّا لاَ جِدَالَ فِيهِ أَنَّ الْمَرْأَةَ الْعَرَبِيَّةَ عَامَّةً، وَالْفَتَاةَ بِشَكْلٍ خَاصٍّ، قَدْ حَقَّقَتْ فِي الْوَقْتِ الرَّاهِنِ، قِيَاسًا إِلَى أَوَاسِطِ الْقَرْنِ الْعِشْرِينَ مَثَلاً، نَوْعاً مِنَ الاِعْتِرَافِ بِعَدَدٍ لاَ يُسْتَهَانُ بِهِ مِنْ حُقُوقِهَا فِي مَيَادِينِ التَّرْبِيَةِ وَالثَّقَافَةِ، وَالشُّغْلِ وَالْحُقُوقِ السِّيَاسِيَّةِ وَالْمَدَنِيَّةِ، فَاقْتَحَمَتْ بِذَلِكَ مَجَالاَتٍ اجْتِمَاعِيَّةً وَإِنْتَاجِيَّةً كَثِيرَةً، مُحَاوِلَةً بِذَلِكَ إِثْبَاتَ ذَاتِهَا بِوَصْفِهَا مُوَاطِنَةً مَسْؤُولَةً، وَتَأْكِيدَ مُسَاهَمَتِهَا بِشَكْلٍ فَاعِلٍ وَمُنْتِجٍ، غَيْرَ أَنَّهَا، مَعَ ذَلِكَ، مَا تَزَالُ حَتَّى الآنَ بِالرَّغْمِ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْقَفْزَةِ، دُونَ تَحْقِيقِهَا لِلأَهْدَافِ الْمَرْجُوَّةِ مِنِ اقْتِحَامِهَا الْمَجَالاَتِ الآنِفَةَ الذِّكْرِ، إِذْ مَا تَزَالُ تُعَانِي الْكَثِيرَ مِنْ مَظَاهِرِ عَدَمِ تَكَافُؤِ الْفُرَصِ التَّعْلِيمِيَّةِ وَالاِجْتِمَاعِيَّةِ عُمُوماً، فَالْمَرْأَةُ فِي جُلِّ مُجْتَمَعَاتِنَا الْعَرَبِيَّةِ، تُوَاجِهُ مُخْتَلِفَ أَشْكَالِ الاِسْتِغْلاَلِ وَالْحِرْمَانِ الْمُضَاعَفِ. وَلَعَلَّ مِنْ أَهَمِّ الْعَوَامِلِ الْفَاعِلَةِ فِي إِنْتَاجِ شُرُوطِ هَذِهِ الْوَضْعِيَّةِ، سَيْطَرَةُ الْعَادَاتِ وَالتَّقَالِيدِ غَيْرِ الْمُلاَئِمَةِ لِرُوحِ الْعَصْرِ، وَسُوءُ فَهْمِ التَّعَالِيمِ الدِّينِيَّةِ، وَانْتِشَارُ الأُمِّيَّةِ بَيْنَ جِيلِ الْكِبَارِ مِنَ الرِّجَالِ وَالنِّسَاءِ عَلَى حَدٍّ سَوَاءٍ، وَصُعُوبَةُ الاِتِّصَالِ، وَالْعُزْلَةُ النِّسْبِيَّةُ عَنِ الْعَالَمِ الْخَارِجِيِّ، وَعَدَمُ امْتِدَادِ مَا حَدَثَ مِنْ تَطَوُّرٍ ثَقَافِيٍّ وَحَضَارِيٍّ فِي الْمَدِينَةِ إِلَى الرِّيفِ.

إِنَّ التَّعْلِيمَ بِالنِّسْبَةِ لِلْفَتَاةِ الْقَرَوِيَّةِ هُوَ سَبِيلُهَا الْوَحِيدُ لِلتَّحَرُّرِ وَالْمُسَاوَاةِ وَتَأْكِيدِ الذَّاتِ، وَتَحْقِيقِ الاِنْدِمَاجِ الاِجْتِمَاعِيِّ الْمُطَابِقِ وَالْمُنَاسِبِ لِمُقَوِّمَاتِنَا الْحَضَارِيَّةِ وَحَاجَاتِنَا إِلَى تَنْمِيَةٍ مُلاَئِمَةٍ شَامِلَةٍ وَمُسْتَدِيمَةٍ. فَالْمُوَاطِنُ الْيَوْمَ، لَمْ يَعُدْ يُقَوَّمُ انْطِلاَقاً مِنْ خَصَائِصَ مُرْتَبِطَةٍ بِجِنْسِهِ أَوْ لَوْنِهِ، وَإِنَّمَا تُحَدَّدُ قِيمَتُهُ الاِجْتِمَاعِيَّةُ بِنَاءً عَلَى كَفَاءَتِهِ وَمَقْدِرَتِهِ عَلَى الْخَلْقِ وَالإِبْدَاعِ وَالْمُسَاهَمَةِ فِي مَسِيرَةِ التَّقَدُّمِ الاِقْتِصَادِيِّ وَالاِجْتِمَاعِيِّ لِلْمُحِيطِ الَّذِي يَنْتَمِي إِلَيْهِ، سَوَاءٌ كَانَ ذَكَراً أَمْ أُنْثَى. وَمِمَّا لاَشَكَّ فِيهِ أَنَّ كِفَايَةَ الْفَرْدِ فِي الْمُجْتَمَعِ الْحَدِيثِ تَسْتَنِدُ إِلَى التَّعْلِيمِ وَالتَّكْوِينِ فِي مُخْتَلِفِ الْمَجَالاَتِ الْمَعْرِفِيَّةِ أَوِ الْفَنِّيَّةِ الْمُتَخَصِّصَةِ.

إِنَّ الرِّهَانَ عَلَى النُّهُوضِ بِتَعْلِيمِ الْمَرْأَةِ وَ تَحْرِيرِهَا، ضِمْنَ قِيَمِنَا وَمُقَوِّمَاتِنَا الدِّينِيَّةِ وَالثَّقَافِيَّةِ وَالْحَضَارِيَّةِ، وَعَلَى تَغْيِيرِ النَّظْرَةِ الدُّونِيَّةِ إِلَى مَكَانَتِهَا وَ مُسْتَوَى مُسَاهَمَتِهَا ، يُعْتَبَرُ مِنْ بَيْنِ أَهَمِّ الشُّرُوطِ وَالْمُقَوِّمَاتِ الَّتِي يَنْبَغِي أَنْ تُبْنَى عَلَيْهَا الْمَرْاهَنَةُ عَلَى كَسْبِ مَعْرَكَةِ التَّقْدِيمِ الَّتِي تَخُوضُهَا مُجْتَمَعَاتُنَا الْعَرَبِيَّةُ، وَهِيَ مُقَدِّمَتُهَا الْمُجْتَمَعُ الْمَغْرِبِيُّ، بَلْ مُجْتَمَعَاتُ الْعَالَمِ الثَّالِثِ بِشَكْلٍ عَامٍّ. ذَلِكَ أَنَّ بِنَاءَ أَوْ تَكْوِينَ الْمُوَاطِنِ – الإِنْسَانِ، وَفْقَ مَشْرُوعٍ تَرْبَوِيٍّ وَ اجْتِمَاعِيٍّ مُحَدَّدٍ وَ هَادِفٍ، يَقَعُ بِالتَّأْكِيدِ فِي صُلْبِ هَذِهِ الْمَعْرَكَةِ الْحَاسِمَةِ.

124

Arabic Language (Rehab), **Grade 8, 2020, p. 124.**

Woman and Development
It is indisputable that Arab women [...] have achieved [...] somewhat of a recognition for a significant number of their rights in the fields of education, culture, employment, and political and civil rights [...] However, despite this leap, they have yet to achieve the desired goals of breaking into the aforementioned areas, as they still greatly suffer from manifestations of unequal opportunities in education, and in society in general. In most of our Arab societies, women face various forms of exploitation and double deprivation. Perhaps among the most important factors in producing the preconditions for this situation are the dominance of customs and traditions that are unsuitable for the spirit of the times, misunderstanding of religious teachings, the spread of illiteracy among adult men and women alike, the difficulty of communication, the relative isolation from the outside world, and the failure of cultural and civilized development to reach the countryside from the city.
For rural women, education is the only way to liberation, equality, and self-assertion, and to achieving social integration that is compatible and suitable for our civil foundations and our needs for adequate, comprehensive, and sustainable development. [...] There is no doubt that the adequacy of an individual in modern society is based on education and training in various fields of knowledge or technical expertise.
Betting on the advancement of women's education and liberation, within our religious, cultural, and civil values and foundations, and betting on changing the view of their place and level of contribution as inferior – these are

[149] *Islamic Education (Mounir),* Grade 6, 2021, p. 9.

[150] *History (Jadid),* Baccalaureate Year 2, 2018, p. 115.

among the most important preconditions and foundations which we should bet on to win the battle for change in our Arab societies [...]

Notably, and as seen above, some textbooks dabble in feminist social critique, openly challenging actors and forces perceived as impeding women's progress and rights. The criticism is explicit regarding the negative consequences for women, though special care is taken to avoid offending religious sensibilities, and specific individuals and institutions. As an example, one tenth-grade Arabic Language textbook contains at least three reading texts of feminist nature: a 2005 essay by Moroccan sociologist Aïcha Belarbi, criticizing the stereotypical portrayal of gender roles in Moroccan media;[151] a 1966 essay by Moroccan politician Allal El Fassi (1910-1974) which names women's liberation as an "essential prerequisite" for Morocco's development, and which criticizes men who "prefer traditions over the Faith itself";[152] and a piece which criticizes "those who wish to limit" women to "the work defined for them by nature." [153]

The example below, taken from a ninth-grade Arabic Language textbook, likewise censures a medium identified as harming females – in this case, women's magazines. The text accuses publications of this nature of being shallow and materialistic, viewing women as "pretty toys" when in reality, women can be "engineers, ministers, doctors, and educators." The text describes this as not just a disservice to many women but also to the national collective, since these magazines allegedly discourage women from taking an interest in issues of national concern.



Arabic Language (Mourchidi), **Grade 9, 2021, p. 197.**

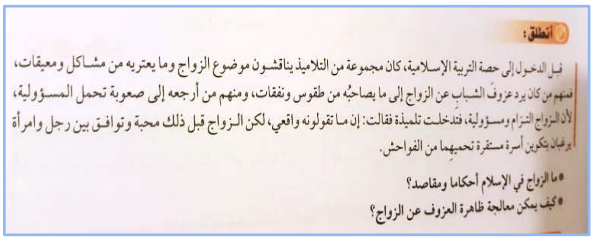
Women and Culture
There are many publications which help create a backwards image of women, and partake in their disempowerment and dehumanization. These publications include women's magazines, which reduce women's concerns to "this week's dish" or that season's dress, and urge them to spend their free time "making jam" or enjoying stories about the ancient knight in shining armor...
This is a poor sort of journalism. It emanates from a negative representation of women, since it does not perceive them as entities with whole personalities.
Women are people who read and appreciate culture as much as men do. Women are engineers, ministers, doctors, and educators. Yet, these magazines see them as nothing but pretty toys, or minds incapable of culture.
What we need is that newspapers and magazines be brought up to the level of cultured women's concerns. That they make an honest and sincere attempt to raise the level of ordinary women, to make them aware of their country's concerns, and encourage them to aspire for intellectual development and taking part in our future decisive issues.

Moroccan textbooks generally refrain from stereotypical gender roles and, as seen above, often directly subvert or criticize

[151] *Arabic Language (Mourchidi),* Common Core, 2021, p. 55.
[152] *Arabic Language (Mourchidi),* Common Core, 2021, pp. 51-52.
[153] *Arabic Language (Mourchidi),* Common Core, 2021, p. 60.

them. However, one area where traditional gender roles are maintained is in the family structure. Generally speaking, the curriculum affirms the notion that women should serve as wives and mothers, and does not challenge it in any way. Multiple textbooks reference women bearing and educating children, or marrying men to become wives. However, the notion that women may choose not to marry or have children, let alone marry people who are not men, is not entertained.

One high school Islamic Education textbook, goes a step further, portraying the phenomenon of young people becoming averse to marriage as a problem that needs to be addressed. The textbook suggests that one explanation for this phenomenon is the younger generations' dislike of responsibility, implying that refusing to marry is irresponsible and immature. The textbook then suggests, in the words of a female student, that marriage is "love... between a man and a woman" and that its purpose is "to protect (the couple) from fornication *(fawāḥiš)*."


أنطلق:

قبل الدخول إلى حصة التربية الإسلامية، كان مجموعة من التلاميذ يناقشون موضوع الزواج وما يعتريه من مشاكل ومعيقات، فمنهم من كان يرد عزوف الشباب عن الزواج إلى ما يصاحبُه من طقوس ونفقات، ومنهم من أرجعه إلى صعوبة تحمل المسؤولية، لأن الزواج التزام ومسؤولية، فتدخلت تلميذة فقالت: إن ما تقولونه واقعي، لكن الزواج قبل ذلك محبة وتوافق بين رجل وامرأة يرغبان بتكوين أسرة مستقرة تحميهما من الفواحش.

- ما الزواج في الإسلام أحكاما ومقاصد؟
- كيف يمكن معالجة ظاهرة العزوف عن الزواج؟

Islamic Education (Manar), **Baccalaureate Year I, 2021, p. 21.**

I set out:
Before entering Islamic Education class, a group of students discussed the topic of marriage and the problems and difficulties it entails. Some of them attributed the reluctance to get married to the associated ceremonies and expenses, while some of them attributed it to the difficulty of bearing responsibility, since marriage is an obligation and a responsibility. One of the students intervened: "What you are saying is true," she said, "But marriage is first and foremost love and harmony between a man and a woman who wish to build a stable family, to protect them from fornication."

- *What is marriage in Islam, in terms of rulings and [shariah] objectives?*
- *How can the phenomenon of aversion to marriage be addressed?*

All in all, women's issues occupy a prominent place in the Moroccan curriculum. Female individuals are frequently portrayed, visually and textually, in diverse situations and are represented in traditional or Islamic attire and Western clothing, with or without head coverings. Representations of women also include specific examples of Moroccan women from domains such as politics, history, science, and sports. These are presented as Moroccan female role models to be emulated and appreciated. Many of these representations challenge or subvert stereotypical gender roles, by highlighting women's achievements as athletes or political leaders.

The concept of women's rights and gender equality is taught, and often anchored in the constitution and law, international documents such as CEDAW and UDHR, and Islamic sources. Violence against women is openly discussed and confronted, including both physical domestic violence and the effects of forced marriages. However, sexual violence, when taught, is not understood to be a women's issue. Women's education is also discussed as a significant issue of national importance. On occasion, women and women's rights are also employed to promote political causes and narratives,

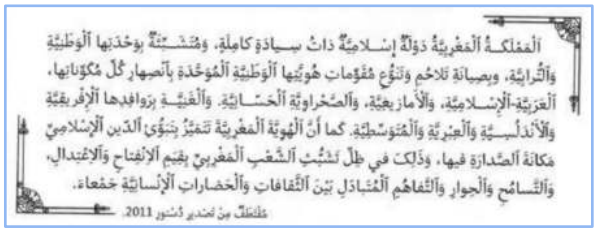
most frequently in the context of the struggle against European colonialism in Morocco.

Notably, the notion that Moroccan women have yet to attain equality is recognized in the curriculum, and societal factors which impede women's liberation, such as gender stereotypes in media, are criticized in some textbooks. On the other hand, such textbooks do not challenge or offend religious sensibilities and institutions, which may impede women's development. Finally, women's traditional role in the household, as the wives of men and as the mothers of children, is affirmed and never challenged.

Amazigh Representation

Morocco's Amazigh (Berber) population and its impact on Morocco's national identity and society remain essential questions in the Kingdom. Current estimates suggest that 40–45% of Morocco's 37 million inhabitants are Amazigh (Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, Arab Politics in the Wake of the Arab Spring). The Amazigh are Morocco's indigenous peoples, who preceded the Arab-Islamic conquests of North Africa. Although they converted to Islam and are considered accepted adherents of the faith, they retained various historical customs and social practices of Amazigh tradition that are at odds with Islamic orthodoxies, such as the veneration of tombs of saints. French colonial officials misinterpreted these Amazigh social and cultural rites as evidence of the group not being Muslim nor Arab. Therefore, French officials perceived the Amazigh as a people they could collaborate with against the local Arab population. While this assumption proved wrong when Morocco became independent and the Kingdom's Arab roots were emphasized, Moroccan nationalists came to view Amazigh leaders with a degree of suspicion. Amazigh identity was consequently rejected by Arab leaders, owing mainly to their alleged involvement with French colonial rule. [154]

In recent decades, Amazigh activists have gained momentum in Morocco, by calling for the recognition of their indigenous languages and culture. The Moroccan government has accepted many of these demands, while steering clear of any politically oriented questions that could disrupt the Kingdom's political and social fabric. Moreover, the monarchy and state have actively engaged in dialogue with the Amazigh people and have promoted them as one of the pillars of Morocco's identity. This was formally enshrined in a constitutional amendment passed in 2011, in a praiseworthy effort to emphasize cultural and religious diversity in Morocco.[155]



المملكة المغربية دولة إسلامية ذات سيادة كاملة، ومتشبثة بوحدتها الوطنية والترابية، وبصيانة تلاحم وتنوع مقومات هويتها الوطنية الموحدة بانصهار كل مكوناتها، العربية-الإسلامية، والأمازيغية، والصحراوية الحسانية. والغنية بروافدها الإفريقية والأندلسية والعبرية والمتوسطية. كما أن الهوية المغربية تتميز بتبوئ الدين الإسلامي مكانة الصدارة فيها، وذلك في ظل تشبث الشعب المغربي بقيم الانفتاح والاعتدال، والتسامح والحوار والتفاهم المتبادل بين الثقافات والحضارات الإنسانية جمعاء.

مقتطف من الدستور 2011

Arabic Language (Rehab), **Grade 6, 2021, p. 73**

> *The Kingdom of Morocco is an Islamic state with full sovereignty that adheres to its national and territorial unity, and [adheres] to maintaining the coherence and diversity of elements that form its unified national identity in all its components - Arab-Islamic, Amazigh, and Sahrawi Hassani. [This identity] is rich with its African, Andalusian, Hebrew, and Mediterranean pillars. […] This is due to the Moroccan people's adherence to the values of openness, moderation, tolerance, dialogue, and mutual understanding between all human cultures and civilizations.*

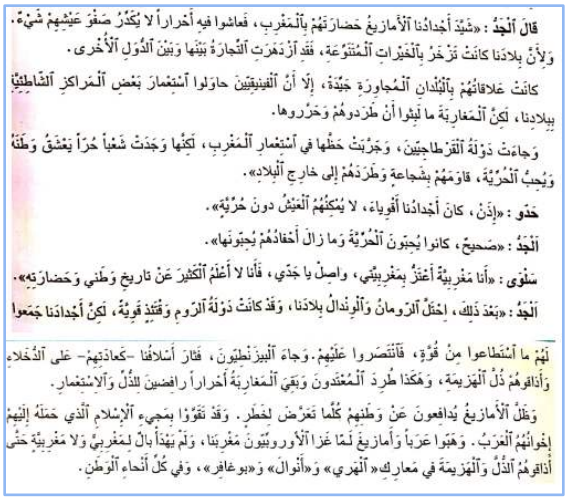
Moroccan textbooks largely reflect this trend, although the presentation of the Amazigh people in textbooks is at times ambivalent, and there is an avoidance of sensitive issues related to Amazigh history, particularly during the colonial era. A Grade 5 textbook details the current status of the Amazigh people. An example

[155] *Arabic Language (Rehab),* Grade 6, 2021, p. 24; *Social Studies (Fadaa),* Grade 8, 2021, p. 151.

states that Moroccan Arabs and the Amazigh are part of a single Moroccan nation, contrary to "*racist*" claims by colonialists. It is argued that the two populations are intermixed through blood and language – a claim that is not entirely accurate – and that both opposed colonialism.[156]

Another textbook describes the Amazigh as the "*original inhabitants of Morocco*," while explaining the cultural influences of Phoenicia and Carthage on this group.[157] The Amazigh are praised for rebelling against "*Roman occupation*"[158] and Amazigh resistance to Roman rule is depicted in another textbook as a struggle against "colonial incursion." [159] Similarly, an updated version of a Grade 5 Social Studies book offers details of the "*Roman exploitation*" of the Amazigh people, including taxation and racial discrimination.[160]

A Grade 4 book also notes how colonizers such as the Roman and the Vandals were driven away by "*our Amazigh ancestors*", until their "*Arab brothers*" brought Islam.



قالَ ٱلْجَدُّ : «شَيَّدَ أَجْدادُنا ٱلْأَمازيغُ حَضارَتَهُمْ بِٱلْمَغْرِبِ، فَعاشوا فيهِ أَحْراراً لا يُكَدِّرُ صَفْوَ عَيْشِهِمْ شَيْءٌ. وَلِأَنَّ بِلادَنا كانَتْ تَزْخَرُ بِٱلْخَيْراتِ ٱلْمُتَنَوِّعَةِ، فَقَدِ ٱزْدَهَرَتِ ٱلتِّجارَةُ بَيْنَها وَبَيْنَ ٱلدُّوَلِ ٱلْأُخْرى.

كانَتْ عَلاقاتُهُمْ بِٱلْبُلْدانِ ٱلْمُجاوِرَةِ جَيِّدَةً، إِلّا أَنَّ ٱلْفينيقِيّينَ حاوَلوا ٱسْتِعْمارَ بَعْضِ ٱلْمَراكِزِ ٱلشّاطِئِيَّةِ بِبِلادِنا، لَكِنَّ ٱلْمَغارِبَةَ ما لَبِثوا أَنْ طَرَدوهُمْ وَحَرَّروها.

وَجاءَتْ دَوْلَةُ ٱلْقَرْطاجِيِّينَ، وَجَرَّبَتْ حَظَّها في ٱسْتِعْمارِ ٱلْمَغْرِبِ، لَكِنَّها وَجَدَتْ شَعْباً حُرّاً يَعْشَقُ وَطَنَهُ وَيُحِبُّ ٱلْحُرِّيَّةَ، فَاوَمَهُمْ بِشَجاعَةٍ وَطَرَدَهُمْ إِلى خارِجِ ٱلْبِلادِ».

حَدّو : «إِذَنْ، كانَ أَجْدادُنا أَقْوِياءَ، لا يُمْكِنُهُمْ ٱلْعَيْشُ دونَ حُرِّيَّةٍ».

ٱلْجَدُّ : «صَحيحٌ، كانوا يُحِبّونَ ٱلْحُرِّيَّةَ وَما زالَ أَحْفادُهُمْ يُحِبّونَها».

سَلْوى : «أَنا مَغْرِبِيَّةٌ أَعْتَزُّ بِمَغْرِبِيَّتي، واصِلْ يا جَدّي، فَأَنا لا أَعْلَمُ ٱلْكَثيرَ عَنْ تاريخِ وَطَني وَحَضارَتِهِ».

ٱلْجَدُّ : «بَعْدَ ذٰلِكَ، إِحْتَلَّ ٱلرّومانُ وَٱلْوَنْدالُ بِلادَنا، وَقَدْ كانَتْ دَوْلَةُ ٱلرّومِ وَقْتَئِذٍ قَوِيَّةً، لَكِنَّ أَجْدادَنا جَمَعوا لَهُمْ ما ٱسْتَطاعوا مِنْ قُوَّةٍ، فَٱنْتَصَروا عَلَيْهِمْ. وَجاءَ ٱلْبيزَنْطِيّونَ، فَثارَ أَسْلافُنا -كَعادَتِهِمْ- على ٱلدُّخَلاءِ وَأَذاقوهُمْ ذُلَّ ٱلْهَزيمَةِ، وَهٰكَذا طُرِدَ ٱلْمُعْتَدونَ وَبَقِيَ ٱلْمَغارِبَةُ أَحْراراً رافِضينَ لِلذُّلِّ وَٱلاِسْتِعْمارِ.

وَظَلَّ ٱلْأَمازيغُ يُدافِعونَ عَنْ وَطَنِهِمْ كُلَّما تَعَرَّضَ لِخَطَرٍ. وَقَدْ تَقَوَّوْا بِمَجيءِ ٱلْإِسْلامِ ٱلَّذي حَمَلَهُ إِلَيْهِمْ إِخْوانُهُمُ ٱلْعَرَبُ. وَهَبّوا عَرَباً وَأَمازيغَ لَمّا غَزا ٱلْأوروبِّيّونَ مَغْرِبَنا، وَلَمْ يَهْدَأْ بالُ لِمَغْرِبِيٍّ وَلا مَغْرِبِيَّةٍ حَتّى أَذاقوهُمُ ٱلذُّلَّ وَٱلْهَزيمَةَ في مَعارِكِ «ٱلْهَري» وَ«أنوال» وَ«بوغافر»، وَفي كُلِّ أَنْحاءِ ٱلْوَطَنِ.

Arabic Language (Jadid), **Grade 4, 2021, pp. 24-25**

The grandfather said: "Our Amazigh ancestors built their civilization in Morocco, living in it as free people with nothing disturbing their lives, and because our land was full of diverse good things, trade between it and other countries flourished.
Their relationship with neighboring countries was good, but the Phoenicians tried to conquer part of our county's coastal centers. However, the Moroccans did not wait for them to deport them, and they liberated them.
Then came the Carthaginians, who tried their luck in conquering Morocco, but they found a free people who love their homeland and who love freedom, bravely resisting them and driving them out of the land."
Hado: "Then, our ancestors were strong, they cannot live without freedom." The grandfather: "This is true, they loved freedom and their descendants still love it."
[…]
The Amazigh continued to defend their homeland whenever it was in danger. They became stronger with the arrival of Islam, which was brought to them by their Arab brothers. Both the Arabs and the Amazigh rose up when the Europeans invaded our Morocco, and no Moroccan man or woman rested until they gave them a taste of humiliation and defeat in the battles of El Herri, Annual, and Boughafer, and all over the homeland.

156 *Arabic Language (Mounir),* Grade 5, 2020, p. 53; *History (Chamel),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, p. 73.
157 *Social Studies (Moufid),* Grade 5, 2020, pp. 17, 21, 24.
158 *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26; *Social Studies (Jadid),* Grade 5, 2021, pp. 23, 25.
159 *Social Studies (Fadaa),* Grade 7, 2021, pp. 30-31.
160 *Social Studies (Moufid),* Grade 5, 2020, p. 26.

Students are taught extensively about Amazigh culture in ancient Morocco, including their traditional attire, places of residence (houses, tents), and cuisine.



Social Studies (Jadid), Grade 5, 2021, pp. 16-17

Activity 2: I will study aspects of the Amazigh way of life in ancient times:
Habitation: Document 1: Huts; Document 2: Tents; Document 3: Desert village.
Attire: Document 5: Amazigh dress; Document 6: Amazigh dress; Document 7: Amazigh jewelry.
- *I will look at the pictures, and then:*
- *I will describe the dress of the woman and the man and the jewelry in terms of shape and color.*

Through the various Amazigh clothes and jewelry, I will draw conclusions as to the level of craftsmanship that is tied to them.

Students also learn about Amazigh clothing and crafts.[161]



Social Studies (Moufid), Grade 5, 2021, p. 18

Aspects of the Amazigh Day-to-Day Life:
Attire: A woman's cloak.
Food: Couscous.
Jewelry: A Hamsa (A symbol of coexistence between the Amazigh and the Jews).
Furniture: Clay pottery; Amazigh carpets.

Students are also exposed to religious beliefs and rituals of the ancient Amazigh, although there is no discussion of enduring practices frowned upon by Orthodox Islam.



Social Studies (Massar), Grade 6, 2021, p. 16

Second Activity: I will get to know Amazigh religious beliefs in ancient times
Document 3: Deities worshiped by the Amazigh in ancient Morocco.
The Amazigh were idol worshippers, like the Persians who worshipped fire and the sun and dedicated beautiful and decorated temples to worship the two, in which a fire was burned and would be guarded day and night so that it would not go out, just like in the temples of the Roman gods. Document 4: An Amazigh idol in ancient Morocco. Poseidon is the god of the sea and the oceans. Herodotus mentioned that the Greeks borrowed him from the Libyan inhabitants (the Amazigh.)
I will read the text, then look at the picture, and using the paragraph "I will develop my vocabulary":
- *I will specify the gods that the Amazigh worshiped in ancient Morocco, and I will explain their rituals in worshipping them.*
- *I will identify the god shown in the picture, describe his appearance, and explain my conclusions.*
- *I will draw conclusions as to what type of religion the Amazigh adopted in ancient Morocco.*

[161] *Social Studies (Moufid),* Grade 5, 2020, pp. 16-19.

Discussions on Morocco's anti-colonial struggle for independence underscore how the Amazigh and Arabs resisted colonialism together.[162] The same Grade 12 textbook teaches of the 1930 Berber *dahir* (edict), which sought to create a legal distinction between Amazigh and Arab populations, and triggered the first widespread anti-colonial protest in Morocco. One of the more sensitive topics concerning the Amazigh's anti-colonial struggle involves the Rif Uprising in 1921, led by Muhammad Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi. Al-Khattbi is highlighted as an Amazigh leader who resisted colonial rule, without explaining that he established an independent republic in the region. It should be noted that the Rif rebellion and its impact remain an unresolved topic in Moroccan history, and therefore it is not fully explained in the researched textbooks.



[...]
Muhammad bin Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi: Born in Ajdir in 1883, he led the resistance against the Spanish. In 1926, after battling against the Spanish and the French, he surrendered and was exiled to Réunion Island. Afterwards he found shelter in Egypt, where he died in 1962.



History (Jadid), **Baccalaureate Year II, 2018, p. 77**

Muhammad bin Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi

The examined textbooks reflect current trends in Morocco concerning the Amazigh population: a recognition of their historical and cultural heritage, and an emphasis on them being an integral part of Moroccan society. This embrace reflects the recognition of Amazigh identity enshrined in the 2011 constitution. Some topics concerning the Amazigh, such as customs and social rites that ostensibly defy Islamic orthodoxy, are not mentioned. Neither are more militant currents within the Amazigh identity movement, which call for various forms of autonomy and challenge the Moroccan state. Considering that these features remain an open topic among the Amazigh, this is to be expected. More sensitive historical questions and debates, such as the Rif uprising in the 1920s and its place in Morocco's national struggle, are also avoided.

162 *History (Chamel),* Baccalaureate Year II. 2021, p. 73.

Jews and Judaism in Morocco

Although there is historical evidence of a Jewish presence in Morocco after 500 B.C.E. and after the second temple's destruction in 70 C.E., most Jews arrived in Morocco after the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492. Within the Jewish community, these newcomers became known as "*Megorashim*" (deportees), who joined the "*Toshavim*" (earlier Jewish residents) who already lived in Morocco. The two groups initially clashed with one other, but became a more unified collective over time. Jewish communities in Morocco could be found in coastal cities, inland towns, and villages. The inland Jewish communities tended to be more insulated and conservative in their views compared to the Jewish communities in coastal cities, which were exposed to external socio-cultural influences. For the most part, Jews in Morocco spoke Judeo-Arabic, Spanish, and Amazigh dialects and worked as craftsmen and artisans. In the coastal cities, however, many became merchants who engaged in trade with their European counterparts. Other Jews found employment in various positions of the Moroccan royal court, where, as a religious minority, they were considered trustworthy and reliable employees who would not rebel against the monarchy. Jewish communities were led by "*Hachamim*" (rabbis) who provided religious and spiritual leadership, while a "*Nagid*" (president) was elected in charge of general community affairs.[163]

Historically, the status of Jews in Morocco was dictated by Islamic law, which classified Jews as "Dhimmis" (adherents of a monotheistic faith), stipulating their rights and obligations in everyday life. As a result, demeaning measures were imposed upon Jews, such as the requirement to pay an annual poll tax (*Jizya*) or, in some cases, a prohibition on wearing shoes in public. Despite these restrictions, integration between communities, and personal relationships between Jewish and non-Jewish Moroccans, created various forms of solidarity between Jews and Muslims. These relations play out, for example, in the Moroccan-Jewish *Mimouna* celebration, a community festival marking the end of the Passover holiday and the return to eating leavened food items. Traditionally, Muslim neighbors would often provide flour and other items forbidden over the Passover holiday for the celebration. Jews also shared certain social and cultural rites with Amazigh communities, such as the veneration of perceived saints. Scholars of Moroccan-Jewish history have advocated the need to avoid a rosy-eyed view of Jewish-Muslim relations, but simultaneously oppose an account that portrays Jews as oppressed pariahs. Relations between

[163] Michael Menachem Laskier, Eliezer Bashan, "Morocco," *The Jews of the Middle East and North Africa in Modern Times* (eds. Reeva Spector Simon, Michael Menachem Laskier, Sara Reguer), New York, Columbia University Press, 2003, pp. 470-504; Emily Gottreich, *Jewish Morocco: A History from Pre-Islamic to Postcolonial Times* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2020), pp. 19-46.

Jews and Muslims were highly complex, good and bad, friendly and hostile, and defy categorization or generalization.[164]

This paradox of closeness and distance is reflected in the physical space Jews traditionally inhabited in Moroccan cities. These neighborhoods, known as *mellahs*, served as a degrading, segregated space, but were also fully integrated into an urban setting. Additionally, the Jews forced to live in these quarters benefited from the protection that came from living in a restricted zone. Muslim presence in the *mellah* was common; it was not a restricted or closed space to those not who were not Jewish. The name *mellah* (salt) reflects the salt marshes adjacent to the first *mellah* neighborhood, established in Fez in 1438. The founding of the *mellah* in Marrakesh is less clear, and is estimated to have occurred between 1553-1573. This ambiguity highlights the *mellah's* fluidity as an urban concept: on the one hand Jews were relocated close to the Moroccan Sultan to benefit from his protection, while at the same time, the *mellah* was constructed as a collective punishment for specific transgressions.[165] The profound transformations in Morocco throughout the 19th century offered some Jews the possibility of leaving the *mellah*, as they became beneficiaries of European protection and took up residence in the newly-built European residential areas. This process intensified after the establishment of the French protectorate in 1912, and the *mellah* gradually lost its significance.

As the colonial era progressed, Jews were seen by Muslims as collaborators or beneficiaries of colonialism. World War II was, in many ways, a turning point for Moroccan Jews. Although the war ended in Morocco with the Allies' landing in November 1942, the impact of Vichy France's efforts to promote anti-Jewish legislation alarmed the Jewish community, which was increasingly uncertain about its future in Morocco. The establishment of the State of Israel and the impact of the 1948 Arab-Israeli war brought Jewish-Muslim relations to a boiling point. Anti-Jewish riots erupted in the town of Oujda in June 1948, leaving five people dead, 20 injured, and significant property damage. The attacks on Jews erupted in response to allegations that a Jew had murdered a Muslim. The riots highlighted the dilemma for Muslims in distinguishing between "Jews" and "Zionists," exacerbating Moroccan Jews' growing anxiety.[166]

The number of Jews in Morocco in 1912 was estimated at around 110,000. By 1952, the community had grown to a total of 240,000. This population growth indicated the improved health conditions and lower infant mortality rates of the time. Today there are approximately 2,500 Jews in Morocco, following a massive exodus that

---

164 Aomar Boum, Emily Benichou Gottreich, Jessica M. Marglin, "Introduction: 'Pluralizing North African Historiography: Susan Glison Miller and the history of Morocco", *The Journal of North African Studies,* 2021 Ahead of Print, pp. 1-13.

165 Emily Gottreich, *The Mellah of Marrakesh: Jewish and Muslim Space in Morocco's Red City* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007, pp. 1-38; 71-107).

166 Yaron Tsur, *A Torn Community: The Jews of Morocco and Nationalism,* 1943-1954 (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 2001, pp. 87-91 (Hebrew).

began in the mid-20th century. Jews departed for Israel, France, Canada, and South America. The colonial era affected the Jewish sense of belonging in Morocco, as a widening gap between Jews and Muslims led to the perception that Jews were disloyal to the monarchy. The rise of the Zionist movement and the establishment of the State of Israel were also factors that inevitably drove Jews out, exacerbated by the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Jewish departure was also generated by a heightened sense of insecurity after the cessation of French rule. Growing mutual estrangement, and hollow efforts to incorporate Jews into the Moroccan national narrative at the time, were also linked to their departure. The Jewish community's exodus remains a painful subject for Moroccans: "a monumental national tragedy" is how one historian described it.[167] Nearly half a million Moroccan Jews (either born in Morocco, or with a Moroccan-born father) now live in Israel. Around 50,000 reside in France, 27,000 in Canada, 11,000 in Spain, and several thousand in Brazil and other South American countries. In a curious historic twist, one can now talk about the phenomenon of a Moroccan Jewish diaspora that still maintains ties to the Kingdom.

The Moroccan curriculum establishes the country's Jewish community as an inseparable part of the Moroccan nation. This notion is rooted in the 2011 Moroccan Constitution, which in its Preamble describes "Hebraic influences" (*rawāfidihā ... al-ʿibriyyah*)[168] as one of the core components of the country's national identity.[169] This particular section of the Constitution is quoted in full in multiple textbooks, although without necessarily calling attention to the Jewish ("Hebraic") reference.[170] The spirit of the Preamble to the Constitution is evoked by a sixth grade Arabic Language textbook, which as part of its unit on "global cultures", includes an audio text titled "*The Influence of Moroccan Jews on Moroccan Civilization*". The text itself was not found in a written version, but the accompanying illustration includes photos of a *hamsa* talisman and a woman in what appears to be a Jewish wedding veil. The questions following the text spell out the intended message by the textbook authors: students are asked to research and discuss "*the Hebraic component of Moroccan civilization*", describing it as "*an inseparable part of Moroccan identity*."

This text helps students to equate and associate the Constitution's wording of "Hebraic influences" with the Moroccan Jewish community.

[167] Emily Gottreich, *Jewish Morocco: A History from Pre-Islamic to Postcolonial Times* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2020), pp. 163-166.
[168] May also be translated as "Hebraic currents", or "streams"; "affluents" in the French translation.
[169] Constitution of the Kingdom of Morocco, preamble: "[Morocco's] unity, is forged by the convergence of its Arab-Islamist, Berber and Saharan-Hassanic components, nourished and enriched by its African, Andalusian, Hebraic and Mediterranean influences." English translation by William S. Hein & Co., Inc., Comparative Constitutions Project, 2012. https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Morocco_2011.pdf
[170] For example: *Social Studies (Jadid),* Grade 4, 2021, p. 76; *Arabic Language (Rehab),* Grade 6, 2021, p. 73.



Arabic Language (Manar), Grade 6, 2021, p. 20

Audio Text
The Influence of Moroccan Jews on Moroccan Civilization [...]
Oral Reproduction
1. I will orally recount the ideas of the text, "The Influence of Moroccan Jews on Moroccan Civilization" using my own words.
2. I will speak about examples of coexistence and cohabitation of Moroccans, whether Muslim, Jewish, or otherwise.
3. With my friends, I will prepare a document about how the Hebraic component of Moroccan civilization is expressed.
4. I will join my classmates in conversation about the Hebraic component, as an inseparable part of Moroccan identity.

To illustrate the Jewish community's declared status as an integral part of Moroccan society, some textbooks explore specific Jewish contributions to Moroccan cultural heritage. Usually this is accomplished by incorporating reading texts in Arabic Language textbooks, which highlight or provide information about aspects of Moroccan cultural heritage associated with the country's Jewish community. One example takes note of Jewish contribution to Moroccan cuisine,[171] and another highlights a medieval Moroccan scientist of Jewish heritage.[172] However, the most commonly referenced medium is music.

In the example below, a reading comprehension exercise explains about the importance of music in Jewish communal life, how Moroccan Jewish music developed, and how it continues to be celebrated in Morocco. The lesson's main takeaway is that Jewish Moroccan music is emblematic of the coexistence which characterizes Moroccan society, between of its various ethnic and religious groups. In addition, note how the text recognizes the Jewish experience as a people living in a diaspora, some of their unique religious and cultural practices, and the distinction between "Jewish" and "Arab" music – a recognition of the Jewish community's separate ethnic-linguistic-national identity.[173]

[171] *Arabic Language (Moufid),* Grade 4, 2021, pp. 203-204.
[172] *Arabic Language (Jadid),* Grade 4, 2021, pp. 10-11.
[173] A similar example can be found in: *Arabic Language (Manar),* Grade 6, 2021, p. 238.



Arabic Language (Jadid), **Grade 4, 2021, pp. 76, 78**

Moroccan Jewish Music
Jews all over the world would use in their hymn's melodies from the lands in which they lived. They then innovated liturgical singing, which would help the correct, communal reading of the Torah.
[…]
Moroccan Jewish music emerged from reading the Torah in Jewish houses of worship, which were spread across the land. This music gained greater refinement, spread and influence on Jewish and Muslim listeners after it began to employ Andalusian Arab melodies.
[…]
The Atlantic Andalusia Festival, which is organized yearly in the city of Essaouira, remains an example of the rich coexistence between Jewish and Arab music. It is considered a musical marriage, where Jews and Muslims participate in creating a single musical style called "Matrouz", a type of music from Granada.
[…]
Written Expression
- I will write a five-line-long comment on what I see in the pictures.
- First I will plan, then I will execute and review, and then write.
[Right:] Muslim and Jewish artists
[Left:] A mixed orchestra of Muslims and Jews

To further cement the Jewish community's place in Moroccan society, some textbooks showcase the community's long history in Morocco. Some Social Studies textbooks point out the ancient roots of the Moroccan Jewish community, elevating the status of the community itself while also providing meaningful historic depth to the very idea of inter-communal coexistence in Morocco, thus conveying the notion that Morocco has always been a place where different groups of people lived together side by side.[174]

The example below accomplishes both of these goals: teaching that Judaism was the first monotheistic religion in Morocco gives it a certain amount of prestige from an Islamic point of view, and placing its arrival in the context of the ancient Phoenicians means it is as integral to the Moroccan landscape as any indigenous community. At the same time, the emphasis on scenes of coexistence between the Jewish newcomers and the indigenous Amazigh people in what is now Morocco affirms to students that this type of coexistence is an essential part of the Moroccan experience.



[174] One example expands on artifacts of early Jewish settlement in Morocco, such as a lamp with a menorah motif: *Social Studies (Massar),* Grade 6, 2020, pp. 16, 21.


« تُعْتَبَرُ ٱلدِّيانَـةُ ٱلْيَهودِيَّـةُ أَوَّلَ دِيانَـةٍ تَوْحيدِيَّـةٍ عَرَفَهـا ٱلْـمَغْرِبُ فِي تاريخِـهِ ٱلْقَديـمِ [...] وَأَنَّ ٱلْيَهـودَ جَـاؤوا وُفـوداً مَـعَ ٱلْفينيقِيّـينَ يَقْصِـدونَ هَـذا ٱلْبَلَـدَ ٱلْـمُتَسـامِحَ، وَظَلّـوا يَعيشـونَ جَنْبـاً إِلى جَنْـبٍ (ٱلتَّعايُـش) مَـعَ ٱلْأَمازيـغِ، وَيَتَبادَلـونَ طُقـوسَ ٱلتَّعَبُّـدِ، وَٱسْتَسْـقوا ٱلْغَيْـثَ عِنْـدَ شُـحِّ ٱلسَّـماءِ بِنَفْـسِ ٱلْحَـرَكاتِ وَٱلابْتِهـالاتِ، وَتَسـاكَنوا إِلى حَـدِّ أَنْ تَشـارَكَ ٱلْأَطْفـالُ حَليـبَ ٱلْأُمَّهـاتِ ».
Savt.ma/2019/06/ التلاقح الحضاري بين اليهود والأمازيغ آراء وأقلام

Social Studies (Moufid), Grade 5, 2021, pp. 18, 20

"Judaism is considered the first monotheistic religion known by Morocco in its ancient history...The Jews arrived in groups along with the Phoenicians, seeking this hospitable land. They lived side by side in harmony with the Amazigh people, exchanged rituals, prayed for rain in times of drought with the same supplications, and lived together, to the point where children shared their mothers' milk."
[...]
Lesson 4: Ancient Morocco: Scenes from the Amazigh Culture
I will look at pictures A and B, and then:
- Describe what picture A exemplified regarding the ties between Jews and Amazigh in the past and present;
- Deduce from picture B what clothes the depicted Amazigh lady is wearing, and what materials she is using to decorate herself.
Picture A [right, caption below:] An Amazigh and a Jewish man in Demnate in the 1940s.
Picture B [left, caption below:] An Amazigh woman (Aït Hdiddou tribe)

Beyond the ancient origin of the Jews in Morocco, scattered fragments of information are provided on Jewish history. In terms of general Jewish history, seventh grade Social Studies textbooks acknowledge that the Jewish faith originated in Palestine.[175] The presence of Jews during the Ottoman Empire is also mentioned in at least one textbook.[176] The history of the Zionist movement, the efforts to establish a Jewish state in Palestine, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, are discussed at some length in all ninth and twelfth grade history textbooks, but with an approach that is somewhat antagonistic toward Israel. In either case, even within the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the roots of Jewish national identity are neither explored nor recognized. In addition, no information was found about the Jewish Holocaust in history textbooks, neither in the context of World War II,[177] nor the Arab-Israeli conflict.[178]

Understandably, textbooks take more interest in the particular history of the Jews in Morocco. Some information about Moroccan Jewish history is conveyed in relevant contexts in Social Studies textbooks: this includes Jewish translators' role in spreading the works of 12th century Morocco-based polymath Averroes,[179] the Jewish community's positive experience under the rule of 16th-century sultan Al-Mansour,[180] and privileges awarded by European colonial powers to "some Moroccan subjects, Muslims and Jews" in the 19th century.[181] Such examples are included sporadically, and do not form part of a cohesive chronology of Moroccan Jewish history. Otherwise, the curriculum most commonly teaches about Moroccan Jewish history through incidental exercise texts in Arabic Language textbooks.

175 *Social Studies (Rehab),* Grade 7, 2020, p. 36.
Social Studies (Fadaa), Grade 7, 2021, p. 33.
176 *History (Rehab),* Common Core, 2019, p. 180.
177 For example: *History and Geography (Maourid),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2021, p. 11.
178 For example: *History (Chamel),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021, pp. 95-101, 192-203.
179 *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 6, 2021, p. 27.
180 *History (Rehab),* Common Core, 2019, p. 86.
181 *History (Jadid),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2016, p. 181.

Typically, texts on Moroccan Jewish history focus on the *mellah,* both as a feature of the Moroccan historical and urban landscape, as well as an example of Moroccan coexistence. Specific *mellah* quarters in Casablanca,[182] Marrakesh,[183] Salé,[184] and Essaouira (see below, p. 79) are mentioned in some of the textbooks. Fourth grade Arabic Language textbooks all contain reading texts concerning Jewish life in the *mellah*, paying special attention to the economic activities of the Jews who lived there; notably, some of these textbooks added this content as recently as 2021.[185] Goldsmithing, silversmithing, and the making of jewelry, are named as traditional professions associated with Jews; other Jewish professions variously mentioned include carpentry, dressmaking, gold threading,[186] blacksmithing, shoemaking, saddlery,[187] and perfumery,[188] as well as general commerce.[189] The textbooks do not entertain the question of how or why Jewish people ended up in these professions, although one textbook claims that the Jewish religion mandates that Jewish men must learn a trade,[190] while another speculates that Jews rarely took up farming as it requires great effort, and affords no time to study.[191] The main aim of these lessons is to show the *mellah* as an integral part of Moroccan history and landscape, and as an example of interreligious coexistence. They also give students a crucial glimpse into the life of the Jewish community as a minority with its own unique features and religious and economic needs, as seen in the example below (p. 79).


◆ أَقْرَأُ. أَقْرَأُ النَّصَّ قِراءَةً صامِتَةً. ثُمَّ أُكْمِلُ ضَبْطَهُ بِالشَّكْلِ التّامِّ.

اَلْمَلّاحُ تَصْمِيمٌ مِعْمارِيٌّ مَغْرِبِيٌّ، مُحاطٌ بِأَسْوارٍ عالِيَةٍ، عَلى شَكْلِ قَصَبَةٍ، كانَ اَلْيَهودُ يَقْطُنونَهُ داخِلَ اَلْمُدُنِ اَلْمَغْرِبِيَّةِ اَلْعَتيقَةِ. وَفي ما بَعْدُ أَصْبَحَتِ اَلْكَلِمَةُ تَصِفُ كُلَّ تَجَمُّعٍ سُكّانِيٍّ لِلْيَهودِ حَتّى في اَلْقُرى وَاَلْمَداشِرِ. داخِلَ هٰذا اَلْفَضاءِ يُمارِسُ اَلْيَهودُ شَعائِرَهُمُ اَلدّينِيَّةَ، وَيُقيمونَ أَفْراحَهُمْ، وَأَعْيادَهُمْ. وَكانَ يَعُجُّ بِالْأَسْواقِ اَلْمُخْتَلِفَةِ، كَما لَمْ يَكُنْ يَخْلو مِنَ اَلْمَرافِقِ اَلاِجْتِماعِيَّةِ، كَالْمَعْبَدِ وَالْمَدْرَسَةِ وَغَيْرِهِما مِمّا تَتَطَلَّبُهُ اَلْحَياةُ اَلْيَهودِيَّةُ.

وَلا زالَ فَضاءُ اَلْمَلّاحِ يُشَكِّلُ إِلى اَلْيَوْمِ جُزْءًا مِنَ اَلتُّراثِ وَاَلذّاكِرَةِ اَلْمَغْرِبِيَّةِ.

Read: I will read the text in silence and then complete the unvocalized words. The mellah is a Moroccan architectural design, surrounded by high walls, in the shape of a casbah. The Jews inhabited it within the ancient Moroccan cities. Later, the word came to describe any Jewish residential quarter, even in villages and hamlets. Within this space, Jews practiced their religious rites, and celebrated and observed their holidays. The mellah was packed with various markets and public facilities, such as the synagogue, school, and other establishments necessary for Jewish life. To this day, the mellah is still considered a part of the Moroccan heritage and memory. (p. 128)


اَلصِّناعَةُ في اَلْمَلّاحِ

1 اَلْمَلّاحُ لَقَبٌ يُطْلَقُ في اَلْمَغْرِبِ عَلى اَلْحَيِّ اَلْيَهودِيِّ، وَهُوَ فَضاءٌ اِجْتِماعِيٌّ وَاقْتِصادِيٌّ تَخَصَّصَتْهُ مُعْظَمُ اَلْمُدُنِ اَلْعَتيقَةِ اَلْمَغْرِبِيَّةِ، كَما يوجَدُ في بَعْضِ اَلْقُرى. إِنَّهُ اَلْمَرْكَزُ اَلتِّجارِيُّ لِلْيَهودِ اَلَّذي يَمْتَهِنونَ فيهِ اَلْعَديدَ مِنَ اَلْحِرَفِ وَاَلصِّناعاتِ اَلْمُنَظَّمَةِ في أَسْواقٍ، مِثْلِ سوقِ «اَلصَّرّافينَ»، وَسوقِ «اَلصَّفّالينَ»، وَسوقِ «اَلصَّيّاغينَ»، إِضافَةً إِلى دَكاكينِ اَلْخَرّازينَ وَاَلْحَرّارينَ وَاَلْعَطّارينَ، وَكُلِّ ما تَتَطَلَّبُهُ اَلْحَياةُ اَلاِجْتِماعِيَّةُ وَالاِقْتِصادِيَّةُ لِلْيَهودِ بِالْمَلّاحِ.

2 مُنْذُ تاريخٍ طَويلٍ مارَسَ اَلْيَهودُ وَاَلْمُسْلِمونَ بِالْمَغْرِبِ اَلصِّناعاتِ اَلْمُخْتَلِفَةَ، إِلّا أَنَّ اَلْيَهودَ تَخَصَّصوا في بَعْضِ اَلْمِهَنِ اَلَّتي تُعالِجُ صِياغَةَ اَلْمَعادِنِ اَلثَّمينَةِ، مِثْلِ اَلذَّهَبِ وَاَلْفِضَّةِ وَاَلْأَحْجارِ اَلْكَريمَةِ وَاَلْجَواهِرِ، حَيْثُ أَشْتَهَرَ اَلصَّيّاغُ اَلْيَهودُ في فاسَ وَاَلصّويرَةِ مَثَلًا، بِحِذْقٍ وَذَوْقٍ ظَلّا مَعْروفَيْنِ مُنْذُ قُرونٍ. وَمِنْ أَبْرَزِ اَلصَّيّاغِ في تاريخِ اَلْيَهودِ بِالْمَغْرِبِ «جودا بْنُ عَطّارٍ»، اَلَّذي ظَلَّ يَكْسِبُ مِنْ مِهْنَةِ اَلصِّياغَةِ رافِضاً أَنْ يَتَلَقّى أُجْرَةً مِنْ مالِ اَلطّائِفَةِ اَلْيَهودِيَّةِ مُقابِلَ وَظيفَتِهِ قاضِيَ اَلْقُضاةِ بِفاسَ.

***Arabic Words (Ouaha),* Grade 4, 2021, pp. 12, 128.**

[182] *Arabic Language (Mounir),* Grade 4, 2021 (unverified version), pp. 41-42, 45.
[183] *Arabic Language (Mourchidi),* Grade 8, 2021, p. 200.
[184] *Arabic Language (Mounir),* Grade 5, 2021, p. 49.
[185] For example: *Arabic Language (Ouadeh),* Grade 4, 2021 (unverified version), pp. 23, 28, 70-71, 148.
[186] *Arabic Language (Jadid),* Grade 4, 2021, p. 136.
[187] *Arabic Language (Moufid*), Grade 4, 2021, p. 148.
[188] *Arabic Language (Ouadeh),* Grade 4, 2021, p. 148.
[189] *Arabic Language (Jadid),* Grade 4, 2021, p. 142.
[190] *Arabic Language (Jadid),* Grade 4, 2021, p. 136.
[191] *Arabic Language (Mounir),* Grade 4, 2021 (unverified version), p. 127.

Industry in the Mellah
1. Mellah is the term applied in Morocco to the Jewish quarter. […] Within it, the Jews practiced numerous trades and regulated industries in markets, such as the Money Changers' Market, the Gold Threaders' Market [sūq ṣ-ṣiqilliyyīn], and the Goldsmiths' Market, as well as shops for cobblers, butchers, perfumers, and anything required for Jewish communal and economic life within the mellah.
2. For a long time, the Jews and Muslims in Morocco have taken up various industries. However, the Jews specialized in trades which relate to smithing precious materials, like gold, silver, precious stones, and gems. Jewish goldsmiths in Fez and Essaouira, for example, gained renown for their skillfulness and elegance, which were recognized for centuries. The most famous goldsmith in the history of the Jews in Morocco is Yehuda Ben Attar, who continued to earn from practicing goldsmithing as he refused to take a salary from the Jewish community for serving as Av Beit Din [qāḍī l-quḍāh, chief justice in a rabbinical court] in Fez.

As the example above shows, Moroccan textbooks' descriptions of historic Moroccan Jewish life reflect an altogether positive picture. Instances of content teaching about the Jewish community focus on aspects of coexistence and tolerance, celebrating both the community itself as well as the treatment it received from the broader Moroccan society. Notably missing is an acknowledgment of antisemitic incidents in Moroccan history, including but not limited to the exodus of the Jews from Morocco in the years following the establishment of the State of Israel.

Efforts to preserve Jewish heritage are praised, and associated with government approval and vision. This idea is conveyed through texts introducing *Bayt Dakira* ("the House of Memory"), a museum for Jewish heritage which opened in the historic Jewish quarter of Essaouira in 2020. The textbooks mention the fact that King Mohammed VI attended the museum's opening ceremony, and most also feature photos of the monarch speaking to representatives or touring the facility. All in all, this museum alone is featured in at least seven Social Studies and Arabic Language textbooks for the fifth and sixth grade, some added as recently as 2021.[192] In one example, seen here, the museum and its contents are described at length, highlighting the museum's commemoration of notable historic individuals of Moroccan Jewish descent, such as British minister Leslie Belisha and US Senator David Yulee Levy. The text in the example also mentions that the museum's opening ceremony was attended by the reigning monarch, as well as UNESCO chief Audrey Azoulay, herself of Moroccan Jewish heritage. This distinguished patronage is visualized by the photo accompanying the text, depicting the monarch examining an ancient book with what appears to be a Jewish rabbi. The inclusion of this text and others similar to it in multiple textbooks conveys in no uncertain terms the Moroccan government's commitment to preserving Jewish heritage, and celebrating Morocco's ethnic and religious diversity.

[192] *Arabic Language (Ketabi),* Grade 6, 2020, p. 236 (featured in this report, see p.81);
Arabic Language (Mourchidi), Grade 5, 2021, pp. 36-38;
Arabic Language (Rehab), Grade 6, 2021, p. 33;
Social Studies (Jadid), Grade 5, 2021, p. 153;
Social Studies (Jadid), Grade 6, 2021, pp. 46-47;
Social Studies (Massar), Grade 6, 2022, p. 45;
Social Studies (Najah), Grade 6, 2021, p. 44.



اَلْمَتْحَفُ اَلْيَهودِيُّ

بَيْتُ اَلذّاكِرَة

بَيْتُ الذّاكِرَةِ مَتْحَفٌ يَهودِيٌّ في مَدينَةِ الصّويرَةِ المَغْرِبِيَّةِ المُطِلَّةِ على المُحيطِ الأَطْلَسِيِّ. يُجَسِّدُ التَّسامُحَ الدّينِيَّ، وَالتَّعايُشَ الإِيجابِيَّ الَّذي يُعَبِّرُ عَنْهُ دَوِيُّ أَجْراسِ الكَنائِسِ، وَأَصْواتُ المُؤَذِّنينَ في المَساجِدِ. وَأَضْدافُ اليَهودِ بِالتِّجْمانِ وَدِماهُمْ. فَتَحَتْ صَرْحاً ثَقافِيّاً وَفَنِّيّاً يُجَسِّدُ التَّعايُشَ بَيْنَ المُسْلِمينَ وَاليَهودِ عَبْرَ التّاريخِ. وَيُمَثِّلُ الإِرْثَ الدّينِيَّ الَّذي خَلَّدَهُ اليَهودُ المَغارِبَةُ بِالصّويرَةِ.

بَيْتُ الذّاكِرَةِ هُوَ ثَمَرَةُ جُهودِ تَرْميمِ دارٍ عَتيقَةٍ في المَلّاحِ، الحَيِّ اليَهودِيِّ بِالمَدينَةِ. وَلَوْلا أَزِقَّةٌ ضَيِّقَةٌ وَمُتَشابِكَةٌ إِلى الدّارِ الَّتي سَكَنَتْها قَديماً عائِلَةٌ يَهودِيَّةٌ ثَرِيَّةٌ، كانَتْ كَذلِكَ مِنَ المَاءِ ما يَكْفي لِتَفيحَ داخِلَها كَبيراً صَغيراً، يُغْني عَوائِلَهُ عَشَرُ مَلْحوظٍ مُشْتَرَكَةٍ مِنْ بِرْمِطانيا. وَلَمْ يَرُ إِلى أَنَّ اسْمَ المَلّاحِ أُطْلِقَ على أَوَّلِ حَيٍّ يَهودِيٍّ بِمَدينَةٍ هانَ إِبّانَ العَهْدِ المَرينِيِّ، وَقَدْ تَمَّ بِناؤُهُ بِمُحْتَفَظٍ كانَ يُجْمَعُ فيها المِلْحُ وَيُحَوَّلُ لِتَصْديرِهِ إِلى أوروبّا.

قَدِ افْتُتِحَ بَيْتُ الذّاكِرَةِ بِحُضورِ العاهِلِ المَغْرِبِيِّ وَعِدَّةِ شَخْصِيّاتٍ مِنْ بَيْنِها مُديرَةُ اليونسكو أودري أزولاي، وَهِيَ ابْنَةُ آندري أزولاي مُستَشارِ المَلِكِ مُحَمَّدٍ السّادِسِ.

وَيَقولُ أزولاي مُوَضِّحاً فِكْرَةَ المَشْروعِ: «أَرَدْنا أَنْ نُسَلِّطَ الضَّوْءَ عَلى تُراثِنا، وَنَعْنِيَ ما كانَ يُمَثِّلُ مَظاهِرَ مِنَ العَيْشِ المُشْتَرَكِ في إِطارِ الاِحْتِرامِ المُتَبادَلِ».

يَعْرِضُ بَيْتُ الذّاكِرَةِ وَثائِقَ وَمُمْتَلَكاتٍ تَعودُ لِعائِلاتٍ يَهودِيَّةٍ مَحَلِّيَّةٍ. وَيَضُمُّ كَنيساً وَمَرْكَزاً لِلْأَبْحاثِ، كَما يُساعِدُ على اكْتِشافِ مَساراتِ مُتَمَيِّزَةٍ لِشَخْصِيّاتٍ يَهودِيَّةٍ مُتَحَدِّرَةٍ مِنَ الصّويرَةِ. وَمِنَ الأَمْثِلَةِ على ذلِكَ، يَعْرِضُ المَتْحَفُ السِّيرَةَ الذّاتِيَّةَ لِلسِّياسِيِّ بليشا (1893-1957) الَّذي شَغَلَ مَناصِبَ وَزيرِ المالِيَّةِ، ثُمَّ النَّقْلِ، وَالدِّفاعِ في بِريطانيا. وَإِلَيْهِ نُسِبَتْ عِصامِيَّةُ «بليشا بيكونز». الكَرْوِيَّةُ الشَّكْلِ الَّتي لا تَزالُ تُميِّزُ أَزِقَّةَ تِلْكَ المَرْفوعَةَ على أَعْمِدَةٍ سَوْداءَ وَبَيْضاءَ. وَيُخَلِّدُ البَيْتُ أَيْضاً ذاكِرَةَ أَوَّلِ يَهودِيٍّ مَغْرِبِيٍّ تَمَّ انْتِخابُهُ في مَجْلِسِ الشُّيوخِ الأَمْريكِيِّ، وَهُوَ داڤيد يولي ليفي (1810-1886).

وَتُوَثِّقُ لَوْحَةٌ مُعَلَّقَةٌ على أَحَدِ الجُدْرانِ أَسْماءَ اليَهودِ المُتَحَدِّرينَ مِنَ المَدينَةِ الَّذينَ عَمِلوا مُسْتَشارينَ لَدى مُلوكِ المَغْرِبِ على مَرِّ التّاريخِ. كَما يَعْرِضُ البَيْتُ صُوَراً قَديمَةً وَأَفْلاماً مِنَ الأَرْشيفِ، وَتَسْجيلاتٍ مُوسيقِيَّةً وَمَلابِسَ تَقْليدِيَّةً وَمُمْتَلَكاتٍ ذاتَ طَبيعَةٍ دينِيَّةٍ. وَفي الدَّوْرِ العُلْوِيِّ مِنَ المَتْحَفِ مَرْكَزُ أَبْحاثٍ حَوْلَ تاريخِ العَلاقاتِ بَيْنَ المُسْلِمينَ وَاليَهودِ.

(بتصرف) عن موقع arabic.euronews.com

Arabic Language (Ketabi), Grade 6, 2020, p. 236.

The Jewish Museum
Bayt Dakira
Bayt Dakira is a Jewish Museum in Essaouira [...] It is considered a cultural and artistic edifice which embodies the coexistence between Muslims and Jews throughout history, and represents the heritage immortalized by Moroccan Jews in Essaouira.
Bayt Dakira is the fruit of refurbishing an old home in the mellah. [...] It was opened in the presence of the Moroccan Sovereign and a number of personalities, including Audrey Azoulay, head of UNESCO, daughter of André Azoulay [...]
Bayt Dakira exhibits documents and possessions belonging to local Jewish families, and contains a synagogue and a research center. [...] The museum presents the life of Leslie Belisha (1893-1957), who held the position of finance minister, then transport and defense minister in Britain. [...] Bayt Dakira also commemorates the first Moroccan Jew elected to the US Senate, David Yulee Levy (1810-1886).
A plaque posted on one of the walls commemorates the names of Jews descended from the city, who worked as advisors to the kings of Morocco throughout history. The museum also presents old photos and archived films, musical recordings, traditional clothes and belongings of a religious nature. In the top floor of the museum there is a research center studying the relationship between Muslims and Jews.

The Moroccan curriculum's positive depiction of Jews also applies to individual Jews. As seen in the example above, some textbooks feature specific real-life persons of Moroccan Jewish descent, acknowledging their heritage and portraying them in a positive light. This both humanizes the Jewish "Other" in the eyes of Moroccan students as well as helps illustrate the diversity and tolerance which characterizes Moroccan heritage. While some of the Jewish individuals represented are or were residents of Morocco, like writer Edmond Amran El Maleh[193] or singer Haim Botbol (though he is not identified as Jewish in the text),[194] the majority of Jewish individuals depicted explicitly live overseas. Famous named examples include Moroccan-born Canadian comedian Gad Elmaleh[195] and French-born politician Audrey Azoulay,[196] however, anonymous Moroccan Jews in the diaspora are also depicted. In this context it should be noted that the Moroccan Jewish community of Israel, one of the world's largest, is conspicuously absent in the curriculum. In the example shown here, students are presented with a news article containing brief interviews of various Moroccan Jews living in France. The interviewees all express deep affection towards Morocco, which the textbook interprets as a sign of patriotism as well as loyalty to the ruling dynasty. It is interesting to note that this example appears to subvert the antisemitic

[193] *Arabic Language (Ouadeh),* Grade 4, 2021 (unverified version), pp. 70-71.
[194] *Arabic Language (Mounir),* Grade 4, 2021 (unverified version), p. 70.
[195] *Arabic Language (Jadid),* Grade 4, 2021, pp. 53-54;
Arabic Language (Mounir), Grade 4, 2021 (unverified version), p. 54.
[196] *Mes apprentissages en français,* Grade 5, 2021, p. 38.

stereotype of Jews as disloyal or unpatriotic.[197]



نص تكميلي

اليهودُ المغاربةُ في المَهْجر

يتذكّرُ «ألبير» المغربيّ اليهوديُّ المُقيمُ في باريس منزلَ العائلة في الدّار البيضاء، حيثُ يجتمعُ كلُّ أفرادِ أسرته على طبق الكسكس المغربيّ الشهير، ويقولُ : « يُعدُّ هذا الطّبقُ من أطْباقي المُفضّلة التي أتناولُها من يدِ أمّي ميمونة هُناك في بلدي المغرب، وهُنا في باريس كلّما سنحتْ لي فُرصةُ تناوُلِه في أحدِ المطاعم المغربيّة ».

أمّا «ألان» فيحكي بفخرٍ قائلاً: « أنا ابنُ حيّ الملاّح بمدينة سلا، لا تغيبُ عن ذاكرتي صُورُ التّعايُش التي جمعتْ أبي بأصدقائه المُسلمين». ويُضيفُ: « تزعْرعْتُ في حيّ الملاّح، حيثُ كُنّا نتبادلُ الزّيارات مع جيراننا وأحبّتنا في المغرب، وأيّام السّبْت، يتولّى المُسلمونَ العاملونَ في الأفْرانِ التّقليديّة الشّغيّة توْصيلَ الخُبْزِ والأكْلِ المطْبوخ إلى منازلنا، كما أنّ الأعْياد الوطنيّة المغربيّة كانتْ مناسبةً تجْمعُنا للاحْتفال سويّاً».

ويقولُ «هنري» الذي عاشَ في مدينة الدّار البيضاء : «يحْتاحُني حنينٌ كبيرٌ للمغرب، خاصّةً تلك الجلساتِ الحميميّة مع أصْدقائي، وتلك الأعْراس التي كُنْتُ أحْضُرُها، فيُرْحّبُ بي تُرْحاباً قلّ نظيرُه. وتابعَ: «هُنا في باريس، تجْمعُني الصُّدْفةُ مع سائقي سيّاراتِ أجْرةٍ مغاربةٍ أمازيغ، أُفاجئُهُمْ دائماً بطلاقة لُغتي الأمازيغيّة ؛ والواقعُ أنّي كوّنْتُ صداقاتٍ عدّةً عبْرَ هذه الصُّدف التي يطْبعُها حبُّ المغرب والحنينُ إليْه».

ويقولُ «هشكار» أحدُ كبار مُخرجي الأفْلام الوثائقيّة التي تُعنى بالثّقافة اليهوديّة المغربيّة : «وُلدْتُ في مدينة تنغير، وتزعْرعْتُ في فرنسا، إلا أنّني كُنْتُ مغربيّ الأصْل والقلْب. حاولْتُ الرّجوعَ إلى جُذوري في مدينة تنْغير للبحْث عنْ هُويّتي المغربيّة، فاكْتشفْتُ الحضورَ الكبيرَ للتّراث اليهوديّ في حياة أجْدادي وجيرانهمْ، فقصصُهُمْ لا تخْلو من الحنين إلى صُور التّعايُش والعلاقة الطّيّبة التي جمعتْ بيْن اليهود والمُسلمين في المنْطقة، فقدْ تقاسموا الأخْياء نفْسها، وتشاركوا الحفلات والمُناسبات، وعملوا معاً في المحلاّت نفْسها».

هكذا عبّرَ يهودٌ مغاربةٌ في المَهْجر، عنْ حُبّهمْ وحنينهمْ لوطنهمْ المغرب، وولائهمْ للعرْش العلويّ المجيد.

وفاء عماري – باريس – سكاي نيوز عربية – أكتوبر 2020

Arabic Language (Mounir), **Grade 5, 2021, p. 49.**

Moroccan Jews Overseas
Albert, a Jewish Moroccan resident of Paris, reminisces about the family home in Casablanca, where his family would all gather around the famous Moroccan couscous dish, saying: "This dish is one of my favorite dishes that I ate from my mother's hand in my country, Morocco [...]"
Alain says with pride: "I am a son of the mellah quarter in Salé. [...] On the Sabbath, Muslims working in the traditional bakeries would take it upon themselves to send us bread and cooked dishes to our homes. Also, Moroccan national holidays were occasions we celebrated together."
Henri, who used to live in Casablanca, says: "I miss Morocco dearly, especially the intimate meetings with my friends [...] Here in Paris, I happen to meet Amazigh Moroccan taxi drivers, and I always surprise them that I speak Tamazight. Really, I formed many friendships through incidents like this, characterized by love and longing for Morocco."
Hachkar, a major filmmaker of documentaries about Moroccan Jewish culture, says, "I was born in Tinghir and raised in France, but I'm Moroccan in heart and soul. I tried to return to my roots in Tinghir in search of my Moroccan identity, and I found a great presence of Jewish heritage in the lives of my grandparents and their neighbors. Their stories are full of longing for the coexistence and good relationship enjoyed by Jews and Muslims in the region. They shared the same neighborhoods, the same parties and celebrations, and worked together in the same shops."
This is how Moroccan Jews overseas expressed their love and longing for their homeland Morocco, and their loyalty to the illustrious Alaouite dynasty.
Wafaa Amari, Paris, Sky News Arabia, October 2020

Moroccan students learn about Judaism itself, which is equally as important. Examples such as those featured above teach children about elements of Jewish faith and practice, including the *shabbat* and Jewish holidays, unique communal institutions such as the synagogue, and Jewish prayer and singing. Other examples expand further on the subject: 2021 saw one Arabic Language textbook add two new texts, about the Moroccan Jewish festival of *Mimouna*,[198] and about a Sabbath dinner involving *skhina* (Moroccan variant of cholent or Sabbath stew),[199] as well as another Arabic Language textbook incorporating a short text explaining the Hebrew calendar.[200] Content of this nature helps render Jewish practices more familiar to Moroccan students, even if they do not necessarily understand their context and rationale.

Shown below are illustrations from one of these textbooks, displaying a shabbat dinner and a *Mimouna* celebration, respectively, hosted by a Moroccan

[197] In a similar vein, a 2021 unverified version of a textbook contains an account of Jewish Moroccan writer Edmond El Maleh which commends him for "refusing to emigrate and choosing to stay, his roots attached as they are to this precious motherland..." From: *Arabic Language (Ouadeh),* Grade 4, 2021 (unverified version), p. 70.
[198] *Arabic Language (Moufid),* Grade 4, 2021, p. 58.
[199] *Arabic Language (Moufid),* Grade 4, 2021, p. 36.
[200] *Arabic Language (Rehab),* Grade 6, 2021, p. 33.

Jewish family; note the father wearing a characteristic Jewish *kippah* skullcap, and the diverse appearance of the family's guests.



Arabic Language (Moufid), **Grade 4, 2021, pp. 36, 58**

Hosted by Sami I will listen and understand:
- Observing the scene and reading the title, I will establish the connection between them.
- After hearing and understanding the text, I will explain to my classmates what Sami said about skhina. I will express and expand:
- I will speak to my friends about a Moroccan dish we like. Mimouna I will listen and understand:
- I will suggest a different title to the text, by adding one word.
- After listening to the text, I will repeat some of what the mother says about mimouna. I will express and expand:
- Along with my classmates, I will act out the dialogue between the boy and his mother in the beginning and end of the texts.
- I will speak about one of our festivals.

A more direct introduction to the Jewish faith is presented in a seventh grade Social Studies textbook. Here, students are shown a translation of the Ten Commandments, and a short Qur'anic text referencing Moses and his encounter with God; they are then asked what they can learn about the Jewish religion from these two texts, followed by an illustration of a Torah scroll. The quoted texts emphasize the oneness of God, an important principle revered by Muslims, thus projecting positively onto Judaism from an Islamic perspective.

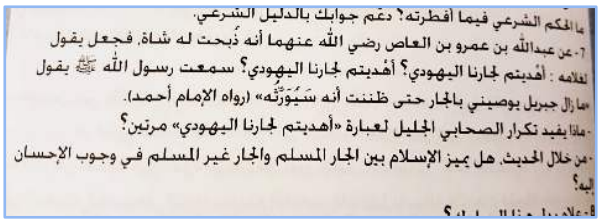


Social Studies (Rehab), **Grade 7, 2020, pp. 38-39.**

I will acquaint myself with the some of the principles of the Jewish faith
Document 1: an excerpt from the ten Commandments received by Moses, peace be upon him [translated directly]
- You will have no other gods except me…
- You will not make idols after today…
- Obey your father and mother and treat them well, you will enjoy a long life…
- Do not kill…
- Do not betray…
- Do not steal…
- Do not bear false witness…

- Do not covet others' possessions…
[…]Document 2: a Qur'anic text:
"And has the story of Moses reached you? When he saw a fire and said to his family, 'Stay here; indeed, I have perceived a fire; perhaps I can bring you a torch or find at the fire some guidance.' And when he came to it, he was called, 'O Moses, indeed, I am your Lord, so remove your sandals. Indeed, you are in the blessed valley of Ṭuwā. And I have chosen you, so listen to what is revealed to you. Indeed, I am Allah. There is no deity except Me, so worship Me and establish prayer for My remembrance." (20:9-14)
- I will read the two texts, then I will name the prophet referred to in the texts, and consult the timeline to get to know the religion he taught.
- I will deduce from the text the message which Allah burdened this prophet with.
- I will extract from the two texts the principles of the Jewish faith.
A picture of the Torah

The curriculum legitimizes its positive outlook on Judaism with Islamic sources. The example of the Prophet Muhammad is invoked, along with Islamic teaching in general, to support the notion that Judaism and Jews should be treated with respect and tolerance. This not only provides a strong religious foundation for the curriculum's portrayal of Jews, but also paints Islam as a benevolent religion, and as yet another dimension of Moroccan society's tolerant nature. Students are taught in multiple textbooks that Muhammad guaranteed the Jews of Medina complete freedom and safety to practice their religion;[201] the fact that these guarantees were later undone by hostilities between Muhammad and those Jews is downplayed.[202] One textbook offers a *hadith,* an instance of Islamic oral tradition, which depicts one of Muhammad's companions making the point of sharing his meal with his Jewish neighbor, explaining that this is what the Prophet would have wanted. The textbook suggests that this *hadith* teaches that Muslims are to treat their neighbors with respect regardless of religion, and implicitly, their Jewish neighbors in particular.


ما الحكم الشرعي فيما أفطرته؟ دعّم جوابك بالدليل الشرعي.
٦- عن عبدالله بن عمرو بن العاص رضي الله عنهما أنه ذُبحت له شاة، فجعل يقول لغلامه : أهديتم لجارنا اليهودي؟ أهديتم لجارنا اليهودي؟ سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول «ما زال جبريل يوصيني بالجار حتى ظننت أنه سَيُوَرِّثُه» (رواه الإمام أحمد).
- ماذا يفيد تكرار الصحابي الجليل لعبارة «أهديتم لجارنا اليهودي» مرتين؟
- من خلال الحديث، هل يميز الإسلام بين الجار المسلم والجار غير المسلم في وجوب الإحسان إليه؟

Islamic Education (Mounir), **Grade 8, 2021, p. 123.**

7. 'Abdullah ibn 'Amr ibn al-'As narrated that a lamb was slaughtered for him. He then began to say to his servant, "Have you given some to our Jewish neighbor? Have you given some to our Jewish neighbor? I have heard the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, say, '[The Angel] Gabriel never stops advising me about my neighbor, so much so that I thought he would have him be my heir." (Narrated by Imam Ahmad)
- Why did the esteemed Companion of the Prophet repeat the question "Have you given some to our Jewish neighbor" twice?
- Based on the hadith, does Islam discriminate between Muslim and non-Muslim neighbors when it comes to the obligation to treat them well?

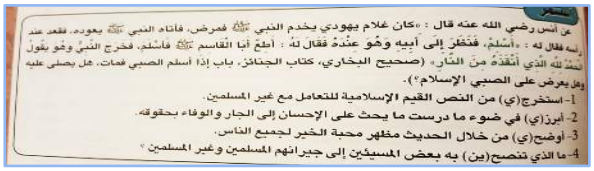
It is noted that Moroccan textbooks generally avoid antisemitic stereotypes. As a matter of fact, some instances of content can be interpreted as being designed to undermine certain antisemitic tropes, by portraying Jewish people as generous rather than stingy (as suggested by the example of a Jewish family hosting non-Jews for Sabbath dinner); as loyal rather than treacherous (as indicated by

[201] For example*: Islamic Education (Manar*), Grade 9, 2019, p. 76.
[202] In one example, it is noted that the tribes of Nadir and Qurayza rebelled against Muhammad and were punished with Hellfire, and that those tribes were Jewish. However, the textbook blames the Hypocrites (Muslim traitors) for inciting (*iġrā'*) those tribes to attack Muhammad. See: *Islamic Education (Manar)*, Grade 9, 2019, p. 37.

the example of Moroccan Jews in France expressing their longing for Morocco); and as open to assimilation rather than tribalistic (as suggested by examples describing Jews and Muslims celebrating together). However, certain textbooks do not shy away from hostile Islamic polemic, containing quotes from Islamic scriptures describing Judaism and Christianity as religions which falsify their holy texts,[203] or are simply unnatural.[204]

The idea that Jews are destined to burn in Hell is expressed in explicit and implicit terms in multiple textbooks. All examined fourth grade Islamic Education textbooks were found to teach Ṣurat al-Bayyinah from the Qur'an, which contains the message that (some of) the People of the Book (*ahl al-kitāb*) are condemned to Hell,[205] with some of them clarifying that this includes Jews and Christians.[206] These same textbooks all juxtapose this surah with Surat al-Jumu'ah, which mocks those who follow Judaism for claiming to be "Allah's allies"[207] yet refusing to wish for death, supposedly because they secretly know that Hell awaits them.[208] In more concrete terms, two eighth grade Islamic Education textbooks teach a *hadith* which conveys the same notion: the story of a sick boy visited by the Prophet Muhammad, who is encouraged to convert to Islam and be saved from Hellfire.[209]

In the image below, the textbook displays this *hadith* and asks students to use it as an example of how they should treat non-Muslims and neighbors. In this case, it seems that the message intended is positive: one should show concern and be considerate of one's peers, and visit them when they are ill. And yet, the unfortunate implication is that a valid expression of their concern is redemption from Judaism, a religion which is understood to damn its followers to Hell.


عن أنس رضي الله عنه قال : «كان غلام يهودي يخدم النبي ﷺ فمرض، فأتاه النبي ﷺ يعوده، فقعد عند رأسه فقال له : «أسلم» فنظر إلى أبيه وهو عنده فقال له : أطع أبا القاسم ﷺ فأسلم، فخرج النبي وهو يقول «الحمد لله الذي أنقذه من النار» (صحيح البخاري، كتاب الجنائز، باب إذا أسلم الصبي فمات، هل يصلى عليه وهل يعرض على الصبي الإسلام؟).

1- استخرج(ي) من النص القيم الإسلامية للتعامل مع غير المسلمين.
2- أبرز(ي) في ضوء ما درست ما يحث على الإحسان إلى الجار والوفاء بحقوقه.
3- أوضح(ي) من خلال الحديث مظهر محبة الخير لجميع الناس.
4- ما الذي تنصح(ين) به بعض المسيئين إلى جيرانهم المسلمين وغير المسلمين ؟

Islamic Education (Mounir), **Grade 8, 2021, p. 117.**

---

[203] *Islamic Education (Mounir),* Grade 4, 2021, pp. 64.

[204] *Islamic Education (Manar),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2021, p. 123.

[205] "Indeed, they who disbelieved among the People of the Book and the Idolaters will be in the fire of Hell, abiding eternally therein. Those are the worst of creatures." (98:6)

[206] *Islamic Education (Mounir),* Grade 4, 2021, p. 62; *Islamic Education (Ouaha),* Grade 4, 2020, pp. 67-70;
Islamic Education (Moufid), Grade 4, 2021, p. 74.
This last example does not appear to clarify what is intended by "People of the Book".

[207] *Awliyā' Allāh* in Arabic, 62:6. One textbook interprets this phrase from the Qur'an as signifying "Allah's favorites and most beloved" (*afḍalu l-xalqi wa-'aḥabbuhum 'ind-Allah*): *Islamic Education (Mounir),* Grade 4, 2021, p. 69.

[208] *Islamic Education (Moufid),* Grade 4, 2021, p. 77; *Islamic Education (Mounir),* Grade 4, 2021, pp. 65-69;
Islamic Education (Ouaha), Grade 4, 2020, p. 71.
This verse is also taught in: *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Grade 5, 2022, pp. 8-10.

[209] The second, not shown here, is*: Islamic Education (Ihya),* Grade 8, 2019, p. 89.

Anas, Allah be pleased with him, narrated: "There once was a Jewish lad serving the Prophet, peace be upon him, and he fell ill. The Prophet came to visit him. He sat by the side of his head, and said, 'Convert to Islam.' [The servant] looked at his father by his side, and [the father] said, 'Do as Abu al-Qasim [Muhammad] says.' And so, he converted to Islam. The Prophet then walked out, saying, 'Praised be Allah, who saved him from Hellfire!" (From Sahih al-Bukhari)

1.Extract from the text the Islamic values of how to deal with non-Muslims.

2.In light of what you have learned, highlight the parts calling to treat neighbors well and guarantee their rights.

3.Using this hadith, clarify how preferring that which benefits all mankind is expressed.

4.What would you advise people who mistreat their neighbors, Muslims and non-Muslims?

In conclusion, the Moroccan curriculum treats Jews and Judaism as what can be described as one of its core themes, echoing the Moroccan Constitution, which holds the Jewish community of Morocco to be an inseparable part of Moroccan identity and heritage. Students learn about the ancient roots of Judaism in Morocco, and its centuries of coexistence with the indigenous Amazigh and Arab Muslim population. Textbooks speak of life in the Jewish quarter, its prevalent economic activities, some of the institutions which operated within it, and some of the traditions and festivities practiced. They also highlight contemporary government efforts to preserve Jewish heritage, and Jewish contribution to Moroccan culture, particularly in the realm of music. The attitude with which Jewish people are portrayed is, on the whole, sympathetic; antisemitic stereotypes are largely avoided and, in some cases, subverted, with examples variously portraying Jews as loyal, generous or open-minded. Students are also exposed to some aspects of Jewish religion and practice, and allusions to its commonalities with Islam help cultivate a positive image.

The curriculum's positive representation of Jews serves to humanize Jews, and encourage tolerance toward them; it also bolsters Morocco's self-image as a tolerant and multicultural society. This is evidenced by multiple examples which explore how the various components which make up Moroccan identity – including Morocco's history, the Moroccan urban landscape, the Amazigh community, the contemporary Moroccan government and monarchy, and the Islamic faith – all harmoniously concur on the value of tolerance and respect toward the country's Jewish community. On the other hand, the curriculum does not explore meaningful aspects of the Moroccan Jewish experience, such as instances of antisemitism in Moroccan history, the near-disappearance of Morocco's Jewish community in the mid-20th century, the major presence of the Moroccan Jewish community of Israel, or the recognition of the Holocaust. The textbooks also do not take sufficient action to eliminate Islamic content which directly or indirectly attacks the religious beliefs of Jews. Still, given the recent nature of a significant proportion of the Jewish-related content in the Moroccan curriculum – some examples added as recently as 2021 – it is possible to assert that a positive trajectory is at play, and an even more optimistic outlook is warranted.

Conclusion

The Moroccan national school curriculum paints a complex picture of a country seeking to reconcile its internal diversity, find its place among the world's nations, and protect its unique heritage. This study finds that textbooks reflect Morocco's growing efforts to be a model of religious tolerance and coexistence, without compromising its Islamic identity.

Moroccan textbooks praise the Moroccan monarchy and its reigning sovereign, Mohammed VI, holding both the king and the kingship as central components of national identity. This view is bolstered by history lessons that focus on the chronicles of the reigning Alaouite dynasty and previous dynasties which ruled Morocco, while in contemporary accounts, Parliament, political parties, and other non-royal factors which form a part of Moroccan political life are de-emphasized. The textbooks additionally promote democracy and the notion of human rights and civil liberties, specifically advocating for a moderate approach to Islamic-Christian relations.

Unique in the region, the curriculum encourages self-reflection in relation to the leadership's actions to preserve the regime during past social and political turmoil, including "grave violations of human rights." Students are also asked to think critically about tensions between society and the state in relation to freedoms and human rights.

The values of peace and tolerance may be described as critical features of the Moroccan curriculum. Peace is taught to be a key component of respectful human relations, as well as a core principle of Morocco's national policy. Practical peacemaking is taught on an interpersonal level, based on principles such as mutual respect, compromise, and non-violence, and Islamic examples are cited to illustrate this. Tolerance is a recurring theme of the curriculum, and students encounter interpretations of the concept which tie it to universal human rights, Islamic teaching, and Moroccan identity. Forms of tolerance explored include racial, ideological, and ability-based tolerance, and most prominently, religious tolerance, the last of which is not necessarily limited to other monotheistic religions. At the same time, the curriculum contains certain elements which undermine notions of tolerance, specifically religious tolerance, with the idea that non-Muslims will face divine retribution for their disbelief in Islam appearing frequently.

There is a more moderate tone toward European countries in contemporary settings. Textbooks express a negative approach toward European colonialism and foreign rule. Discussion of Morocco's territorial integrity centers on the Kingdom's claims to the Western Sahara region, which is presented as a non-negotiable issue for Morocco. Some textbooks express the non-recognition of Spanish sovereignty over Ceuta and Melilla, and dispute the Morocco-Algeria

border. Attention is given to the Arab-Israeli conflict, with one example endorsing a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and a few unsympathetic examples toward Israel toned down or removed in more recent editions. However, elsewhere in the curriculum there is non-recognition of Israel, an endorsement of the Palestinian cause, and an unsympathetic account of Israeli history; representations of the 2020 normalization of ties are not yet expected to be found in textbooks.

Jews and Judaism may be described as one of the core themes of the Moroccan curriculum. The textbooks teach that the Jewish community is an inseparable part of Morocco, with ancient roots and a legacy of centuries of coexistence with the non-Jewish population. Textbooks detail life in the Jewish quarter, the economic activities prevalent within it, some of the institutions which operated within it, and some traditions and festivities practiced. They also highlight current government efforts to preserve Jewish heritage and Jewish contribution to Moroccan culture, particularly in music. The attitude with which Jewish people are portrayed is sympathetic, and antisemitic stereotypes are largely avoided or subverted. Students are also exposed to aspects of Jewish religion and practice, and allusions to its commonalities with Islam help cultivate a sympathetic image. The curriculum's positive representation of Jews bolsters Morocco's self-image as a tolerant and multicultural society. Antisemitism in Moroccan history, the near-disappearance of Morocco's Jewish community in the mid-20th century, the significant presence of the Moroccan Jewish community of Israel, and the recognition of the Holocaust are currently lacking. Traces of Islamic content quoting from scripture, rather than interpretation, which directly or indirectly undermine Jewish belief were also found. On the other hand, a significant amount of educational content about Jewish people appears to have been added as recently as 2021, and more can be expected in the near future.

The textbooks recognize the historical and cultural heritage of the indigenous Amazigh people, emphasizing their integral place in Moroccan society. Students learn of the ancient roots of the Amazigh people and their deep ties and commonalities with present-day Moroccan Arabs, and their contribution to the creation of modern Morocco. The textbooks also encourage students to learn about Amazigh cuisine, dress, traditions, and way of life. Topics that may create fissures between Amazigh identity and orthodox Islam, or Moroccan national cohesion and identity, are avoided.

Women's issues occupy a prominent place in the Moroccan curriculum. Women are frequently portrayed, visually and textually, in diverse situations, and are represented in traditional or Islamic attire and Western clothing. Representations of women also include specific examples of Moroccan women in domains such as politics, history, science, and sports, presented as Moroccan female role models to be emulated and appreciated. Many of these representations challenge or subvert stereotypical gender roles by

highlighting women's achievements as athletes or political leaders. The concept of women's rights and gender equality is taught and often anchored in the constitution and law, international documents such as CEDAW and UDHR, and Islamic sources. Violence against women is openly discussed and confronted, including both physical domestic violence and the effects of forced marriages, though sexual violence is not understood to be a women's issue. Women's education is also discussed as a significant issue of national importance. The notion that Moroccan women have yet to attain equality – including some factors contributing to this – is recognized in the curriculum. Textbooks avoid content that may offend religious sensibilities, and institutions which may hamper women's development, and do not challenge women's traditional role in the household.

The curriculum broadly meets international standards of peace and tolerance. The Moroccan curriculum makes a concerted effort to cultivate RESPECT toward different groups of people within Moroccan society. Morocco's diversity of ethnic, religious, racial, linguistic, and national groups is celebrated, and held up as a defining feature of Moroccan identity. Students are mainly taught extensively about the Jewish and Amazigh communities, and made to understand some aspects of their history, beliefs, and way of life, as well as their contributions and positive interactions with Moroccan Arab society. Other communities, such as Sahrawis, Christians, and migrants, are discussed in more perfunctory terms, but their portrayal is mainly positive. At the same time, content deemed disrespectful toward non-Muslims has been identified in Islamic Education textbooks; additionally, groups outside of Morocco are seldom discussed.

A key component of the curriculum's focus on respect is its regular representation of the INDIVIDUAL OTHER. Minorities and disadvantaged groups in Moroccan society are often seen in illustrations and texts, thus helping students apply values such as tolerance and respect for the "Other" in their daily lives. In the case of Morocco's Jewish community, real-life named individuals are also portrayed, including a variety of historical figures, modern figures, and contemporary non-famous ordinary people, all of whom are reliably found in positive contexts. Likewise, real-life female Moroccan role models from different walks of life and occupations are represented, some of whom are of Jewish or Amazigh heritage or face a disability.

Moroccan textbooks generally refrain from fostering HATE toward specific groups of people. There are exceptions: Islamic sources that are cited, suggest that non-Muslims will face divine retribution for their disbelief in Islam, often stipulated as eternal torment in Hell. This, as well as instances of content that degrades the religious beliefs of Christians, Jews and/or polytheists, undermines the central theme of tolerance seen through positive messages toward non-Muslims elsewhere in the curriculum. Unresolved historic resentment toward colonial powers is encouraged, particularly towards France

and Spain, as their motivations and actions are portrayed as unconscionable and contrasted with the unquestioned justness of the Moroccan Arab Islamic perspective. Israel is portrayed in unsympathetic terms, focusing on wrongdoings by Israeli actors, and a lack of content that may humanize Israelis or explain their motivations. That said, the textbooks are generally free of explicit INCITEMENT to violence.

The Moroccan curriculum promotes PEACEMAKING. Peace is established as a prerequisite for respectful human relations, as well as a core principle of Morocco's national policy. Practical peacemaking is taught on an interpersonal level, based on principles such as mutual respect, compromise, and non-violence. Islamic examples, such as the Treaty of Hudaybiyyah, are cited to promote peace. Furthermore, historic peace treaties signed by Israel with Arab states and parties are acknowledged, potentially legitimizing such a course of action. Morocco's conflict over Western Sahara is primarily ignored in textbooks, as is the possibility of a peaceful resolution.

Regarding historical studies, Morocco is presented as a nation that fell victim to malevolent European powers, and this Manichaean narrative generally dominates the conversation around colonial history. The Arab-Israeli conflict is a subject of focus, and content teaching the issue tendentially supports a pro-Palestinian, anti-Israeli narrative; as part of this, maps do not display the territory of Israel. Finally, descriptions of Moroccan governance, whether in the context of democracy, women's rights, or the country's Amazigh and Jewish communities, are primarily oriented around the praise of the reigning monarch, and carefully avoid offending particular institutions. As such, the curriculum cannot be said to be entirely free of UNBIASED INFORMATION.

The curriculum's attitude toward GENDER IDENTITY AND REPRESENTATION is altogether forward-looking. Women's rights and challenges are repeatedly taken up as an issue of concern, which pertains to all students regardless of gender. Textbooks refer to sources which reinforce women's rights and address women's education, violence against women, women's freedom of choice, occupations, self-fulfillment, and gender stereotypes; they also contain a wide variety of female role models for students to admire and emulate. While doing so, the curriculum still strives to preserve women's traditional role in the family. As for SEXUAL ORIENTATION, the curriculum is generally free of language, content, and imagery that promulgates violence or discrimination based on sexual orientation. However, the curriculum does not recognize the existence of non-heterosexual relationships, and does not acknowledge sexual minorities or their rights.

Lastly, the Moroccan curriculum displays elements that promote SOUND PROSPERITY and COOPERATION. Morocco is generally taught to be a country at peace with itself and the world. Significant segments of Moroccan society are recognized and respected, and students are encouraged to view the

country's diversity as a source of strength and a hallmark of its identity. The textbooks promote the idea that social change is possible, especially in the context of women's empowerment, thus opening the door for ongoing development and improvement. Students are also exposed to ideas of democracy, human rights, and civic values, and refer to UN and other international source documents as sources of moral authority, alongside religious and indigenous sources. On this basis, Moroccan students may be prepared to be "global citizens," pursuing a peaceful and moderate foreign policy. This open approach stops short of contending with Morocco's strained relations with its neighbors, its former colonial ruler France, or Israel.

The Moroccan curriculum combines personal education with a community that strives for academic excellence. Students are taught to respect cultural values, while also being patriotic. They are given a realistic understanding of the risks, as well as the importance of a systematic effort to ensure that prosperity can be generated and maintained at home through peaceful and voluntary cooperation with others. The textbooks combine a culture of free dialogue and debate, with balanced education to explore the world's complexities, past, present and future. Clearly, Morocco has made notable strides in education for tolerance, and further improvement is expected in the future.

Methodology

IMPACT-se applies methodological standards which are based on UNESCO and UN declarations, and international recommendations and documents on education for peace and tolerance (see notes). Our methodology is designed to consider every detail within the textbooks; it does not paraphrase, rely on interpretations, or attempt to illustrate preconceived notions.

The following is an updated, condensed version of the IMPACT-se UNESCO-derived standards for peace and tolerance in school education:

1 **RESPECT**

The curriculum should promote tolerance, understanding and respect toward the "Other," his or her culture, achievements, values and way of life.[210]

2 **INDIVIDUAL OTHER**

The curriculum should foster personal attachment toward the "Other" as an individual, his or her desire to be familiar, loved and appreciated.[211]

3 **NO HATE**

The curriculum should be free of wording, imagery and ideologies likely to create prejudices, misconceptions, stereotypes, misunderstandings, mistrust, racial hatred, religious bigotry and national hatred, as well as any other form of hatred or contempt for other groups or peoples.[212]

4 **NO INCITEMENT**

The curriculum should be free of language, content, and imagery that disseminate ideas or theories which justify or promote acts and expressions of violence, incitement to violence, hostility, harm and hatred toward other national, ethnic, racial or religious groups.[213]

[210] As defined in the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance Proclaimed and signed by Member States of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Articles 1, 4.2. See also the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding Between Peoples (1965), Principles I, III. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948): Education shall be directed to the full development of human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial and religious groups and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

[211] The goal of education for peace is the development of universally recognized values in an individual, regardless of different socio-cultural contexts. See *Ibid.*, Article 6. See also, on exchanges between youth, the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples (1965), Principles IV, V.

[212] *Ibid.*, and based on Articles III.6, IV.7 and VII.39; and on the Integrated Framework for Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, approved by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twenty-eighth session, Paris, November 1995, Article 18.2.

[213] As defined in Article 4 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial

5 PEACEMAKING

The curriculum should develop capabilities for non-violent conflict resolution and promote peace.[214]

6 UNBIASED INFORMATION

Educational materials (textbooks, workbooks, teachers' guides, maps, illustrations, aids) should be up-to-date, accurate, complete, balanced and unprejudiced, and use equal standards to promote mutual knowledge and understanding between different peoples.[215]

7 GENDER IDENTITY AND REPRESENTATION

The curriculum should foster equality, mutual respect, and should aim for equal representation between individuals regardless of their gender identity. It should also refrain from language, content, and imagery that depicts limiting and/or exclusionary gender roles.[216]

8 SEXUAL ORIENTATION

The curriculum should be free of language, content, and imagery that promulgates violence or discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.[217]

9 SOUND PROSPERITY and COOPERATION:

The curriculum should educate for sound and sustainable economic conduct and preservation of the environment for future generations. It should encourage regional and local cooperation to that effect.[218]

Discrimination (ICERD), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2106 (XX) on December 21, 1965. See also Article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2200A (XXI) on December 16, 1966.

[214] Based on the Integrated Framework for Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, approved by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twenty-eighth session, Paris, November 1995, Article 9; and on the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Article 5.

[215] Based on UNESCO recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, adopted by the General Conference at its eighteenth session, Paris, November 19, 1974, Article V.14.

[216] The preamble to the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, notes the Convention on the Elimination of Any Form of Discrimination against Women and emphasizes respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to gender.

[217] Based on Resolutions 32/2 (adopted June 30, 2016) and 17/19 (adopted July 14, 2011) of the UN Human Rights Council, and numerous UN General Assembly resolutions expressing concern and condemnation of laws and practices around the world which target individuals based on their gender identity and/or sexual orientation for discrimination, violence, and even extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions—all of which contradict the most basic principles of the UN and have no place in education.

[218] Based on UNESCO recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to

List of Textbooks

The following Moroccan curriculum textbooks were analyzed for the research in this study. The titles both here and referenced in the text have been translated into English to aid the reader. IMPACT-se typically researches all available textbooks used in a curriculum. If new textbooks or previously unavailable books become available after a report's publication, every effort will be made to update reports to include any relevant material. We welcome any comments related to the acquisition of any omitted materials (http://www.impact-se.org/about-us/contact-us/).

Grade 1

1. *Arabic Language (Moufid),* Grade 1, 2019
2. *Islamic Education (Kerasa Ouadeha),* Grade 1, 2021
3. *Islamic Education (Moufid),* Grade 1, 2021
4. *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Grade 1, 2021

Grade 2

5. *Arabic Language (Mourchidi),* Grade 2, 2021
6. *Arabic Language: My Illustrated Stories (Rehab),* Grade 2, 2021
7. *Islamic Education (Moumtaz),* Grade 2, 2017
8. *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Grade 2, 2021
9. *L'école des mots français*, Grade 2, 2018
10. *Le nouvel espace de français,* Grade 2, 2018
11. *L'oasis des mots français,* Grade 2, 2018

Grade 3

12. *Arabic Language (Moufid),* Grade 3, 2020
13. *Islamic Education (Moumtaz),* Grade 3, 2017
14. *Islamic Education (Mounir),* Grade 3, 2021
15. *L'oasis des mots Français,* Grade 3, 2021
16. *Mes apprentissages en français,* Grade 3, 2021

Grade 4

17. *Arabic Language (Jadid),* Grade 4, 2021
18. *Arabic Language (Ouadeh),* Grade 4, 2019
19. *Arabic Language (Ouaha),* Grade 4, 2021

human rights and fundamental freedoms, adopted by the General Conference at its eighteenth session, Paris, November 19, 1974, Articles III.6, and IV.7. On the imperative for developing "systematic and rational tolerance teaching methods that will address the cultural, social, economic, political and religious sources of intolerance," see the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Article 4.2. On education for international cooperation, see also the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples (1965), Principle II.

20. *Arabic Language (Moufid),* Grade 4, 2019
21. *Arabic Language (Moufid),* Grade 4, 2021
22. *Arabic Language (Mounir),* Grade 4, 2020
23. *Islamic Education (Moufid),* Grade 4, 2021
24. *Islamic Education (Mounir),* Grade 4, 2016
25. *Islamic Education (Mounir),* Grade 4, 2021
26. *Islamic Education (Ouaha),* Grade 4, 2020
27. *L'école des mots français,* Grade 4, 2021
28. *Mes apprentissages en français,* Grade 4, 2021
29. *Mon livre de français,* Grade 4, 2020
30. *Pour communiquer en français,* Grade 4, 2020
31. *Social Studies (Jadid),* Grade 4, 2021
32. *Social Studies (Rehab),* Grade 4, 2020

Grade 5

33. *Arabic Language (Mounir),* Grade 5, 2012
34. *Arabic Language (Mounir),* Grade 5, 2020
35. *Arabic Language (Mounir),* Grade 5, 2021
36. *Arabic Language (Mourchidi),* Grade 5, 2020
37. *Arabic Language (Mourchidi),* Grade 5, 2021
38. *Islamic Education (Manar),* Grade 5, 2021
39. *Islamic Education (Moumtaz),* Grade 5, 2017
40. *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Grade 5, 2016
41. *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Grade 5, 2022
42. *Mes apprentissages en français,* Grade 5, 2021
43. *Pour communiquer en français,* Grade 5, 2021
44. *Social Studies (Jadid),* Grade 5, 2021
45. *Social Studies (Moufid),* Grade 5, 2020
46. *Social Studies (Moufid),* Grade 5, 2021

Grade 6

47. *Arabic Language (Ketabi),* Grade 6, 2014
48. *Arabic Language (Ketabi),* Grade 6, 2020
49. *Arabic Language (Manar),* Grade 6, 2020
50. *Arabic Language (Manar),* Grade 6, 2021
51. *Arabic Language (Rehab),* Grade 6, 2020
52. *Arabic Language (Rehab),* Grade 6, 2021
53. *Islamic Education (Mounir),* Grade 6, 2021
54. *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Grade 6, 2016
55. *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Grade 6, 2021
56. *Le français pratique*, Grade 6, 2005
57. *Le français pratique,* Grade 6, 2021
58. *Mes apprentissages en français,* Grade 6, 2021
59. *Social Studies (Jadid),* Grade 6, 2020
60. *Social Studies (Jadid),* Grade 6, 2021
61. *Social Studies (Massar),* Grade 6, 2020
62. *Social Studies (Massar),* Grade 6, 2022
63. *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 6, 2020

64. *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 6, 2021

Grade 7

65. *Arabic Language (Moukhtar),* Grade 7, 2021
66. *Arabic Language (Moufid),* Grade 7, 2021
67. *Islamic Education (Fadaa),* Grade 7, 2021
68. *Islamic Education (Ouaha),* Grade 7, 2018
69. *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Grade 7, 2017
70. *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Grade 7, 2022
71. *L'heure de français,* Grade 7, 2021
72. *Social Studies (Fadaa),* Grade 7, 2021
73. *Social Studies (Rehab),* Grade 7, 2020

Grade 8

74. *Arabic Language (Rehab),* Grade 8, 2020
75. *Arabic Language (Mourchidi),* Grade 8, 2021
76. *Islamic Education (Ihya),* Grade 8, 2018
77. *Islamic Education (Ihya),* Grade 8, 2019
78. *Islamic Education (Mounir),* Grade 8, 2017
79. *Islamic Education (Mounir),* Grade 8, 2021
80. *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Grade 8, 2021
81. *Parcours français,* Grade 8, 2020
82. *Social Studies (Manar),* Grade 8, 2020
83. *Social Studies (Najah),* Grade 8, 2019
84. *Social Studies (Fadaa),* Grade 8, 2021

Grade 9

85. *Arabic Language (Mourchidi),* Grade 9, 2021
86. *Focus,* Grade 9, 2021
87. *Horizons,* Grade 9, undated
88. *Islamic Education (Manar),* Grade 9, 2017
89. *Islamic Education (Manar),* Grade 9, 2019
90. *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Grade 9, 2016
91. *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Grade 9, 2017
92. *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Grade 9, 2021
93. *Parcours français*, Grade 9, 2021
94. *Social Studies (Tajdid),* Grade, 2021
95. *Social Studies (Manar),* Grade, 2021

Common Core

96. *Arabic Language (Mourchidi),* Common Core, 2021
97. *Arabic Language (Rehab),* Common Core, 2021
98. *History (Rehab),* Common Core, 2019
99. *History and Geography (Manar),* Common Core, 2013
100. *Islamic Education (Manar),* Common Core, 2021
101. *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Common Core, 2018
102. *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Common Core, 2021
103. *Les œuvres intégrales*, Common Core, 2021
104. *Visa to the World,* Common Core, 2021

Baccalaureate Year I

105. *Arabic Language (Manar),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2021

106. *Arabic Language (Raïd),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2020
107. *History (Jadid),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2016
108. *History and Geography (Manar),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2021
109. *History and Geography (Mourid),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2021
110. *Islamic Education (Manar),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2018
111. *Islamic Education (Manar),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2021
112. *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2018
113. *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Baccalaureate Year I, 2020
114. *Les œuvres intégrales,* Baccalaureate Year I, 2018
115. *Ticket to English,* Baccalaureate Year I, 2021

Baccalaureate Year II

116. *Arabic Language (Rehab),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2020
117. *Gateway to English 2*, Baccalaureate Year II, 2007
118. *Gateway to English 2,* Baccalaureate Year II, 2018
119. *Geography (Manar),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2019
120. *History (Chamel),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021
121. *History (Jadid),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2018
122. *History (Rehab),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2021
123. *Islamic Education (Manar),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2022
124. *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2016
125. *Islamic Education (Rehab),* Baccalaureate Year II, 2020
126. *Les œuvres intégrales,* Baccalaureate Year II, 2015
127. *Ticket 2 English*, Baccalaureate Year II, 2020

Unverified versions

1. *Arabic Language (Mounir),* Grade 4, 2021 (unverified version)
2. *Arabic Language (Ouadeh),* Grade 4, 2021 (unverified version)
3. *Social Studies (Jadid),* Grade 5, 2020 (unverified version)
4. *Arabic Language (Ketabi),* Grade 6, 2021 (unverified version)