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THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN MOROCCO :
trends, initiatives and problems.

by

ZAKIA NAGUIB

Dissertation presented to DURHAM UNIVERSITY, School of Education
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Education.

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To the memory of my father, NAGUIB BELHADJ

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an attempt to give a comprehensive account of the system of education in Morocco as well as its historical development and the influence of various trends. It is also an investigation into the different stages that Moroccan education has gone through and their influence on the present situation. This work consists of seven chapters:

Chapter One introduces the different aspects of the country: the geographical, cultural, economic and historical features of Morocco.

Chapter Two is concerned with education in Morocco before 1912, i.e. before the Protectorate, with emphasis on its traditional institutions and teachings which still persist. The second part of this chapter deals with education under the Protectorate, especially the influence of the French system and the decisions that were then created among Moroccans.

Chapter Three is an examination of education from Independence until the present time, the different problems that faced the Ministry of National Education and what immediate measures were taken to tackle them.

Chapter Four provides a survey of the structure of the system of education in Morocco, especially the pre-primary, the primary and secondary levels. In addition to describing these different levels, there is a discussion of the reforms that have been implemented since Independence.

Chapter Five is devoted to higher education with reference to both Vocational Establishments and Universities. There is also an analysis of the curriculum of higher education.

Teacher training is the subject of Chapter Six. This includes an account of the historical development of teacher training schools where primary, Junior and Senior secondary, and University teachers are trained.

Chapter Seven is concerned with problems that Moroccan education has experienced in the past, as well as those which remain at the present. Finally, there are a number of recommendations.

INTRODUCTION

The question of education has been and will always be a high priority in Morocco as Government's interest is directed to its improvement. The allocation of funds to education is a testimony of that interest. In 1980, £485 million (3.880 million Dirhams) was allocated for non-capital education costs.¹ This priority given to education in Morocco encouraged some people to undertake research. Some of them approached the subject from a political point of view (Zartman 1964, Gallegher 1966, Baina 1981). Some from a linguistic point of view (e.g. Moatassime 1974, Abassi 1977, Boukous 1979). And others from a sociological or ideological point of view.

The approach we choose to analyse this topic is a historical one, the emphasis is given to the expansion of the educational system in Morocco. We begin by providing a general introductory chapter on the general context of education in Morocco. First is the topographical aspect in which is presented the position of the country (north west of Africa). This is followed by a description of the climate with its four main zones: the atlantic, the interior, the mountainous and the sahara. The variety of means of transport available in the country is discussed. The population of Morocco is presented according to its growth, distribution (the main cities) and ethnic groups. The third section of this Chapter deals with the cultural aspects of society. Here, three main points are considered in some detail: the social structure, religious and linguistic aspects. A fourth section is devoted to the economy of the country, agriculture, minerals and industry. As a conclusion to this chapter, there is a short account of the history of Morocco from the coming of Islam to the Alaouite Dynasty.



The second chapter deals with education before and under the Protectorate. It is divided into three parts : first education before 1912 which was characterised by the predominance of Traditional education the only kind then available for Moroccans and which was held to reflect their needs, religion and beliefs. Along with this type of education, there was Israelite education reserved for the Jewish community resident in Morocco. It was established after the Universal Israelite Alliance claimed a separate education for its people. The third type was French education which was then relatively undeveloped but which became dominant once the French colonised Morocco.

The second part of this chapter deals with the adaptation of the French system imposed on the Moroccan education. There is also an analysis of the aims of French policy and the intentions of the French. Their policy was to create divisions, first by setting up an elite and second by making Berbers feel that they were different from Moroccans by signing the Berber Decree in 1930. The French also encouraged the Israelite education to create a multitude of systems, which produced chaos and confusion within the society.

The third part of the chapter is devoted to the rejection of the Protectorate which was a consequence of French policy.

Chapter three is concerned with the achievement of Independence, and therefore it discusses education from Independence until the present. A Royal Commission for the Reform of Education was set up to improve the Moroccan system of education by implementing the following four reforms: the universalisation of education, the unification of education, the Arabization of education and the Moroccanization of personnel.

In the second section of the chapter, two main systems of

education are examined : the private sector, which is fee paying and the public sector, which is free. Under these two main systems, there are three main types of education:

The bilingual education, which is the most common among Moroccans. Instruction is in both Arabic and French.

The arabised education, which already existed under the Protectorate. It represented the reaction of the nationalists against the French system. Instruction is in Arabic.

The French Cultural Mission where instruction is in French only. It is available to French citizens as well as to a small Moroccan elite.

Chapter four is an investigation of the structure of the Moroccan system, starting from the pre-primary school with its three types: nursery, kindergarten and the Koranic school. This is followed by the primary and the secondary school with its two levels: Junior and Senior.

Chapter five is devoted to higher education. First, there is the wide range of Vocational Institutions open to students who successfully complete their secondary studies and hold the Baccalauréat Certificate. Second, there are the six universities with various faculties offering courses for specialisation in both Arts and Science.

Chapter six is concerned with the development of teacher training in Morocco for Primary, Junior and Senior secondary and Higher teachers. There is also a discussion of the reforms that had been implemented in the schools reserved for the training of teachers at all levels.

Chapter seven concludes this research by raising the major problems that Moroccan education faces. These problems are as

follows: Moroccanization, Arabization, bilingualism and lack of resources. We may notice that all these problems have their origins in the historical development of Moroccan education.

NOTES

- 1 International Handbook of Education Systems, Vol. III, 1983.
p:700

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1 - GEOGRAPHY

1.1 TOPOGRAPHY

Morocco is situated in north-west Africa. It is surrounded by the Mediterranean basin in the north, the Atlantic Ocean in the West and a continuation of the Algerian High Plateaux in the north-east, which gradually drops into the Sahara in the south and south-east.

Morocco covers an area of some 900,000sq km (350,000 square miles). It is dominated by four main mountain chains; there are three Atlas ranges (the High, the Middle and the Anti-Atlas) and the Rif massif which fronts onto the Mediterranean coast.

The Atlas mountains rise to over 4,000 metres, the highest mountains in North Africa (Toubkal 13.500 feet). They divide the country into two zones: one receiving the westerly winds from the Atlantic and the other influenced by the proximity of the Sahara. These regions are rich agricultural areas, because they are well-watered. In addition, plains run inland, the largest part bordering the Atlantic coast and which stretches from Tangier to Essaouira, though the plains in the South of Essaouira are interrupted by the spur of the High Atlas, which reaches the Atlantic Ocean at the point.¹

These plains are crossed by many rivers flowing from the north down to the Sahara. The country has the most extensive river system in North Africa (Melwiya, Oum er Rabia, Draa, Sous ...). There are also the Mediterranean coastlands in the north which are narrower

than the Atlantic ones but are low and fertile.²

1.2 CLIMATE

Broadly speaking the climate in Morocco is mild and warm. The country can be divided into four main climatic zones.

The Atlantic zone, with only slight seasonal variations, has mild winters and fresh summers.

The interior zone has extreme variations; the temperature varies not only between winter and summer, but also between day and night.

The mountain zone has abundant snow and is very cold. It also experiences storms in summer.

The Saharian zone is very hot and dry with no rainfall.

The mountains play an important role in producing this variety of climate in the country. The Rif and Atlas chains stand as barriers between western and eastern Morocco. In winter, there is cold and excessive rain, with heavy snow in the mountains and storms over the sea.

In summer, the climate is hot and dry except for the Mediterranean coast, where it is humid and in the mountains where it is cool, and where rain can be expected.

1.3 COMMUNICATION

Morocco has a variety of means of transport ranging from aeroplanes to private cars. First, there are trains; the railways cover almost all the area (about 1,200 miles) reaching most of the country's major urban centres, from Marrakesh to Tangier and Oujda. Second, there are many international airports: two in Casablanca, one in Rabat and others in Fez, Marrakesh, Tangier and Agadir.

They are over fifty civil airports, eight of which offer international services by "Royal Air Maroc", the national airline.

Nature also plays an important part in facilitating communication. The geographical position of Morocco bordered on two sides by the Mediterranean basin and the Atlantic ocean, with also a great number of rivers and some harbours both natural and manmade, afford a naturally well-developed transport system.

There are ~~twelve~~^{five} main ports (Agadir, Essaouira, el Jadida, Casablanca and Rabat). In addition, telecommunication and television are available all over the country.

2 - POPULATION

2.1 GROWTH

The population of Morocco is currently recorded as 23 million. A high growth rate - half as high again as the world average - has produced an exceptionally young population; over half the Moroccans are under 20 years old.³ This rapid population growth is a result of progressively improving living conditions and the decline of the death rate from nineteen per 1,000 in 1962 to almost 16 in 1975.

Growth has a negative influence on the economy of the country, and makes it difficult for government to succeed in its programme of birth control and family planning; the traditional large family is still very common. In 1972, Morocco managed to solve its problems through a series of development plans starting in 1968 and operating until the present time.

2.2 DISTRIBUTION

As a result of its relatively broad coastal plains and plateaux that are well-watered, Morocco's population is spread evenly over

the whole area because the country's economy is basically agricultural. But after Independence, industrialization developed in the country and the growth of industrial cities increased. Consequently, immigration from rural areas was intensive. People crowded close around the modern cities in 'bidonvilles' (shanty towns of tin can houses). In 1960, there were eight cities with over 100,000 population.

Casablanca	965,000
Rabat	303,000
Marrakesh	243,000
Fez	216,000
Meknes	175,000
Tangier	141,000
Oujda	128,000
Tetouan	101,000

By 1978, the population of these cities had substantially increased⁴:

Casablanca	2,133,100
Fez	506,300
Rabat-Salê	735,900
Marrakesh	476,400
Meknes	432,900
Oujda	411,000

2.3 ETHNIC GROUPS

Almost all the people in Morocco are Moslems, speaking either Arabic or Berber. Only 1/6 speak Berber as their first language. About 60% of the Europeans are French because of the colonisation. Under colonial rule most of the French were teachers or technicians,

but after Independence their number decreased. The Jewish population has been decreasing since emigration to the state of Israel began in 1948. But more recently the Jews have been encouraged to return to Morocco to help in the development of the country. Most of them are merchants or businessmen. After their return to Morocco, the Jews constituted their own community where they were permitted to worship and to regulate family life in their own way.

However, neither Jews nor Europeans are the indigenous inhabitants of Morocco. The first settlers in the country were Berbers who now reside in the mountainous regions. Their mother-tongue is Berber with its different dialects. When Berbers migrate from the mountains to the cities of the plains, they learn Arabic and/or French, so as to be able to engage in business matters.

After the Berbers come the Arabs who invaded the country in 684 bringing with them Islamic principles and civilisation. The Arabs had a great cultural influence on Moroccans: the Arabic language is today spoken by more than 60% of the population.

3 - SOCIETY AND CULTURE

3.1 SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The family constitutes the basic framework within which the life of the individual in Morocco is shaped. The traditional family unit is the extended family consisting basically of a man, his wife, their unmarried daughters and their sons (if married) with their wives and children. Sometimes, the household consists of an elementary or extended family of two or three generations under one roof sharing food and other properties.

This kind of extended family is declining, giving way to smaller families. The trend towards smaller family units consisting of a

couple with their children is evident particularly in cities where modernisation has taken place opening to the people new horizons towards a better life. To reach this better or 'ideal' life, people had to work hard. Individuals have acquired skills and education, and are no longer dependent upon the resources or prestige of the family in which they were born.

The small family makes it easier for the young married to achieve their ambitions, in the sense that instead of rearing ten children, for example, they have only two or three to look after. These are the young generation's ideas which have been predominant during the last few years in cities. In the rural areas, however, the extended family continues to be the basic unit.

3.2 RELIGION

The population of Morocco is almost entirely Moslem. Islam is a strong unifying factor in the country; it is also the official religion of the state. The King is the Emir al Mouminin or religious leader and the Protector of the Faith as well as of the constitution. All Moroccans share a respect for the Koran and other sacred writings. The duties of the Moslems form the five pillars of the faith:

The testimony (Shahadah), "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is the Prophet of Allah." All Moslems should say it and believe firmly in it. It is repeated before all ritual prayers, on the deathbed and many other occasions since it keeps the Moslem in relation with God and denies the existence of other Gods.

The prayer (salat), the Moslem should pray five times a day: at dawn, midday, mid-afternoon, sunset and nightfall. All Moslems should perform their prayers daily and attend the Friday prayer and Sermon meetings at the mosque.

The almsgiving (zakat), rich people are required to give a considerable amount of money to the poor so that equality between the different classes can be achieved.

The fasting (sawm) is observed during the month of Ramadan which is the ninth in the Moslem lunar calendar. It involves complete abstention from food, drink, tobacco and worldly pleasures from sunrise to sunset.

The pilgrimage (hajj), each Moslem is expected to make the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in his lifetime if he can afford it financially and if he is physically able to endure the hardships.

These are the five pillars of Islam the religion of all Moroccans. In addition, there are other religions that are practised by French, Spanish and Jews resident in the country.

3.3 LANGUAGE

The three important languages of the country are Berber, Arabic and French. Spanish is also spoken in the north in the former Spanish Protectorate and Tangier.

Even before the period of French colonial rule, Morocco was a bilingual country with the population speaking both Arabic and Berber. Berber was the earliest spoken language in North Africa before the Arab invasion.

Abdelâli Bentahila has distinguished three different dialects in Berber. He divided people speaking these dialects into three groups.

Tashlehait is spoken in the south-west of Morocco from Ifni to the area of Agadir; Tamazight is spoken in an area of the Atlas mountains, stretching as far east as Taza, and the largest homogenous group

of Berber speakers is located in the north, in the Rif mountains from which the Tarifit dialect gets its name.(5)

The second language that is spoken in Morocco is Arabic which is the language of the Koran. It is used in administration, press, television and education. There are two forms of Arabic, classical and colloquial. Speaking of the classical and the Moroccan Arabic, Bentahila observed:

The two fulfil quite different functions in Moroccan Society. Moroccan Arabic is acquired as the first language, the language of the home, while classical Arabic is learnt only in a formal educational context. (6)

Besides the administrative and the educational functions that classical Arabic has, it also plays an important part in literary writings. It is worth mentioning that Moroccan Arabic is understood only in Morocco and Algeria because they are very close, but it cannot be understood in Saudi Arabia or Koweit for instance. Nor is the colloquial Arabic of the Gulf countries intelligible in Morocco. Whereas the classical Arabic is common to all the Arab countries.

Thus, there is the French language and its influence on Moroccans. It is spoken especially by intellectuals and people from the upper class who considered it as a sign of modernism and a part of a new lifestyle.

French is also widely used in Radio and Television programmes, the media (special newspapers written in French that are published daily), cinema (90% of the films are in French) and administration. It can be seen, then, that the French influence is very powerful. But after Independence, Moroccan nationalists angry at this situation

sought to change by the Arabization project.

4 - ECONOMY

4.1 AGRICULTURE

Of the land surface of Morocco 18.6 % is arable; 24.6% is grazing land and grassland; 14.8% is forest and 42.2% is wasteland and urban area.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the Moroccan economy. A large variety of crops (barley, wheat, corn, beans, lentils ...) and vegetables is grown primarily for export. Moreover, the country is self-sufficient in most foods.

However, agriculture in Morocco is confronted with problems such as the use of primitive methods of cultivation. The peasants cultivate their lands with wooden ploughs and pointed sticks. During the harvest, they do the reaping by hand and threshing is done by animals. The reason why these primitive methods are still common is that the lands worked on are very small and limited. But since Independence these problems have been more or less solved, because agriculture has been one of the major concerns of the Government. Many development plans were undertaken to improve agricultural production. An understanding of the necessity of fertilizers and insecticides against insect plagues was made common among peasants. By means of Radio, Television and Newspapers the Government has tried to encourage the peasant farmers to use tractors, drawn ploughs, fertilizers and selected seeds. And by using tractors, they are obliged to disregard the boundaries of the old small plots and to develop some form of collectively held land.

The problem of drought which has occurred in Morocco during

the last ten years, has also been solved by the Government's policy of irrigation from the water that has been stored.

As a result of these development plans undertaken by the Government, Morocco has become Africa's largest wheat producer. The production of citrus fruits, which were cultivated for centuries, has been raised commercially for export especially to European Countries such as France and Spain.

Morocco is also an important world producer of olive-oil and vegetable oils because olives, sunflower seed and cotton seed are grown widely.

Morocco is now self-sufficient in most foods. Sugar is the largest imported item because it is used in the traditional Moroccan tea. To reduce the dependence on imported sugar, the Government has launched a scheme for planting sugar-cane in Morocco.

4.2 MINERALS AND INDUSTRY

Morocco is the world's largest producer and exporter of phosphates. The country is also fairly well endowed with other minerals such as iron, manganese, zinc, cobalt, lead and anthracite. There are some minor deposits of petroleum, copper, and graphite. This variety of minerals has encouraged the Government to look to industry as the key to future economic growth. A policy to develop production of these minerals was established. As a result of this industrial growth, big cities and factories developed quickly.

In Casablanca, which is the largest town and port, there are industries producing cars (The Moroccan Society for Automobile Construction SOMACA), clothes (La Compagnie Marocaine de Filatures et de Textiles COFITEX). Tangier is also a large port. It plays an important part in the import of textiles and foods. Another main port is Mohamedia in which there is a large oil refinery and petro-

chemical industries (known by the acronym SAMIR). Fez is a very important town, in the sense that it has factories producing textiles, pottery and leather. Essaouira and Agadir are two main fishing ports on the Atlantic coast. Agadir plays an important role as a centre of Tourism which contributes to the economy of the country.

This growth of the cities that has taken place in Morocco is partly due to the French colonialisation and partly to the development plans that have been undertaken by the Government since Independence. Many cities, as a result have become modern industrial centres. Nevertheless, some cities have preserved their traditional aspect, such as Fez and Marrakesh. These traditional cities remain a centre of attraction for tourists and therefore play an important role in the economy of the country.

5 - HISTORY

5.1 EARLY HISTORY

The Berbers and their ancestors have inhabited North Africa for over 7,000 years. They settled in the Atlas mountains and plateaux struggling among themselves for control. There were attempts to colonise North Africa by the Phoenicians and Carthaginians but these were unsuccessful. After the final defeat of Carthage in 146 BC, the Romans took over and governed Morocco for the next two centuries encouraging commercial life and Romanised religion.

At the beginning of the third century, Rome withdrew its forces from Morocco because of problems at home. However, the Roman cultural influence remained very strong. Volubilis (near Meknès) is a testimony of this. The Romans were succeeded by the Byzantines who were less successful.

5.2 THE COMING OF ISLAM

After the death of the Prophet Mohammed in AD 632, his followers carried the holy war for conversion to Islam into North Africa by the middle of the seventh century. But resistance by the Berbers repulsed the Arabs and it was not until the eighth century that they conquered Morocco and converted the Berbers to Islam under the leadership of Musa Ibn Nusair.

Meanwhile, two great sects had emerged out of the unified community of Moslems: the Orthodox Sunni and the Shia. This split in Islam was due to disputed claims to the caliphate i.e. The successors of the Prophet Mohammed. The Shia supported the claim of the direct descendants of Ali, son in law of the Prophet; whereas, the Sunni supported that of Ali's rival, Muawiya, a member of a collateral branch of the Prophet's tribe.

This struggle for the Caliphate had important consequences for Morocco. When the Oumayyads were overthrown by the Abbassids in 750, they established an emirate at Cordova. In 785, the first Sherifian Arab Dynasty was established in Morocco by Idriss Ibn Abdullah. He and his son Idriss II built the city of Fez as their capital. This city was famous for the Karaouine University founded in 859. However, large scale Arab migration had begun in the eleventh century when the use of the Arabic language became widespread among Moroccans.

In 1085, the Almoravides, who unified Morocco under their control, were asked for help by some princes in Southern Spain who were being threatened by the Christians. Therefore a mixture of cultures was introduced into Morocco. Meanwhile, their Andalusian life-style lost the Almoravides the respect of their subjects. In consequence,

their military power dissipated. As a result, the Almohades were able to defeat the Almoravides.

The Almohades empire lasted only for a few years because the Almohades in turn succumbed to the Andalusian life-style.

In 1269, the Merinides invaded Marrakesh and put an end to the Almohades. The Merinides rule lasted until the middle of the fifteenth century. They were succeeded by Bani Wattas who controlled the Government in Fez in 1465, but they were unable to eject the Portuguese who dominated the coast. The Saadian led a holy war under the leadership of Ahmed al Mansour in 1511.

Ahmed al Mansour was a contemporary of Elizabeth I; during his reign the country entered into a prosperous period. His military prowess and wealth engendered respect throughout the royal courts of Europe.

5.3 THE ALAOUITE DYNASTY

After Ahmed al Mansour's death, the country was divided again between the claimants to the throne. There was a civil war between Fez and Marrakesh, where the Marabouts held local power. In the meantime, out of this chaos a Sherifian Arab tribe, the Alaouis gained power in the oases of Tafilalt. Moulay Rachid was proclaimed Sultan in that region in 1640 and thirty years later, he brought all Morocco under his control by enforcing the will of Makhzen and suppressing the Marabouts.

In 1672, Moulay Ismail came to the throne and added to the Moroccan Army some Negro slaves brought from Sudan, who were used also in constructing fortresses. During Moulay Ismail's reign, Morocco established closer contact with European powers, and when Sidi Mohamed came to the throne, he tried to maintain diplomatic

relations with Europe. In addition treaties of friendship and commerce were signed with Denmark, Sweden and The United States in 1786.

Sidi Mohamed's successors especially his rebellious sons Moulay Yazid (reigned 1790-92) and Moulay Suleiman (reigned 1792-1822) were involved in Berber revolts. Morocco's instability at that time led to its isolation, both politically and culturally, and to the intervention of European powers. The only strong figure who emerged in Morocco during the nineteenth century was Moulay Hassan I (reigned 1873-94). His government was marked by stability, his army which subdued dissident tribes by bravery. But after his death, the country's position declined during his son's reign, Abdel Aziz, who was only fourteen when he came to the throne and was totally unprepared for the task of governing Morocco. The Rif Chieftains Raisuli and Bu Hamara took advantage of this situation and gathered a large body of supporters, but they were unsuccessful in their claim.

In 1908, Moulay Hafid was recognized as Sultan, but was unable to enforce order and appealed to France for military assistance. After this time, France began to take an active part in the administrative, educational, economic and financial affairs of Morocco. Following the Treaty of Fez (March, 1912), the Sultan reigned but did not rule.

The pacification of Morocco is always credited to Marshal Lyautey (resident-general 1912-25), though it was a long process and not fully completed until 1934 because of the violent resistance in the Rif under the leadership of Abdel Krim. In addition to the French presence in Morocco, Spain controlled Melilia, Ceuta, Alhuceima and Ifni. On 7 April, 1956 the Spanish government recognized the Independence and Unity of Morocco and withdrew from the northern territories.

NOTES

- 1 See Appendix 1
- 2 ibid
- 3 see Appendix 2
- 4 International Handbook of Education System, Vol II, 1983
p:678
- 5 Bentahila,A.,Language Attitudes Among Arabic-French biling-
uals in Morocco, Multilingual Matters Ltd., 1983. p:1
- 6 Ibid p:5

CHAPTER TWO

EDUCATION BEFORE AND UNDER THE PROTECTORATE

1 - EDUCATION BEFORE 1912

Before 1912, education in Morocco was limited to a few years of recitation of the Koran (The Holy Book) under the instructions of an Islamic teacher (Fkih) at the local mosque. Koranic education has existed for many hundreds of years, it is closely associated with the spread of Islam. It still accounts for an important part of educational provision in Morocco.

What is usually referred to as Moroccan Education during this period is not what is meant by the term in the modern world. In contemporary usage, education means what is provided for pupils and students in schools, colleges and universities. This is usually referred to as formal education. By Koranic education is meant memorisation of the Koran at an early age.

The Koranic education, or what is now called traditional education, was most important for Moroccan pupils and students. In addition, there were two other kinds of education : the Israelite for Jewish pupils and the European for European pupils (most of them were French) and also for the Moroccan Elite.

1.1 THE TRADITIONAL EDUCATION

The traditional education is an Islamic one, based on the Koran and deals with the subjects that are related to it, such as 'Sunna' and 'Hadith'. Islamic teachers may have knowledge about these two further subjects, which are relevant to Islamic teaching, but their main task is to teach the Koran to pupils ranging from 4 to 16 years

old. The traditional education was organised so as to allow pupils to memorise the Koran and be able to recite it without making phonetic mistakes or missing any words. This is, in a sense, an education consisting of a substantial measure of textual exegesis and learning by rote.

Of those who memorise the Koran at this primary level, some leave school at this stage to look for work or to enter an apprenticeship and only a small minority receive further education in the 'Medrassa' which is a college specialising in theological dogma, Arabic grammar, rhetoric and a little mathematics.

Then afterwards, those who are able and are interested in pursuing their studies to the level of higher education, apply to Karaouine University which is a highly respected institution in the Arab world. The instruction in this University is mainly concerned with religious subjects such as 'Sunna' and 'Hadith' and also with linguistic subjects such as the grammar of Ibn Sina and Sibawih with whom Arabic grammatical scholarship reached its culmination at the end of the 8th century.

Sibawih wrote a book called "Lkitab" in which he fixed the grammatical description and the teaching of Arabic language. He also established the grammar of classical Arabic. The analysis of the Arabic sound system is also found in his book which is a highly systematic representation of what was, in the 8th century, the received pronunciation used in cultured speech in reading and reciting the Koran and Arabic poetry. Arabic linguistics concentrated on the Koran which is a bond of unity between all Moslems. Arabic has always been closely associated with religion. Brunot notes:

North Africa which has the psychological peculiarity of being rebellious against any differentiation has not been able to separate language and religion. All social or individual progress is inevitably achieved in the direction of a more complete Islamization which goes together with a more thorough knowledge of the Arabic Language. (1)

The association of language with religion is the main force which shaped Moroccan Education, before the protectorate, as purely religious with no interest in other languages. Also, this religious emphasis has had its influence on social arrangements, especially on the position of women who were subordinate to men both in social status and in decision-making. Women were, therefore, concerned with child-rearing and housework, whereas men were the heads of the family responsible for teaching children how to respect the old, and many other noble and religious qualities that people who learned the Koran were expected to exhibit.

This is also the reason why education at that time was only for boys. Boys were prepared for adulthood and to face adult life's problems and tasks. Girls instead were kept busy in the household close to their mothers and to the feminine circle. This religious aspect of education was encouraged by many rulers and especially by Sultan Mohamed Ben Abdullah (1757-1790) by passing an act:

... which fixed the subjects that should be taught and those that could not be ... They were limited to the Koran, to its interpretation and to some books related to Islam and Arabic language. (2)

Though the subjects were limited to the Koran, the University of Karaouine was celebrated throughout the Islamic world. The number of students that the University received is a testimony to the high regard in which it was held in the Arab World and especially by the privileged minority who could afford the journey to Morocco. Those who graduated from Karaouine were called "Oulama" i.e. Islamic Scholars; they had access to administrative, religious and judicial careers.

The University of Karaouine kept this high reputation among the Arab Universities until the nineteenth century when some attempts were made to reform the traditional religious system of education. No reforms were implemented, but the attempt caused a decline in the number of students which fell to 1,000; 400 in Fez and 600 in the annexes in other cities.³

Describing Karaouine University in 1973, Bidwell said that it had become "merely the shadow of the great University which, in the middle ages, had numbered a future Pope among its students: now it was incapable of attracting anyone from abroad." Moreover, the French took advantage of this situation to impose their own system of education upon Morocco during the establishment of the Protectorate.

1.2 THE ISRAELITE EDUCATION

The establishment of Jewish education in Morocco is due to a particular event. In 1860, two Moroccan Jews together with two Moroccans were executed, being accused of poisoning the Deputy Spanish Governor. The Israelite Alliance (AIU) Alliance Israélite Universelle took advantage of this event to protest against the maltreatment of the Jews. Sultan Mohamed Ben Abderrahman proclaimed the Dahir "Freedom for Jews".⁴ The Universal Israelite Alliance did not stop

at this but seized the opportunity to establish a system of education for Jews only. A great number of modern schools were founded, which were different from the traditional Moroccan ones and where Hebrew was taught. The first of these schools was founded in Tetouan in 1862. By 1908 their number had grown to 20, and the number of pupils to 4,000 (2,500 boys and 1,500 girls).⁵

TABLE 1 : The Israelite Modern Schools in Morocco in 1907;
 dates of foundation, effective^s and number of classrooms.

	Date of Foundation	Effective ^s	Number of Classrooms
Schools in Tetouan			
Boys	1862	185	6
Boys	1868	330	7
Girls			
Schools in Tangier			
Boys	1865	322	7
Girls	1874	355	6
Schools in Fez			
Boys	1883	263	6
Girls	1885	74	4
Schools in Mogador ¹			
Boys	1888	274	4
Girls	1906	390	12
Schools in Casablanca			
Boys	1897	265	6
Girls	1900	159	4
Schools in Larache			
Boys	1901	140	4
Girls	1901	102	4
Schools in Mazagan ²			
Boys	1906	170	5
Girls	1906	120	3
Schools in Rabat			
	1903	89	3
Schools in Marrakesh			
Boys	1901	325	6
Girls	1901	125	6

Source : Ch. René Leclere, 1908 L'Enseignement au Maroc. Alger.
 (pp : 50 - 72)

¹ actually called Essaouira

² actually called El Jadida

Though the number of Jewish schools in Morocco was growing year by year, as we see from Table No. 1, Israelite education remained quite separate and had no influence on Moroccan education which remained traditional. The aim of the Universal Israelite Alliance was specifically to make the education available to Jewish residents in Morocco distinct from the Moroccan education which was purely Islamic. The matter was, then, much more related to religion than to education. Thus, the teaching of the Hebrew language was a means to assert and preserve both their identity and their religion.

But the important point was that the Jews did not try to influence Moroccan education or change its system. Nevertheless, the U.I.A. initially helped the French to establish their own system of education which gradually replaced the Moroccan system.

1.3 THE FRENCH EDUCATION

The French system of education in Morocco has played an important part in the transformation of Moroccan education from a traditional-conservative one to a modern and open one. However, the French influence before 1912 was not so powerful as it was under the Protectorate.

The French Alliance began to found schools through the agency of the U.I.A. It is true that a small minority of Moroccans accepted the idea of these Franco-Arab schools, seeing in them a promise for the country's progress and modernity, or at least a hope for a new life-style. On the opposite side were the majority of people who were completely opposed to this new system which had been introduced into their country. The Moroccan nationalists rebelled against the establishment of French education which in their view would lead to a decline in the morals of youth who would lose their Islamic values and follow western and modern models.

The foundation of Franco-Arab schools encountered strong

opposition and some of them were closed and others never proceeded beyond the planning stage.⁶ This was the case of the following schools:

*The Franco-Arab school of Mogador (in Essaouira) which was founded in 1905 and closed in June 1907.

*The Franco-Arab school (in Fez) a French course was created in 1906, but the school closed in August 1907.

*Eksar and Azilal school remained in the development plans of the French Alliance.

However, some other Franco-Arab Schools survived the nationalists' oppositions and these served as the foundation of the French system of education in Morocco which promoted the objectives of French colonialism. These schools were scattered all over the country and especially in the north, as it is shown from the following table.

TABLE 2 : The Franco-Arab schools in Morocco in 1908.

Number of teachers, pupils and annual budget.

Date of Creation	Cities	Number of Teachers	Number of Pupils	Annual Budget
1898 August	Tangier	4	85	5.500
1904	Tetouan	2	30	1.500
1905 September	Larache	2	35	2.000
1907	Oujda	2	58	2.500

Source : René Leclerc, 1908, L'enseignement au Maroc. Alger. p.17

These Franco-Arab schools that resisted Moroccan opposition were in a way the pillars of a well developed French system of education in Morocco under the Protectorate.

2 - EDUCATION UNDER THE PROTECTORATE

By the establishment of Franco-Arab schools, the French were preparing to colonise Morocco and these schools were seen primarily as a means of achieving this aim. The first step in the colonization of Morocco by the French was the Treaty of Fez or what is called the "Treaty of Protectorate", which was signed on 30 March 1912. One might ask why it was called the Treaty of Protectorate?

In 1912, Morocco was a centre of attraction to foreign powers which saw it as a country to be exploited. Among these foreign powers, France was foremost and called itself "Protecteur" by the Treaty of Fez. But no sooner had the Treaty been signed than France's real intentions became manifest and she began to interfere in the political affairs of the country. Soon the Sultan no longer ruled but only reigned. Moreover, France began to exploit the country's riches ranging from agricultural products to minerals. France's aim became increasingly clear; it was not a Protectorate but a colonization.

In the early years, France used the Protectorate to achieve the pacification of the country. Being aware of Morocco's past, the French general Marshal Lyautey tolerated no violation of Moroccan customs. He used to say to his subordinates "Do not offend a single tradition. Do not change a single habit."⁷

In contrast to this attitude, George Hardy, one of the representatives of France, concerned with Education in Morocco, said "We should subdue the minds after having achieved the submission of the bodies."⁸

It was Hardy's attitudes which were embodied in the Dahir (Treaty) of the 26th July, 1920. The system of education reflected these policies. As a result of this, education was highly restricted and used to create divisions among the Moroccan peoples.

2.1 COLONIALISM AND ITS EFFECT ON EDUCATION

France's policy aim was to limit education and to narrow its horizons. The French already knew that Morocco had a long history of education and had the oldest University in the Arab world; the Karaouine University (founded as early as 859 AD). Furthermore the French perceived that freedom in education would be a threat to their position in Morocco for it would produce an open-minded generation who would inevitably reject the presence of colonial troops in the country. To avoid this situation, France planned a selective system by which each class in society should receive an education appropriate to its position. The notion of social class distinction was reinforced by different kinds of educational provision. In particular a special education was created for the upper class, Paul Marty said:

"... but the social, intellectual and refined elite : people of Makhzen (government), religious people, Shurfa, Oulama (scholars). Industrial bourgeoisie, agricultural merchants claimed more and better (education). We created, then, for their children, in cities, a special primary education which was available in schools for "sons of notables". (9)

It is clear from this quotation that French policy responded only to the needs of a specific social class, the privileged. The mass of the population were either trained for manual work, or were directed to agricultural education which inevitably led them back to their old traditions. The privileged minority, on the other hand, benefited from an education providing them with the possibility of becoming involved in administration and commerce. Nonetheless, neither the privileged minority nor the poor masses were given a scientific or literary education of any kind. In fact, France did

not intend Morocco to participate in scientific and literary progress or even to be aware of it. Morocco was to be a secluded country separated from European culture.

The traditional education was preserved but not developed beyond its existing low level. The French were reluctant to encourage traditional education because they feared that it might create intellectuals who would question the colonial regime. The French were able, without difficulty, to manipulate education in Morocco and use it as an instrument for creating divisions among the population.

"Education was a weapon of social division rather than integration"¹⁰ as Hapgood observed when describing the common characteristics of African countries which were colonised by the French.

2.2 EDUCATION : AN INSTRUMENT OF DIVISION

Out of a unified country, France had succeeded in creating a disunited state with many kinds of education, each exclusive to a particular group. As a result of this policy there emerged four kinds of education. The first was designed for the elite; the second was Traditional education (these we have already mentioned); the third, was education for Berbers and finally there was an education for Jews.

A) The Berber Education :

On the 16th May, 1930, a Berber Treaty was signed. The treaty was intended to separate the Arabs and the Berbers. The French were following the policy of Divide-and-Rule i.e. to break down the cultural and linguistic solidarity existing between Arabs and Berbers. And this involved the creation of a different type of school, where French and Berber were taught but Arabic was not. These schools were described by Paul Marty¹¹:

The Franco-Berber school is the French school by education and life; Berber by the recruiting and the environment, French by the teacher, Berber by the pupils. Every teaching of Arabic, every intervention of F'kih, every Islamic manifestations will be severely stamped out.

This attempt to separate the people of one nation had, however, the effect of creating a sense of Nationalism which later fired opposition to the colonial power.

B) The Encouragement of Israelite Education :

Israelite education already existed before the Protectorate, but during the Protectorate this kind of education was encouraged in order to foster divisions in the Moroccan Society.

The convention of 1862 between "The Direction of Education in Morocco" and "The Universal Israelite Alliance" was renewed in 1928 which gave Jews the right to have their own education. The Jewish schools had a modern curriculum including subjects relevant to commercial and administration. In this context G. Hardy wrote:¹²

"We should prepare them for modern sectors so that they can run away from misery."

It is significant that during the Protectorate the number of Jewish schools had by 1954 increased to about 81 with 31,605 pupils. This clearly shows the aim of French policy to create a tense atmosphere among people. The pattern which the French established, was a heterogeneous education i.e. not a unified system for the Moroccan population as a whole, but a system which institutionalised the divisions in the society. Even the education of the elite was somewhat limited and stopped short of stimulating ideas which might have led

to revolution. The term elite was created on purpose to make Moroccans more conscious of differences among themselves than of the exploitation which they suffered from the French.

Moreover, even the Traditional education from which Moroccans had benefited was at this time adversely affected by the attempts that had been made to reform Karaouine University in the nineteenth century. The only real alternative was to emigrate to other Arab countries where education was more developed. To avoid this outcome, the French allowed some modifications to be made to education at Karaouine University. However, A. BAINA said of those modifications that they were "forced renovations to avoid the danger."¹³

In 1944, in response to the continual demands of the elite for an improvement in educational provision, the French permitted them to join those schools which had previously been for the French only. For the mass of the population, however, educational provision remained very inadequate with regard to both the number of schools and the number of teachers. The French and the Moroccan Jews benefited most from education under the French Protectorate whereas the Moroccan Moslems benefited least.

TABLE 3 : Assessment of Educated Pupils in 1952.

French and Foreigners, Moroccan Israelites and Moroccan Moslems.

Categories	Number of educated pupils (in Primary and Secondary schools)	Percentage aged 5-14 in school
French and Foreigners	75,000 12% in secondary school	100%
Moroccan Israelites	35,000 4.9% in secondary school	67%
Moroccan Moslems	163,000 2.2% in secondary school	10%

Source : Albert Ayache 1956, Le Maroc. Paris : Editions Sociales pp 313 and 321.

2.3 THE REJECTION OF THE PROTECTORATE : (THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT).

From 1912 to 1956, the French implemented their policy of "divide and rule". To succeed in this, they used many means such as: the creation of an elite, the signing of the Berber Decree and the structuring of the educational system in accordance with the social class of the pupils.

A) The Creation of the Elite :

Before the establishment of the Protectorate in 1912, the term Elite was used in a context different from the one used by the French. All pupils had access to the same education, the Koranic school first, then in the Medrassa and finally in the University. In fact, it was only a small minority that reached the University and it was from this minority that the Elite was drawn and not as a result of any social discrimination. When that minority was referred to as an Elite, it was because of the pupils' capacity and level of intelligence, especially as students who had been admitted to Karaouine University held honour degrees and passed rigorous tests for admission. But during the Protectorate, the French created a different elite which was based entirely on power and wealth; i.e. the upper-class. By creating a special education for the elite, they created disunity, disorder and discrimination among the social classes.

B) The Berber Decree :

By the signature of the Berber Decree in 1930, the French created a separate kind of education, but more than that, they separated an ethnic group from the whole population as Bentahila said "... to break down the cultural and linguistic solidarity existing between Arabs and Berbers."¹⁴ The French offered to

the Berbers a different education by which they could have access to the Berber Dialect which was not available in other schools. In these Franco-Berber schools, French was taught by French teachers. No Arabic was taught in these schools and no teaching of the Koran or F'kih was given to the Berbers. The French tried to make the Berbers believe that they were different from the rest of the population. In fact, the Berber Decree strengthened the resistance of the Moroccan Nationalists and did not achieve the division that the French desired.

C) A Special Education For Each Social Class :

Out of a unified population, the French succeeded in establishing different classes and to each of them they offered a distinctive education. First, the Elite received an education which gave them access to administrative and commercial positions. Then, they sought to direct the masses to careers in agriculture and handicrafts, and for the Moroccan Jews they provided a special education, at the same level as that of the French where they could preserve both their religion and language. The education of the Berbers was similar to that of the masses except that the former were taught in Arabic and French.

This policy was counter productive and created a sense of nationalism. Moroccan nationalists would not accept the French policy and they rebelled and created special schools which they called "AL MADARIS AL HURA" (private schools), where only Arabic was taught and no French at all. By establishing these schools they sought to preserve their culture, religion and identity which they feared they were gradually losing.

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CHAPTER THREE

EDUCATION FROM INDEPENDENCE TO THE PRESENT

1 - INTRODUCTION - The Royal Commission for the Reform of Education :

It was apparent that the French policy in education, neither aimed at improving standards nor at creating an intellectual minority. Essentially it sought to leave the situation unchanged, though the introduction of the French language and culture did lead to some deterioration. The subjects which were taught were a testimony to the intentions of France; Moroccan pupils, for instance, were taught in French and about the history of France instead of being taught their own history or subjects that were more related to their background and culture.

The Moroccan nationalists tried to oppose this policy by establishing private schools where the main subjects were taught in Arabic and French was only considered as a second language. In addition, the pupils were introduced to various subjects that were connected with their religion (Islam) and their environment.

As well as the Nationalist Movement in Morocco, there was a small elite who respected the historical traditions of the land and who were much concerned with the fate of their country. They sought a way to save the system of education in Morocco from the problems it was faced with after Independence. The Moroccan Nationalists wanted to abolish the educational system which was inherited at the end of the Protectorate, and which was unsatisfactory in many respects. His Majesty Hassan II said in his famous book Le Défi :

Offence and Injustice were
felt more sharply because the

Moroccan had never lost awareness either of his religion or of his belonging to a Sovereign State. (1)

The Nationalists with the intellectuals agreed on some objectives which they considered as fundamental for the modification of the French system of education in Morocco. In August 1957, a Royal Commission for Reform of Education was set up; it included representatives of teachers, political parties and labour unions. Through its development plans, the Royal Commission tried to establish four main principles for the reform of education : generalisation or universalisation of education, unification of education, arabization of education and Moroccanization of personnel.

1.1 UNIVERSALISATION OF EDUCATION

By establishing this principle, the Royal Commission aimed at the democratisation of education. Education was made compulsory for all children. According to El Jabri², opinions about the compulsory period had differed from one time to another. For instance, before the 1960's, educationalists agreed that schooling should be compulsory for all children aged 6 to 14 with extra courses for those who had missed it earlier. Special courses were provided to young Moroccans as well as to the old in order to diminish the rate of illiteracy which was very high.

From the sixties onwards, there was some retreat from the principle of complete universalisation; the notion was linked to the funds that were available and to the possibilities that existed. After the Dahir of 13 November, 1963, the decision was left to the Ministry of National Education, with regard to which regions education should be compulsory and where it should be applicable.

Meanwhile, different views obtained on the question of the age at which children should go to school. After Independence and in the first Quinquennial Plan (1960-1964), compulsory schooling was fixed from 6 to 14. However, in 1963 the Dahir as previously mentioned, altered this from 7 to 13. But in 1966, the Minister of National Education announced at the annual conference that the requirement of schooling should be limited to from 7 to 12.

However, the universalisation of education in Morocco after Independence reflected a kind of democratisation, especially as education was entirely free. But in another respect, democratisation was not totally accomplished. There were significant differences in the provision between rural and urban areas. In urban areas access to school was very high, from 64% to 79%³, whereas in rural areas it was only from 1.7% to 10.6%⁴.

This contrast in access to school between the cities and the countryside was the result of the social and economic structures in the country. Children in the countryside were used to helping their parents in agricultural tasks. Another factor which played an important part in the low percentage of children's attendance was the prejudice against education for girls by some traditionalist parents who did not approve of their daughters leaving home and taking advantage of educational opportunities even though free education was available. This tradition was gradually disappearing in cities because they were more open to the influence of the western way of life.

To achieve democracy in education, the Royal Commission for the reform of education tried to unify the system of education which included several different kinds inherited from the Protectorate.

1.2 UNIFICATION OF EDUCATION

The different systems of education that Morocco had inherited from the Protectorate were united into two main systems which were public education and private education.

Private education already existed, the Moroccan Nationalists had established it as part of their rebellion against the French system. In 1965, several forms of private education were available, such as the Israelite education called after Independence "Ittihad", and "la Mission Universitaire Culturelle Française" which was for French Children and foreigners and occasionally for the Moroccan upper-class as well.

Public education, on the other hand, was divided into two systems, the modern education and the traditional one. The modern education included ancient schools and ex-colleges for franco-musulmans also schools for Israelites, European schools and high schools. It also included modern Universities such as Mohamed V University.

The traditional public education was the kind of education that existed in Morocco before the Protectorate in M'sid, other institutions and Karaouine University.

Although it appeared that the Moroccan system of education was still faced with a variety of systems, some measure of unification was achieved. It was a promising step in the sense that it had succeeded in unifying the Moroccan children under two systems, the private created by the Nationalists and the public for the majority of Moroccans. So a real division was made between the Moroccan system and others. However, this process developed further when the Government began reducing the number of French schools by the establishment of the Trenium Plan (1965-1967). In October

1959, there were about 700 classes which were gradually reduced to 320 classes by 1962.

1.3 ARABIZATION OF EDUCATION

Even under the Protectorate, the Nationalists had been advocating the Arabization of Education. But on the eve of Independence, a part of public education was already arabized. Moreover, decisions were made for training some teachers to qualify them for the task of teaching in arabic, the various subjects of the curriculum of Moroccan education, especially scientific subjects such as Mathematics, Natural Sciences, Physics and Chemistry.

However, Arabization was very difficult to achieve and it could only be done very slowly. Many obstacles hindered its rapid development. First, there was the lack of scientific terminology. Further there were practically no teachers who could teach mathematics or science in Arabic. Even though Arabization was established in the primary schools, there was still a problem because the pupils who had started their primary schooling in Arabic were insufficiently prepared for secondary education which was still taught in French.

In 1960, an Institute for study and research was inaugurated to work towards a solution of the problem of Arabization.³ The Arabization of the primary school was less difficult in the sense that private arabized schools already existed under the Protectorate. In October 1960, the Ministry of National Education established an arabized class in Yacoub el Mansour college in Rabat, and another one in the Lycée Moulay Driss in Fez. In October 1961, a third arabized class was established in Casablanca.⁴ In addition, two arab states Iraq and Egypt were asked to help in the training of competent personnel. Egypt tried to establish a college in

Rabat in which a section was reserved for the training of teachers of science and mathematics in Arabic. Iraq set up an Institute for the training of teachers of History and Geography.

Arabization was a frustrating and difficult process to achieve; however, in 1976 courses such as geography, philosophy and history were being taught in Arabic in the upper secondary schools. The efforts made by Egypt and Iraq, especially Egypt, proved unsuccessful because they did not wholly meet Moroccan needs. Zartman observed:

"The Moroccans found the Egyptians better orators than teachers, more eloquent in praising their native land than in teaching their subject matter. (5)

This was one reason why Moroccan Educationalists began to consider the training of native born teachers.

1.4 MOROCCANIZATION OF THE PERSONNEL

The fourth and last principle in the Royal Commission for the Reform of Education was Moroccanization or the replacement of foreign teachers and other staff by Moroccan nationals.

The process of Moroccanization was most successful as far as primary school was concerned. Moroccanization in the primary school system was completely achieved in the sense that there were no foreign teachers at this level. This was mainly due to the speed with which Regional Normal Schools (Les écoles normales régionales) increased from 2 in 1956 to 22 in 1961.⁶ Besides, primary school teachers' training was only a one year full-time course.

To increase the number of Moroccan teachers in primary schools, students with only secondary education (brevet) were eligible for the one year training. Sometimes, primary school graduates were

also eligible for the one year training with intensive courses at night. The number of teachers increased rapidly and by mid 1965 Moroccanization was largely achieved in the primary schools. However, the problem was that Morocco was still short of the French teachers for secondary education where scientific disciplines are introduced.

The lack of competent Moroccan teachers for secondary education prompted the Moroccan authorities to ask France for help. The number of pupils finishing their primary school was growing rapidly. This process required an expansion of secondary education. Also the Moroccan teachers were not qualified to teach scientific subjects as the terminology for these subjects was lacking from the Arabic language. The only possibility was to continue to teach in French and for that French staff were needed. However, expatriates were still being recruited especially in Mathematics and Science. They were usually from eastern European countries, such as Romania and Bulgaria. The French language was neither their first language nor even their second. In spite of this, Bulgarian and Romanian teachers were still recruited because Morocco was short of teachers and also they were attracted by the salaries offered to them since bilateral agreements were signed to guarantee salary scales.⁷

2 - PRIVATE AND PUBLIC EDUCATION

It is apparent that the present structure of the Moroccan system of education is a product of the French influence. The only education which has preserved the national aspect is the traditional education.

However, we can distinguish two other systems : the private and the public which have become increasingly similar since Independence. Being controlled by the Government, the private schools teach the same curriculum as the public ones. Nevertheless, there are

some fundamental principles which distinguish the private system of education.

2.1 PRIVATE EDUCATION

By the Decree of 1st June 1959⁸, a set of rules was issued to limit the freedom of the private schools and to make them similar to those of the public sector, so that the unification of education in Morocco could be achieved. For the establishment of a private school an authorization granted by the Government became necessary. The Ministry of National Education could accept or reject the project of establishing a school, depending on whether it was well equipped and whether it had sufficient and competent staff.

The requirements of the Decree of 1959 assumed that Arabic could be employed as the medium of instruction and that Moroccan history and geography should be taught in the schools. The examinations were to be the same as those in the public schools. In addition, the teachers were required to hold a certificate of secondary level if they were teaching the primary schools and should have their Baccalauréat for teaching at the secondary level.

The private schools in Morocco are of four kinds : the arabised schools where Arabic is the medium of instruction. These schools are similar to the arabised public schools. Then, there are the private schools of "Ittihad", formerly called the Israelite schools, which after Independence were integrated into the public school system. There are now only a small number of these schools. The third type is "Les écoles de la Mission Universitaire et Culturelle de la coopération française". These are related to the French Embassy which determines the subjects taught and which selects the teachers and the text books. The final group is those private schools which encompass foreign schools : The Spanish Cultural Mission, the Catholic

Mission, American and Italian schools, schools to prepare pupils for the Baccalauréat and private bilingual schools.

2.2 PUBLIC EDUCATION

Public education attained a high percentage of enrolment, about 96% of the total. The main reason is that it is free. Also, the government tried very hard to increase the number of children attending school by convincing parents and making them aware of the benefit of education both for individuals and for the welfare of the community as a whole. Different types of education were made available to satisfy all demands. Nevertheless, they are all gathered under two main types which are the modern and the traditional.

2.2.1 The Modern Education

What was called modern education, after Independence was all the types of education that developed under the Protectorate such as Bilingual education, arabised education and the French Cultural Mission (type français). We may consider the former as the result of a mixture of two cultures; the second is the achievement of the Moroccan National Resistance and the third is the creation of the French to continue education for the French community in Morocco.

Though all these schools are now common to the population, bilingual education still plays an important part. It comprises the majority of the people and this reflects, to some extent, their willingness to learn a foreign language in addition to the mother tongue. The people do not see it as a sign of subservience to colonialism, but on the contrary they consider this kind of education as a guarantee of the welfare and modernism of society.

2.2.2 The Bilingual Education

Bilingual education is where both Arabic and French are taught. The efforts of the Ministry of National Education succeeded in making

Arabic the medium of instruction especially in the primary school with the introduction of French from the third year. However, French is still the language used for teaching scientific subjects in secondary and higher education. This is the reason why BAINA called the bilingualism used in this kind of education as "lame". It is true that the usage of French increases as pupils advance in education, and the percentage of hours taught in French is higher than in Arabic except in primary school. The table below is derived by summing up figures given by El Jabri.⁹

TABLE 4 THE PERCENTAGE OF THE USE OF FRENCH AND ARABIC IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION.

LANGUAGE	PRIMARY	SECONDARY
Arabic	73.6%	37.5%
French	26.4%	62.5%

This table shows that Arabic is widely used in primary school and this is mainly due to two factors. First, because French is only introduced from the third year and second because the Arabic taught in school is different from the Arabic used at home. The pupils at the age of 7 are introduced to a new language which is classical Arabic (formal) different in many respects from the Moroccan Arabic (dialect). Moreover, after two years of learning how to write and spell classical Arabic, the pupils are acquainted with the language and it is then that French is added to the curriculum for the last three years in primary school.

The table shows a high percentage of use of French in secondary education, this phenomenon can be explained by the fact that in secon-

dary school, the students are taught in French for all the scientific disciplines : mathematics, natural sciences, physics and chemistry. Nevertheless, the conclusion is that only the scientific section uses French more than Arabic. In the literary section, the subjects are all related to literature except for mathematics and are principally taught in Arabic. This became true only after 1975 i.e. after the accomplishment of Arabization of some disciplines such as philosophy, history and geography.

2.2.3 The Arabised Education

The arabised education was established during the Protectorate. It was the result of a reaction of the Moroccan nationalists who did not approve of the French system of education in Morocco. The Nationalists, tried to establish schools in which the medium of instruction was Arabic and the subjects taught were related to the Moroccan environment and culture; unlike schools established by the French where French prevailed and where the history of France was taught. The aim of the Nationalists was to save Moroccan society from alienation and loss of identity. Also, they were trying to preserve Arabic, the language of the Koran and the main pillar and unifying factor of an Islamic State.

After Independence, efforts to create a National arabised school were encouraged, but the predominance of the bilingual education and its popularity among people weakened the position of arabised education. In 1978-1979, there were 7,265 students in arabised secondary schools out of 650,796 of the total in secondary.¹⁰

2.2.4 The French Cultural Mission Schools

The French Cultural Mission school was also inherited from the Protectorate. It was a type of school designed for the French living in Morocco to respond to their needs. However, the Moroccan elite

joined the French for this kind of education because they considered it the highest level of education and the only avenue by which they could pursue their studies abroad and especially in France. All the subjects in these schools, are taught in French and no Arabic is taught.

The curriculum and the disciplines taught in these schools are identical to those in France. Moreover, it is the French Embassy in Morocco which draws up the syllabus. These plans and organisation of these schools would do no harm if it was only for the French community, but the problem is that the Moroccan elite attend these schools as well, and by doing so, they preserve a kind of attachment to colonial culture which makes the task very difficult for those who wish to detach themselves from it.

2.2.5 The Traditional Education

The Traditional education is the oldest education that has existed in Morocco. It was the official education before the Protectorate. This kind of education was available in the University Karaouine in Fez, in Ben Youssef Institute in Marrakesh and centres in other cities. However, after Independence, the position of the traditional education was threatened because the Quinquennial Plan 1960-1964 aimed at unification of education and the existence of many types of education hindered the achievement of this project. As a result, the number of students in the traditional schools decreased year by year.¹¹

In 1959-60 there were about 24,436 students.

in 1970-71 there were about 14,344 students.

There were several attempts to reform the structure of this education and by the Quinquennial Plan 1973-77, a project was set up by the Royal Commission which aimed at the transformation of the

curriculum of traditional education and the improvement of its quality.

NOTES

- 1 Hassan II, King of Morocco. Le Défi, Paris : Albin Michel, 1976. p:115
- 2 EL JABRI, M.A., Lumières sur le Problème de l'enseignement au Maroc : Casablanca : Editions Maghrébines, 1972. p:98
- 3 KITCHEN, H., The Educated African, New York: Frederick A. PRAEGER, 1962. p.35
- 4 BAINA, A., Le Système de l'enseignement au Maroc. Casablanca: Edition Maghrébines, 1981. p:168
- 5 ZARTMAN, I.W., Morocco : Problems of New Power. New York: Atherton Press, 1964. p:166
- 6 Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord, 1962. p:564
- 7 See International Handbook of Education Systems. Vol. II, 1983. p:700
- 8 Dahir No. 1-59-045 du 1^{er} Juin, 1959.
- 9 EL JABRI, M., Lumières sur le Problème de L'enseignement au Maroc: Casablanca : éditions maghrébines, 1972. p:84
- 10 see BAINA, A., op.cit., p:235
- 11 see EL JABRI, M., op.cit., p:75

CHAPTER FOUR

THE STRUCTURE OF THE MOROCCAN EDUCATION

After this discussion of the different types of education available in Morocco it is appropriate to consider the levels of the Moroccan system of education through which the Moroccan student passes. The pre-primary, the primary, secondary and higher are the four levels which constitute education in Morocco. The transition from one level to another depends on an examination, except for the first level which is considered as preparatory only. At the end of each of the levels (except for the pre-primary) pupils who are not permitted to continue their studies because of their low standard, are eligible to learn a craft in order to be able to take part in active life.

1 - THE PRE-PRIMARY LEVEL

This is the first level of the Moroccan system of education; it is called pre-primary because the children during this period are not directly introduced to elementary subjects. But it prepares them to start their official education, which is the primary, by testing their intelligence. The pre-primary level is divided into three types of school, which are kindergarten, nursery and Koranic school. Each of these schools - except for the nursery - have special means for testing the children's intelligence. Here again, the question of traditional and modern occurs. The Koranic schools are classified with the traditional type of education. The nursery and kindergarten are quite different from The Koranic school because they provide a modern education. They were introduced into Morocco through the influence of the French.

1.1 THE NURSERY

The nurseries and kindergarten are included in the private sector i.e. they are not under the control of the Government. However, the Ministry of Youth and Sport is responsible for the administration of the centres established for women and known as the feminine circle which organise meetings for unemployed women where they learn knitting, cooking and sometimes reading and writing for the illiterate. These special centres have nurseries where women who attend can entrust their small children to people who will look after them while the mothers are following their various activities and courses.

An important role which the nurseries play is that women do not need to give up work when their children are very young. Fortunately, the number of nurseries has grown steadily and increasingly women do not have to choose between their jobs and their families. In 1965, the number of children in nurseries had already reached 4,000¹, but at the present time they have become established everywhere and the number of children has increased rapidly. The present day nurseries are both well staffed and well equipped.

1.2 KINDERGARTEN

These are also established by private bodies particularly by the Universal French Cultural Mission and other foreign Missions. All kinds of education are provided by these schools, ranging from "Le type français" available in the French Cultural Mission Schools to the arabised and "Ittihad". The French Cultural Mission also organised the Catholic kindergarten.

In 1968-69, 11,532 children, among whom were 5,568 girls, were being taught in these schools. Of the total of these schools, The Universal French Cultural Mission represented 26%, the private arabised 17.5% and Ittihad 4%. The Catholic schools and other private

modern kindergartens accounted for the remaining 50%². That the last schools have a high percentage, can be explained because the modern private kindergarten most nearly meet the needs of the majority of Moroccans, in the sense that they are not totally arabised and not totally French and the children have access to a bilingual education. Also, these are the only private schools that the majority of the people can afford. Those who established these schools aimed at providing kindergarten education for the middle class at a lower fee than the kindergarten established by the missions.

These schools play an important role in the education of children in that they provide the children with valuable guidance and encourage them to work intelligently. In addition, children are taught the rudiments of reading and writing at an early age, in contrast to the public schools where education is compulsory only from seven. Moreover, the drawing, singing, painting and playing games are very important in developing the child's personality; also it stimulates their minds and imaginations. In addition, it prepares the children for more complicated subjects in the primary school.

The impression some people have of nurseries is rather different. They consider they are only interested in making money because, according to them, children at that age are too young to learn. However this view tends to ignore the importance the external world has for the child. Through the contact of the child with other children and other environments and materials he develops his mind and ideas. This is supported by the best modern educational theory and practice. In traditional education the pre-primary schools are represented by the Koranic school which is operated on very different principles.

1.3 KORANIC SCHOOL

The Koranic school existed in Morocco before 1912, when it was the only official institution. After Independence the influence of French Colonialism was so strong that Moroccan Education took over the structure of the French system of education. The position of the Koranic schools was weakened because people were more attracted by the new system than by the traditional one. The Koranic school was the only school which was not influenced or modified.

In 1969, an opportunity was offered to the Koranic schools to regain their position. As a condition of being enrolled in the public primary school, children were required to provide a certificate stating that they had received their pre-primary education in a Koranic school. Even more important was the Royal Decree of 1969 after which the Ministry of National Education strictly supervised the operation of the Koranic Schools. The Quinquennial Plan was implemented from 1973 to 1977. The aim of this initiative was to modernise the Koranic schools and to equip children with the rudiments of Koranic education, civics, arithmetic, language and reading.³

The Koranic schools after the Royal Decree were periodically inspected. However, the Koranic teachers (F'kih) were still untrained. In 1969 the Ministry of National Education set up a special commission in order to examine closely the problems of the pre-primary Koranic schools. The commission recommended that courses to train the Koranic teachers in modern pedagogical methods should be organised. The Ministry of National Education hoped to change the Koranic teachers' approach to education and sought to advise them on pedagogical methods which would promote the full development of the children. In addition, many reforms were implemented concerning both the form and the content of the education. As far as form was concerned,

the children were using tables, chairs and a blackboard rather than sitting on a carpet around the Koranic teacher. As for content, the Koranic teacher was not only responsible for teaching the children how to read the Koran and to learn by heart, but also for giving them an introduction to reading, writing and elementary arithmetic. The religious instruction was continued along with the modern teaching so that the children would lose neither their general development nor their religion.

2 - PRIMARY PUBLIC EDUCATION

Primary public education was made compulsory by the Decree of the 13 November, 1963,⁴ for all children both in rural and urban areas, from 7 to 13. The application of this Decree differs from one place to another: in rural areas, for instance, education often starts later than 7. Even though education is free all over the country, people in rural areas are still not convinced of the necessity as well as the utility of education. Parents prefer to keep their children to help them in agricultural tasks rather than send them to school. This attitude also explains the small number of schools which are in the rural areas; there is generally only one school in each village and that with only two to four rooms. In the urban districts, on the other hand, parents being aware of the importance of education, send their children to school at 7 years old and some of them wish to register even before that. This enthusiasm encourages the growth of private schools which accept children from 4 or 5.

However, the public primary education contains two other systems in addition to the bilingual education. First, is the arabised primary education which exists both in the private and public systems.

In the arabised primary school, the subjects taught are practically the same as in the bilingual school. The only difference is that the use of the French language is predominant in the bilingual primary school. In the arabised primary as its name indicates, all disciplines are taught in Arabic.⁵ French is considered only as a second language and not as the medium of instruction.

The original or traditional primary school also uses Arabic as the medium of instruction like the arabised school. In this school also, French is considered as a second language. But the traditional system concentrates more on religious instruction and Islamic civilization.⁶ At the present time, it teaches scientific subjects also in Arabic.

The third system is the bilingual and it is the most common. The duration of study is five years. The medium of instruction is Arabic during the first two years and for the last three years is bilingual. For the first two years, education is for 30 hours per week and all subjects are taught in Arabic. The aim of these two years is the introduction of classical Arabic which is, linguistically speaking, considered as a second language for Moroccan children. The classical Arabic is very different from the Moroccan Arabic. The first is classical and formal, used by educated people. We may call it the 'Language of Instruction', used only in the media and in literary and political discussions. Moroccan Arabic is a dialect used by all people both the educated and illiterate, it is the mother tongue spoken at home and in the street. Even though, we may find some similarities between the classical Arabic and the Moroccan Arabic, as far as some words are concerned, these are rare. Classical Arabic remains a new world to be explored by the Moroccan child at 7.

However, during these first two years the child becomes acquainted

with classical Arabic and learns how to read, to spell and to write. In the third year, French is introduced to prepare pupils for secondary education where the medium of instruction for scientific subjects is French.

In 1978, the process of Arabization of the primary level was intended to be fully implemented in 1980 i.e. for children who registered in 1978 for their first year in primary so that when they reached the third year, the process of Arabization was complete and only Arabic was taught. In 1982, the bilingual primary level was completely arabised. The subjects taught before and after Arabization are the same except that after 1980 French was excluded. The following table shows the different subjects taught and how many hours are spent on the teaching of each.

TABLE 5

DISCIPLINES	1st YEAR "C.P."	2nd YEAR "C.E.1"	3rd YEAR "C.E.2"	4th YEAR "C.M.1"	5th YEAR "C.M.2"
Koran	5 hrs.	5 hrs.	5 hrs.	5 hrs.	5 hrs
Religious Instruction	0 hr 30 m	1 hour	1 hour	1 hour	1 hour
Moral and Civilization	0 hr 30m	1 hour	1 hour	1 hour	1 hour
Reading	5 hrs	5 hrs	3 hrs 45m	3 hrs	3 hrs
Recitation	0 hr 30m	1 hour	0 hr 30m	0 hr 30m	0 hr 30 m
Language - Composition	4 hrs 10	3 hrs 45	1 hour	-	-
Spelling	1 hr 15	1 hr 30	1 hour	0 hr 30	0 hr 30
Writing	1 hr 45	1 hr 15	0 hr 30	-	-
Copy and exercises	1 hr 40	-	-	-	-
Grammar	-	-	1 hr 30	1 hr 30	1 hr 30
"voyellation"	-	-	-	1 hr 30	1 hr 30
Essay	-	-	-	1 hr 30	1 hr 30
Arithmetic	5 hrs	5 hrs	3 hrs 45	3 hrs 45	3 hrs 45
Elementary natural sciences	-	-	0 hr 45	1 hour	1 hour
History	-	-	0 hr 45	1 hour	1 hour
Geography	-	-	0 hr 45	1 hour	1 hour
Drawing	1 hour	1 hour	0 hr 30	0 hr 30	0 hr 30
Handiwork	0 hr 40	0 hr 30	0 hr 30	-	-
Physical Education	1 hour	1 hr 30	0 hr 45	1 hour	1 hour
French	-	-	4 hours	3 hrs 45	3 hrs 45
"Récréation"	2 hours	2 hrs 30	2 hrs 30	1 hr 30	1 hr 30
	30 hrs	30 hrs	30 hrs	30 hrs	30 hrs

Source : Le MOUVEMENT ÉDUCATIF AU MAROC 1976-77 p:17

The table shows that copying and exercises were practised in the first year of primary education because that is the children's first contact with classical Arabic. It also shows that French, grammar, history, geography and elementary lessons in natural science are introduced from the third year. In the fourth and fifth years, some and other subjects are added to the curriculum such as "voyellation" and essay. This carefully developed and graded curriculum reflects the progress that has been made in primary education. Subjects taught correspond to the average pupil's intelligence.

At the end of each year of primary education tests are given to the pupils. The tests consist of questions about the subjects taught throughout the academic year; except for the last year when a special centralized examination is set. In 1963, this examination system was reformed. The reform established two distinct examinations: One that gave access to secondary education and the other provided a certificate of primary education. The difference is that the first examination is for all pupils in their last year of primary school; whereas the second one is only for those who do not pass the first examination. If they passed the second examination they obtained the Certificate of Primary Education which qualified them to pursue courses in agriculture, handicrafts and later for active life.

Both these examinations aimed at the selection of pupils; the examination for admission to secondary level selected pupils, who were fit scholastically to continue their studies. The examination for the Certificate of Primary Education was designed to select pupils for less academic courses. The first examination was only for pupils who had not had to repeat a year more than once during their primary education. It was also required that candidates should

not be younger than 11 nor older than 15.⁷ Those who were older than 15 were automatically entered for the second examination. In addition, the number of papers for the examination was revised. Instead of the traditional three papers : in Arabic, French and Arithmetic, a fourth paper was added testing the pupil's knowledge of the whole programme of primary education.

In 1964, a further reform was implemented. Its aim was to re-establish the traditional structure as far as papers of the examination were concerned. There were again only three papers, one on the Arabic language, the second on French and the third on Arithmetic. The reform of 1964 also assimilated the two examinations established by the reform of 1963. Pupils in the last year of primary school had only one examination. With the reform to unify the two examinations, the Ministry of National Education set up a special commission of admission and orientation whose role was to verify the total marks of each pupil. Those who had 60 marks out of 120 were admitted to the secondary level and those who had less than 60 obtained the Certificate of Primary Studies. Some, with a very low total, were not awarded the Certificate. However, the commission also considered some special cases where pupils had less than 60 marks but had received good reports from their teachers.

3 - SECONDARY EDUCATION

Admission to secondary education is mainly based upon performance in the Certificate of Primary Studies. Pupils who are eligible to pursue their secondary studies are sent either to a "college" or "Lycée" based on the French model.

Secondary education is divided into two cycles. The first cycle comprises four years and the second one is of three years.

The name "college" applies to secondary schools which offer only the first cycle of studies, those leading to the Certificate of Secondary Studies (Certificat d'Études Secondaire^s - CES). A "Lycée" is a secondary school which provides a complete secondary education, in which both the first and second cycles are available. Generally it leads to the Baccalauréat.

Like the primary level, the secondary level has been subject to many reforms. The earliest reform was that of 1 October, 1963 which was later confirmed by the Triennial Plan 1965-67. This plan aimed at splitting the secondary level education into two main courses : a short general secondary course (enseignement moyen) designed for students who did not intend to pursue their second cycle studies but who wished to specialize in business or agriculture or industry of applied arts or a general course. The plan also limited the number admitted to each of these special sections :

general course	40%
industry	50%
business	10%

All these special courses led to a Certificate of Professional Aptitude (Certificat d'Aⁿptitude Professionⁿnel - CAP). The second course, on the other hand, was the standard secondary one (enseignement long) which was a normal secondary course comprising both the first and second cycle. The former leads to a Certificate of Secondary Studies which allowed the student to undertake further studies in the second cycle of secondary level leading to the Baccalauréat.

3.1 THE FIRST CYCLE OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

In the first cycle, the first year was called "année d'observation". This course was designed to improve the pupil's standard in French which was generally too low for him to be able to follow lessons in science, philosophy, history and geography; all of which were at this time still taught in French. The fourth and last year of the first cycle was also considered as a year of orientation. At that point there were two alternatives. The first one was for students who did not intend to pursue their academic studies further, and therefore were required to specialize in one of the vocational courses which were offered. The second alternative was for students who wished to continue their studies and they had a choice from among eight sections of specialization.

The idea behind the establishment of a short general secondary course was to meet the needs of business, agriculture and industry because of Moroccanization of staff in these sectors after Independence and the departure of the French. It was also intended to limit the number of students, who would have access to the second cycle, because the number of places at this level was very limited. The rooms were overcrowded and the teachers were lacking.

Another reform was proposed in 1970 and later confirmed by the Quinquennial Plan (1973-1977). Its aim was to abolish the short general secondary course. In effect the first cycle was to lead to a Certificate of Secondary Studies in order to allow students to pursue their studies and not have to specialize in vocational courses. Moreover, the plan also aimed at increasing the number of students who would choose the scientific section.⁸ The short general secondary course which was eliminated in 1970 was replaced by a technical course undertaken in the third and fourth years of

the first cycle, and which led to a Certificate of Professional Qualification (Certificat de Qualification Professionnelle - CQP).

Alongside the Certificate of Professional Qualification, which was specifically for students who wished to continue their studies in the technical-training sections, there was also an official examination leading to the Certificate of Secondary Studies which, however, was designed for all students in their last year in the first cycle of secondary education. But after 1974, students were no longer required to pass this examination⁹ and their transfer from the first cycle to the second cycle was on the basis of the student's scholastic book "Livret scolaire" which summed up his or her work during the whole year and also the teachers' assessment and references.

The elimination of the Certificate of Secondary Studies was regarded as a positive confirmation of the Ministry of National Education's desire to encourage students to continue their studies. Nevertheless, the students were faced with an examination called "compositions normalisées" which was discontinued and replaced by a battery of tests in 1976. Admission to the second cycle in the secondary school was related to the student's work and perseverance judged by marks and teacher's assessment. And because, the fourth year is also a year of orientation, a special council for orientation met each year in the Lycées and colleges to decide whether the student should continue in a literary or a scientific branch. Such decisions were made after the study of each case separately and after consulting the student's scholastic records. Consideration was also given to the student's own choice of specialisation. In the first cycle students receive a general education which combines

both the literary and the scientific disciplines which are considered as the basic subjects for further education.

TABLE 6

	1AS	2AS	3AS	4AS
Arabic (language and Islamic studies)	7	7	7	7
History, geography, civics	3	4	4	4
French	9(2)	8(2)	6	6
Biology/botany etc	-	2(1)	2(1)	2(1)
Physics	-	-	2(1)	2(1)
Mathematics	5	6	6	6
Arts	-	-	1	1
Domestic Science (girls) or Technology	-	-	2(2)	2(2)
Physical education	2	3	3	3
TOTAL	26	30	33	33

Figures in parenthesis denote practical or oral classes with only half the class present.

As far as French is concerned, figures in parenthesis denote oral classes whereas for the other disciplines, they denote practical classes.

The table shows that more hours are spent on French than on Arabic especially in the first two years. The purpose of this is to improve the student's standard in the language for more disciplines are taught in French than are taught in Arabic. In the first cycle, natural sciences (biology, botany, ...) physics, mathematics, arts, domestic sciences and technology are all taught in French. Even during physical education sessions, some teachers speak French to explain the rules of sports.

The large number of subjects taught in French explains the number of hours spent in French courses, because three years in the primary school are not enough to equip a student with the essential French vocabulary to understand the subjects which are introduced in secondary school. The curriculum in the first cycle of secondary school covers all subjects both literary and scientific. It is only in the second cycle that students, after the decision of the orientation committee, specialise in the different sections offered to them. The first cycle is essentially general education.

3.2 THE SECOND CYCLE OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

Unlike the first cycle, the second cycle of secondary education comprises three years leading to the Baccalauréat. Admission to this cycle is subject to the result of the special selection board which is mainly based on the results of intelligence tests (psycho-technic examinations) and also formal tests (examinations on the subjects taught during the fourth year). The student is also required to have a medical examination certifying his physical capacity for the course. The student is further asked to express his wishes and those of his parents. He has to complete his dossier which is consulted by the special selection board composed of the headmaster of the Lycée, an outside selection advisor, a parents' representative and all of the student's teachers. After the study of his dossier, they decide which type of education the student chooses, for instance, a section which is not available in the small city where he lives, the Government offers him a scholarship to allow him to become a boarder in another Lycée. This is most common in rural areas where only the first cycle of secondary school is available and sometimes not even the first cycle, but only the primary school. Students from the countryside are boarders in some Lycées

in the city. These students find themselves faced with many psychological problems. First, they have to adapt themselves to the new way of living in the city, which is totally different from the one they are used to at home. Secondly, this situation often creates a sense of insecurity which makes it more difficult for them to establish friendships or even much contact with their classmates, who tend to look down on them. These factors have a deleterious influence on these students and therefore they isolate themselves and frequently the result is that they fail to complete their courses.

After the special selection board, at the end of the last year of the first cycle, students are divided into two groups; those who wish to pursue their studies in a scientific section, and those whose choice is for the literary section. These two sections are considered as general because there is a second special selection board meeting where the students express their wishes again but this time, on the advice of their teachers, they state a preference either for the literary or the scientific section. This meeting is held at the end of the fifth year i.e. the first year of the second cycle.

The literary section provides the students with three sections to choose from. "Traditional Arts", which mainly deals with the study of Arabic as a language, its grammatical construction, its poetry and prose. The students also receive religious instruction concerned with Islamic civilisation. There was some reform in this traditional education and new programmes were added by a Royal Commission in 1973.¹⁰ Arabic language and literature and Islamic subjects, however, still predominate. But, in addition, scientific subjects and foreign languages were added to the programme. The aim of the reform was to relate this traditional education more

nearly to the needs of the country. This section leads to a Baccalauréat in Traditional Arts which qualifies students for higher education in Karaouine University in Fez which includes the "Al logha al Arabia" Faculty in Marrakesh, the "Oussoul Eddine" Faculty in Tetouan and "Dar el Hadith al Hassaniya" in Rabat.

The second section is that of Modern Arts which is concerned with literary studies in both Arabic and French languages. The Baccalauréat in Modern Arts offers many opportunities to students since it enables them to continue their studies at University in both Arts and Human Sciences and also in legal and social studies.

The third section is called "classes de Préformation" (English section) which is restricted to students who are proficient in English. At the end of the first year of the second cycle, there is an examination for students of literature selected by their teachers of English. Only those who pass this examination are entitled to pursue their studies in the English section where they are given eight hours per week of English as well as the subjects taught in the Modern Arts section.

Corresponding to the literary sections, there are three scientific sections for the scientific students. The first is "Experimental sciences" where the emphasis is on physics and natural sciences. The student is also required to have a sound knowledge of mathematics which is the basic subject in all scientific sections. With the Baccalauréat in Experimental Sciences, students can continue their studies either in medicine, engineering or dentistry. The second scientific section is that of "Mathematical sciences". Here the main subject is mathematics. After the Baccalauréat, students are offered entry either to the School of Engineering or to the Faculty of Sciences. The final science section is "Mathematics and

Technology" where the emphasis is on mathematics as in the previous section. Opportunities, for students after the Baccalauréat, are in engineering, draughtsmanship and architecture.¹¹

There is one further option, "Economic Sciences" which is open to students from both the literary and scientific sections. The curriculum of this option is a mixture of literary and scientific disciplines. All the students are required to have a good knowledge of mathematics. This option can be regarded as a second chance for students who wished to be admitted to a scientific section, but who failed to secure a place, either because they were not considered academically good enough or because there were not enough places available.

In addition to these options offered to students at the end of the fifth year, there is another section which is the "Technical Section". With the establishment of this section, the Quinquennial Plan of 1968-1972¹² aimed to prepare students for a vocation. The Quinquennial Plan of 1973-77¹³ tried to reform Technical education and make it more attractive by giving the students a chance to receive second cycle education in secondary school. Two options are available in this section. First, the "Technical Industrial Option" which is of one year's duration: the first year of secondary school and is mainly concerned with mechanics. After completing the first year the students proceed to two other options which are higher mechanics and electrical engineering. Secondly, there is the "Commercial Technical" option which is a three year course in commercial management and book-keeping. These two options lead to either a technical diploma which prepares students for active life or to a technical Baccalauréat giving them access to higher education.

The Technical section has specialized disciplines which differ

from those in the other sections. In the Technical section, the subjects are concerned with commerce, industry and mechanics. These subjects are not taught in either the literary or the scientific sections. However, in both these sections there is a considerable degree of specialization. This is not the case in the Modern Arts option where the emphasis is on Arabic and philosophy (8 hours each per week). The explanation for this broader curriculum is that the Modern Arts option prepares students of literature for later specialization in any of these subjects (Arabic, philosophy, French, English, History and Geography), which is available in the University. Admission to the University is only offered to holders of the Baccalauréat which is awarded to students who complete their second cycle of secondary school successfully.

The Baccalauréat examination itself has been subject to a number of reforms. To begin with, the official examination was the French Baccalauréat (Le Baccalauréat Français) and it was only in 1963 that the Moroccan Baccalauréat was recognized, as equivalent to the French one, by the French educational authorities.¹⁴ In 1979, the Moroccan Baccalauréat was reformed. This reform was concerned with the two sessions examination, which at that time, were held in June and September. According to article 4 of the Reform of 1979, the first session was to be held on the 20th May, and the second on the 30th June. A further reform was concerned with the subjects of examination. As a result of this reform, students who failed were no longer required to re-sit all the subjects of the examination but only those in which they did not achieve a pass mark. The marks of the subjects, that were not being retaken, were carried forward to the final result.

The Reforms of 1979 were a great improvement for the students

because first the dates of examinations enable those who succeed and wish to pursue their studies abroad to apply for universities and to be in time to start their courses in October which is the start of the academic year in most Universities abroad. Secondly, those who fail the first session are required to retake only the subjects in which they fail. The second session consists of only the main subjects in each option. Consider the following example:

TABLE 7: RESULTS OF A STUDENT IN MODERN ARTS OPTION FOR BOTH SESSIONS

SUBJECTS	1st Session (May)	2nd Session (June)
Arabic	over 20 12	-
History & Geography (combined)	10	-
Philosophy	8	11
French	6	10
English (or German or Spanish)	7	11
Mathematics	3	- not to be retaken
TOTAL	46	(34)
RESULT	Fail	Pass

The student does not retake Arabic, History and Geography if he has obtained pass marks in those subjects. Further, he is not required to retake Mathematics, even though he only has 15%, because Mathematics is not a main subject for a student of literature. The Reform helps students psychologically to concentrate on the subjects which they failed to pass. The results of the Baccalauréat examination improved because of this reform. In 1979 39% of students passed whereas only 36% had been expected to do so.

In addition to these reforms, there was another minor one which was concerned with marking. Before 1979, examinations scripts were gathered from all over the country to be brought to Rabat (the capital) where they were marked. But after the Reform, the marking was on a regional basis, which both saved administration costs and also saved time, in the sense that students had to wait only 26 to 28 days for their results. As well as the subjects that the students have to be examined in, there is physical education which all the students are required to take except for the disabled or those who have other problems with their health and these are required to produce a medical certificate.

For the final results article 14 of the Reform stated that some students should be granted honours. First, "passable" is given for students who have an average lower than 12 out of 20. Second, "assez-bien" for those who have an average between 12 and 14. Third, "bien" for students with a mark between 14. Fourth, "très bien" for a mark of 16 or over. The students who wish to pursue their studies in higher education can apply for a scholarship. Scholarships are granted to both students who wish to continue their studies at home or overseas if their subject of specialisation is not available in the Universities in Morocco.

However, admission to the University is limited to holders of Baccalauréat. At this level, there is no orientation, it is the student who chooses the kind of studies he wants to pursue. Some students continue their studies in schools and institutions of vocational education. Among these are those students who hold a Technical Baccalauréat or a Baccalauréat in Modern Arts.

NOTES

- 1 Ministère de l'enseignement et de la formation des cadres :
L'enseignement, 1970 p:11
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 see International Handbook of Education Systems Vol II.
p :685
- 4 see Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord, de 1963. P:896
- 5 BAINA, A., Le système de l'enseignement au Maroc,
Casablanca : Editions Maghrébines, 1981. p: 304
- 6 International Handbook of Education Systems Vol. II p:693
- 7 BAINA, A. op.cit., p:314
- 8 Quinquennial Plan 1973-1977 p:700
- 9 BAINA, A. op.cit., p:323
- 10 see International Handbook of Education Systems Vol. II
p :693
- 11 Ibid., p:692
- 12 see Plan 1968-1972, p:599
- 13 see BAINA. op..cit., p:342
- 14 see Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord, 1962. p:567

CHAPTER FIVE

HIGHER EDUCATION

After the successful completion of secondary level, students can pursue their studies either in Universities or Vocational establishments and Teacher Training Centres. Admission to higher studies is totally dependent on the Baccalauréat Certificate. However, at this level there is no selection board, as it is the case in the last year of primary school, where pupils are directed either to the first cycle of secondary school or to vocational education and handicrafts. Also, it differs from the selection in the fourth year of the first cycle where students are oriented, according to their ability, either to a scientific or literary section.

Holders of the Baccalauréat decide for themselves about their future studies, in the sense that the type of Baccalauréat they hold qualifies them for admission to the appropriate University or establishment where suitable studies are available. In addition, most of the vocational establishments are administered by the relevant Ministry unlike the Universities which are run by the Ministry of National Education. Competitive entrance examinations are a pre-requisite to admission to Vocational Establishments and to the scientific faculties.

1 - VOCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS

The reasons why the Vocational Institutions were established were: first because the Universities were overcrowded as the number of students enrolling in Universities increased year by year. Second, the Government needed professional personnel to fill the gaps caused by the end of colonial rule. A variety of Vocational establishments

is now available, though they are very selective about entrants who should first have successfully completed secondary education, that is, should hold the Baccalauréat and who then have to succeed in a very fierce competition for entry. Most of the time, only a small number of students is selected to continue their studies in these establishments, because each of them offers only a very limited number of places. Many students prefer Vocational Establishments because they prepare for well paid and secure professions. The wide range of these establishments meets the needs of most students.

For naturalists and those who are interested in agriculture there are three main establishments. First, "Institut Agronomique et Vétérinaire Hassan II" (The Agricultural and Veterinary Institute - in Rabat). A wide range of subjects is available such as agriculture, veterinary sciences, topography, good technology and horticulture. This Institute has two annexes : one in the Méknés School of Agriculture and the other in the Salé School of Forestry. It has a further centre for lifelong education in Rabat. This institute was founded in 1966, it is a state institution governed by the Ministry of Agriculture. Arrangements for co-operation have been made with some foreign schools such as the National High School of Horticulture in Versailles. "Institut Géographique National" in Paris and others in France, Belgium, U.S.A. and Canada.

French is the medium of instruction though sometimes dissertations and theses may be presented in English. However, graduates of this institute receive the professional title of engineer for four years study or "Ingénieur d'Etat en Agronomie", or "Docteur Vétérinaire" after six years study and "Doctorat ès Sciences Agronomiques."

Other institutions include the "Ecole Nationale d'Agriculture"

(National Agricultural School) and the National Forestry School (Ecole Nationale Forestière d'Ingénieurs) where the scientific and artistic study of managing forests is taught.

To meet the need of geologists, two different schools are available. The first is the National School of Geological Engineering (Ecole Nationale de l'Industrie Minérale) in Rabat. It was founded in 1975, it is a state institution run by the Ministry of Energy and Mines. The language of instruction is French. After graduation, students receive the title of Technician in Geology, Mining and Mineral Technology. The second is the Hassan II School of Civil Engineering (Ecole Hassania des Travaux Publics) in Casablanca.

It is a state institution founded in 1971, operated by the Ministry of Equipment. Opportunities for co-operation are arranged with: "Ecole Nationale des Routes et Chaussées"(Paris) "Universités de Nancy I and II" and "Ecole Nationale des Travaux Publics de l'Etat", Vaux-en-Velin. The academic year runs from September to July during which time the students receive the whole of their education in French as is the case for all vocational establishments and the Universities of Sciences. At the end of their studies graduates receive the title of "Technicien Supérieur" which requires only 2 years' study, or "Ingénieur d'Application" which requires 4 years and is a qualification for building roads, canals and bridges.

There are some other schools which have been established for the purpose of preparing students for administration and the public services. These include, the National School of Public Administration (Ecole Nationale d'Administration Publique) in Rabat, and the National School of Posts and Telecommunications, (Ecole Nationale des Postes et Télécommunications) in Rabat, which is run by the Ministry of Posts, Telegraphs and Telecommunication. The Nursing schools are

operated by the Ministry of Public Health. There are 2 schools in Casablanca and others in Marrakesh, Fez, Meknès, Oujda and Agadir, the latter was founded in 1974 and is a state institution where residential facilities are provided. The academic year is from October to July. After 2 years study, the graduates receive the "Diplome d'Etat d'Infirmiers". In addition, there are other schools which prepare students for the Health services such as the School of Laboratory Technology in Rabat, the state school for nurses, the state school for X-ray Technicians in Casablanca, the School for Hygiene and Sanitation Technicians in Rabat, the state school for Rehabilitation Technicians in Salé.

There are also schools which offer courses leading to Diplomas and Degrees enabling students to qualify for careers in business and banking. The first is the Institute of Commerce and Administration (Institut Supérieur de Commerce et d'Administration des Entreprises - ISCAE) in Casablanca. Founded in 1971, it is run by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Admission is subject to the Baccalauréat Certificate and a competitive entrance examination. Studies start in October and finish in June. After 4 years study, the graduates receive the "Diplôme en Gestion" or Business Administration and can take a further 2 years to prepare a thesis. The second is the National Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics (Institut National de Statistique et d'Economie Appliquée) in Rabat. Founded in 1961, the admission requirements are the Baccalauréat Certificate and an entrance examination. There are arrangements for co-operation with "Université du Québec" in Montreal. The academic year is from September to July. To obtain the title of "Ingénieur d'Application de la Statistique" or "Ingénieur Analyste",

students follow 4 years of study. They can pursue 2 years' study to obtain the title of "Ingénieur Statisticien - economiste" or 3 years professional experience to be recognised as Engineers.

For students who wish to follow careers in the armed forces there are two schools :

- The Royal Military Academy (Académie Royale Militaire) which prepares students for careers in the academy, as members of the academy and Army Officers.

- There is also the Royal Military Medical School (Ecole Royale du Service de Santé Militaire) which trains doctors, pharmacists, dentists and veterinarians. The courses offered in this school are similar to those in the University of Medicine.

Both of these schools are run by the Ministry of Defence, which also operates the Royal Naval School (Ecole Royale Navale) and the Royal Aeronautical School (Ecole Royale de l'Air) and the National Merchant Navy College.

Further, there is the Journalist Training (Centre de Formation des Journalistes) which is run by the Ministry of Information. Also, the Royal Air Maroc Training School which trains pilots and navigators and the Library and Computer Science Training School (Ecole des Sciences d'Information) and the National Institute of Judicial Studies (Institut National d'Etudes Judiciaires).

At the Higher Civil Service staff college (Institut de Perfectionnement des Cadres) Hassan II School of Islamic Studies (Dar Al Hadith Al Hassania), students receive a traditional education. The Tangier Institute of Higher Training in Tourism (Institut Supérieur du Tourisme de Tanger) is operated by the Ministry of Tourism, Housing and Preservation of the Environment.

Finally there are the Prince Rachid's Sports Institute (Institut des sports Moulay Rachid) and Sports Teacher Training Institute (Institut de Formation des Cadres de la Jeunesse et des Sports) are both run by the Ministry of Youth and Sports.

Apart from the Vocational Establishments, there are Universities and other schools and centres for Teacher Training to which admission is also based on the Baccalauréat. These will be discussed in the next section.

2 - UNIVERSITIES

There are six Universities which offer a wide range of subjects both in the Arts and Sciences. In all Universities, the governing body is the Council. The Council is presided over by the Minister of National Education and Two Commissions.¹

The first commission is composed of eight members:

- 1 The Rector as president
- 2 The Dean and Vice deans of Faculties
- 3 The Directors of schools and research Institutes
- 4 The assistant directors of schools ex officio.

The other four members are elected every 2 years.

- 5 A Professor of Higher education
- 6 A lecturer
- 7 An assistant lecturer
- 8 An assistant.

The second commission is composed of eight other members who are nominated by the Ministry of Higher Education. One is appointed by the Ministry of Planning and Regional Development and one by the Government authority responsible for manpower training.²

It was stated explicitly in the Decree of 25th February 1975 that the aim of the University is "to dispense higher education, to promote scientific research, to train manpower and to contribute to the diffusion of knowledge"³

To realise this purpose, each faculty in the University is divided into various departments. For instance, in the faculty of Arts, there are generally five departments, sometimes more, depending on the subjects available. But these five are the most common:

- 1 Department of Arabic studies
- 2 Department of Islamic studies
- 3 Department of History and Geography
- 4 Department of French studies
- 5 Department of English studies

The way the Faculties are organised makes possible a high degree of departmental autonomy and responsibility both in terms of curriculum and resources. Heads of departments "are elected for a period of 2 years by the teachers of the relevant department".⁴

As far as the function of the Faculty is concerned, it is the heads of departments who are closer to the problems that occur in their departments and who can better assess if any reforms are needed.

Higher education comprises three main stages, both for scientific and literary sections, each of them leading to a degree. The first stage is divided into two phases:

- The first phase normally leads to a "Diplôme d'Etudes Universitaires Générales" D.E.U.G. This is not a final qualification because it is only two years' study of general knowledge of the relevant subject in which a student is registered either scientific or literary. For students of medicine, this phase is called "propédeutique"; moreover, they receive no qualification for the first phase.

- The second phase of the first stage is of 2 years study after which students are awarded the "licence" degree which is the equivalent of the Bachelor's degree. Most of the time, this second phase involves specialization in some sections where the students choose an option in which they wish to specialise and therefore these last two years are considered as a specific study of the students' choice. Nevertheless, there are some other sections which continue general study for the third year as well, and specialization starts only from the fourth and last year.

Additionally, during the last year of the second phase, students are required to write a "mémoire" on one of the topics proposed by the supervisors in their department. The licence degree is awarded after the successful completion of the final written examinations and oral examinations among which there is one in which the students defend their "mémoires".

The second stage of higher education is of 2 years duration and leads to the "Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures", which is the equivalent of a master's degree. It is available in the Moroccan Universities but some students who are selected, by a commission composed of the Dean of the Faculty and teachers of the appropriate department to which the student belongs, and also the head of the department, are awarded grants to pursue their studies abroad.

Finally, the third stage, which is of 2 to 3 years duration, leads to a "Doctorat d'Etat" which is the Doctorate of Philosophy for which students are required to submit a thesis. In medicine, this is the only degree that students are awarded. After seven years' study, students are granted the title of "Docteur". Students of pharmacy receive the title of "Pharmacien" after 5 years' study.

The first stage of higher education is available in the Moroccan Universities in all sections and subjects of specialization. The second and third levels of higher education are also provided by some Universities, but students prefer to obtain their degrees from abroad, especially for science subjects and languages.

As far as the first stage of higher education is concerned, students can pursue their studies in the following Universities:

The Traditional University of Karaouine

Karaouine University is considered as the mother University in the World. It is the oldest University and was founded in 859 AD. It had a high reputation and attracted many famous people and scholars. (see The Traditional Education). Concerning the Karaouine University Mellen Willcox said:

The fame of Qarawiyin drew men not only from Islam but also from the Christian World. Even while Spain was expelling her Muslims, the sons of noble Spanish families sat among young Moors to study astronomy, mathematics, philosophy and medicine. (5)

Several attempts were made to reform instruction in this University but they were unsuccessful. Its development stagnated. It lost its reputation as far as the scientific disciplines were concerned because no research was carried out in that field. However, the traditional education and Islamic instruction retained their high standing even with the coming of colonialism, the University preserved its system of education because as Mellen Willcox said:

France saw no reason to change this system, except where change could profit the Protectorate. (6)

Some reforms were initiated to add new programmes in Arabic language, literature and Islamic subjects. Scientific subjects and foreign languages were also introduced. Besides the Faculty of Islamic Law (Ech-charia Faculty) in Fez, two new faculties were established in 1963 : the first was the Faculty of Arabic studies (AL-Logha AL Arabia) in Marrakesh. In 1979⁷ a fourth Faculty was founded in Agadir called the Faculty of Islamic Law which was the second of its kind after the one in Fez.

The University of Karaouine is the only one where the medium of instruction is Arabic even for scientific disciplines.

After Independence, the need of manpower was great as the French left the country. The desire to found a modern University to supply higher education was increasing as many Moroccan students had to leave the country to pursue their studies.

University Mohamed V

University Mohamed V was the first modern University in Morocco. It was founded on 21st December, 1957 in Rabat. The academic year starts in October and ends in June. Admission is dependent on the Baccalauréat Certificate and an entrance examination for medicine. For the school of education, entrance is based on the Diploma of Licence and a competitive examination.

The University consists of eleven Faculties, schools and institutes:

- 1 Faculty of Law-Economics and social sciences
- 2 Faculty of sciences
- 3 Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences
- 4 Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy (founded in 1962)
- 5 Faculty of Dental Medicine
- 6 School of Engineering (founded in 1960)

- 7 School of Education
- 8 Institute of Regional Science Research
- 9 Institute of Study and Research for Arabization
(founded in 1960)
- 10 Scientific Research Institute.
- 11 Institute of Pedagogical Research

University Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdullah (1961)

In 1961, a new University was established in Fez. It is called Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdullah University. It consists of two faculties:

- 1 Faculty of letters and human sciences
- 2 Faculty of Law-economics and social sciences.

University Hassan II (1976)

This was the third modern university in Morocco and was founded in 1976. It consists of four faculties and one institute:

- 1 Faculty of Law-Economics and Social Sciences
- 2 Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy
- 3 Faculty of Sciences
- 4 Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences
- 5 Institute of Islamic ideology and civilization.

In 1978, two further universities were founded.

University Mohamed I (1978)

This university was established for students of the far west of Morocco and the neighbourhood because this part of the country was isolated and students who were interested in pursuing higher education had to travel to the east. The Mohamed I University is situated in Oujda and it consists of three faculties:

- 1 Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences
- 2 Faculty of Law, Economics and Social Sciences
- 3 Faculty of Sciences.

University Cadi Ayyad (1978)

Cadi Ayyad University was founded in Marrakesh which is situated in the south of Morocco. As in the case of Mohamed I, this University was established to provide higher education for southern students. Like all the other Universities, it encompasses three faculties:

- 1 Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences
- 2 Faculty of Law, Economics and Social Sciences
- 3 Faculty of Sciences.

It is important to note that nowadays, higher education is available in all the main regions of the country. University Mohamed V remains the most important University in Morocco for Modern Higher education, since it consists of eleven main establishments and covers almost all subjects.

NOTES

- 1 World List of Universities (fifteenth Edition) MacMillan Publishers Ltd., 1982
- 2 The International Encyclopedia of Higher Education, London Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers. Vol 6
- 3 quoted in BAINA, A., Le Système de l'enseignement au Maroc, Casablanca : Editions Maghrébines, 1981 p:391
- 4 Ibid., p:393
- 5 WILLCOX, F.M., In Morocco, London : Lowe & Brydone Ltd., p:111
- 6 Ibid., p:87
- 7 BAINA, A., op.cit., p:401

CHAPTER SIX

TEACHER TRAINING CENTRES

After Independence in 1956, Morocco found itself faced with many problems one of which was shortage of teachers. To solve this problem, the Ministry of National Education together with the Government took vigorous action. First, they asked for help from France because it was felt that France was, in some measure, responsible for the shortage since, after Independence, the French Government had requested teachers who were French nationals to return to France. The educational state could be described as follows: of the total number of children aged 7, only 10% received schooling, among whom only 3% were girls. Only a limited number of schools (less than 10 secondary schools) were reserved for Moroccans.¹ The only available University was Karaouine because the French had not established any other universities to provide Moroccan students with higher education.

It was apparent that Morocco was faced with a serious crisis through lack of teachers and lack of schools. In spite of this unpromising situation, Morocco started with the hope for a better future. France accepted the invitation for assistance and sent a number of experts to help in the in-service training of teachers. These French teachers and experts helped to fill certain gaps, especially in the scientific disciplines and the French Language. His Majesty Hassan II states in his book Le défi :

It is thanks to the understanding of France and to the efficient French teaching staff

that we have been able to overcome the difficulties and that it was possible for us to take over. Our pedagogical regional centres, functioning since 1966, permitted the training of 1500 primary and secondary teachers each year. (2)

However, French help did not solve all the problems because Morocco still needed teachers of Arabic. But because of Morocco's strong ties with countries of the Arab world, agreements were made with Egypt, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. The teachers, they sent, taught Geography, History and Arabic. Also, their governments built institutes for training Moroccans. But the problem that Moroccan students were faced with, was the language. Their dialects were different from the Moroccan dialect. "Their Arabic was a mixture of Egyptian dialect and words borrowed from English and French without any standardization"³ Zartman observed. They were also criticised by Moroccans who felt that they considered Morocco as inferior to their home countries. This situation was somewhat similar to that of the colonial era when French history was taught in Moroccan schools. Because of the inadequacies of these teachers the Ministry of National Education considered Moroccanization of both the personnel and the programmes of education. It was considered important that pupils should understand their own environment and the conditions and history of their own country.

1 - TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOL FOR PRIMARY TEACHERS

It was, then, clear that the Moroccan Government was no longer in need of help from abroad but a satisfactory solution to the problem could be provided at home. Therefore, schools of Pedagogical Training were established to train student teachers for

the primary level. In the immediate educational crisis, even those who held only the Primary Education Certificate were recruited for a period of three months' training to fill the vacant posts in the schools. The reasons for the recruitment of students holding the Primary Education Certificate were twofold: Firstly, to increase the number of Moroccan teachers to fill the vacancies left.

Secondly, to meet the requirement of pupils whose numbers were increasing rapidly after Independence.

These efforts did provide some solution to the problem. From 1959 to 1964, 8,436 teachers took up posts.⁴ Also, the number of teacher training centres was growing rapidly. In 1956, there were only two teacher training centres, this number increased to 13 in 1959, to 16 in 1960, to 22 in 1961⁵ and to 28 in 1963.⁶ The quality of the teachers could not, at this stage, be given a high priority, since the Moroccan Government with the Ministry of National Education were simply interested in providing the numbers needed to fill the gaps. Inevitably, the teachers were under-qualified and had only a low level of professional competence.

However, a number of courses were organised to improve the standard of teachers who lacked professional training. Among these two were available on Television and Radio. Another one was taught in the evenings :

First, the Moroccan Television and Radio broadcast demonstration lessons which were transmitted twice a week. The Television courses were efficient and played an important part similar to that of practical courses.

Second, in all areas of the country, courses were offered in the evenings in different subjects such as : Arabic language

and grammar, arithmetic and science. The arabic courses were very important since they made possible the process of Arabization of Primary Education which took place later.

The inadequacy of the teachers was mainly due to two factors. First, they did not have any solid background in the Techniques and Methodologies of teaching i.e. the three months' teacher-training course was not enough. Second, almost all of the teachers especially those recruited immediately after Independence, had only the Certificate of Primary Education. The reason why these teachers were recruited was that Morocco was in an acute crisis and this was the only immediate solution to the problem of shortage of teachers. Moreover, teachers sent to Morocco from abroad did not fulfil their mission properly. In other words, self-sufficiency became the aim of the Moroccan Educational policy.

Ultimately, however, the policy was successful. By 1979, the number of teachers who graduated each year was far greater than the posts offered. Thus, the Ministry of National Education considered ways of controlling the increasing number of teachers, and this resulted in two reforms.

First, a minor one, the Regional Institutes were renamed Primary School Teacher Training Centres (Centres de Formation des Instituteurs). Also, the period of training was reduced to one year.

Second, a main reform restricted admission to these centres, to holders of the Baccalauréat and on a competitive basis.

Would-be teachers have to observe certain regulations. All student teachers have to be boarders in the establishment. Only the married students are allowed to be day-students. In 1986, the number of the Primary School Teacher Training Centres has

reached 28; 4 others will open in the next 12 months ⁷: one in the north (Nador), another in the south (Laâyoun) and two others in Kenitra and Khouribga.

To conclude this section on primary teachers, we may say that Moroccanization has been achieved. However, the Ministry of National Education still depends on foreigners, especially in the scientific disciplines, in secondary schools to which we now turn.

2 - FIRST CYCLE OF SECONDARY TEACHERS

On the eve of Independence, serious shortages faced the Moroccan Government in the field of education, especially the lack of adequate qualified secondary teachers. Education in secondary schools was, therefore, largely dependent on foreign teachers.

As far as scientific disciplines and French language were concerned, a cultural agreement was signed between Morocco and France. About 8,000 French teachers were sent to teach in Morocco as "cooperants". For teachers of Arabic, Geography, History, Philosophy and Islamic Civilization, Morocco appealed to the Arab countries for assistance. The Iraqi Cultural Mission established and ran an Institute in Rabat specializing mainly in training teachers of History and Geography.

In the meantime, a Higher Teacher Training School (Ecole Normale Supérieure: "ENS") was organised with U.N.E.S.C.O.'s help in 1963. In 1957, a training Institute was established to provide a two-year course for the training of secondary teachers. The first group of 62 student-teachers recruited to this Institute took up vacant posts as soon as they graduated in 1959. However,

their number did not match the increasing number of students in secondary schools. To bridge this gap, Morocco recruited 95 teachers in France for the 1960-61 academic year.⁸

Meanwhile, the Higher Teacher Training School continued the training of both Junior and Senior secondary teachers until 1970, when there was a reform in the structure of the school. New Pedagogical centres were established for the preparation of Junior Secondary Teachers. The former ENS which had trained Junior and Senior Secondary Teachers thereafter was concerned only with training Senior Secondary Teachers.

- REGIONAL PEDAGOGICAL CENTRES

Regional Pedagogical Centres are mainly concerned with the training of Moroccan students, first to reinforce the process of Moroccanization, to increase the professional competence of teachers and to meet the needs of the increasing number of students. These centres recruited holders of the Baccalauréat after meeting the following requirements:

First, to be of Moroccan Nationality (to promote Moroccanization of the staff).

Second, to be aged between 17 and 38 .

Third, to sign a contract to serve public education for eight years after graduation.

Candidates who satisfy these conditions are set an entrance examination which is normally held twice a year. The first occasion is in April, this session is open to primary teachers who have 4 to 5 years' teaching experience. The second session is held in June for holders of the Baccalauréat and who have professional experience. The idea behind recruiting employees and teachers of primary education, is to increase the number of

Moroccan teachers.

The Regional Pedagogical Centres have the same regulations as the Regional Teacher Training Schools concerning entry but the students are also requested to be boarders in the establishment. Students are not allowed to register in other establishments at the same time as their training in these centres. As far as examinations are concerned, students who fail their final examination are appointed to schools, qualified as primary teachers. Those who pass their second year examinations take a year of teaching practice at the end of which they have oral and practical examinations leading to "A pedagogical Certificate of Aptitude for Secondary Education of the First Cycle." (Certificat d'Aptitude pédagogique à L'enseignement secondaire du 1^{er} cycle." CAPES).

During the two years' study, students specialise in one of the following subjects:

Natural Sciences

Physics and Chemistry

Mathematics

Arabic literature

French literature

English literature

History-Geography

Physical education

Domestic Science or Technology.

Along with these different specialisations, two other courses are introduced to students : one general and one dealing with pedagogy. After their qualification, students take up posts in Junior Secondary Schools except for those specialising in English Literature, who teach in Senior Secondary Schools, because English

is the second foreign language after French and is introduced only from the first year of Senior secondary education.

Not all the Regional Pedagogical centres provide courses in all the disciplines mentioned. Some of them specialise only in 2 to 4 disciplines. In 1975, there were 13 centres offering courses in different subjects which can be shown as follows, first the name of the city where the centre is located and then the subjects available in that centre.⁹

- Casablanca (Hay el Hassani) : French literature, mathematics physics - chemistry and natural sciences.

- Rabat : French literature, mathematics, natural sciences, physics-chemistry, "Dessin d'Art", technology and English literature.

- Fez, Oujda, Méknès and Agadir, all provide the following disciplines : Arabic literature, history-geography, French literature and mathematics.

- Marrakesh : French literature, Arabic literature, mathematics and natural sciences.

- Tangier : French literature, mathematics and physics-chemistry.

- El Jadida : Arabic literature, French literature and mathematics.

- Tetouan : French literature, mathematics and "Dessin d'Art".

- Casablanca (Aïn Sebaâ) : sports and physical education.

- Casablanca (Al-Khaourizmy) : technology.

- Safi : Arabic literature, mathematics, physics-chemistry and French literature.

In 1980, there were 14 pedagogical centres throughout the country. The last one was established in Kenitra providing courses

in mathematics, French literature, Arabic literature, English literature and history-geography. The aim of establishing these centres is to achieve a high rate of Moroccanization so that Morocco can be self-sufficient in terms of secondary teachers. But, this level has not yet been reached since Morocco still relies on foreigners as far as secondary teachers are concerned.

3 - SECOND CYCLE OF SECONDARY TEACHERS

The Higher Teacher Training School, "L'Ecole Normale Supérieure" which was established in 1963, is situated in Rabat. From 1963 until 1970, the Higher Teacher Training school trained both Junior and Senior secondary teachers. The history of the development of this school is characterised by two main reforms:

The first reform which was in 1970 aimed at reducing the training period, which was four years, to only one year and then restricting the function of the school to the training of Senior Secondary teachers. To put it in another way, after the reform of 1970, the school recruited only student holders of "Licence" to train them for a one year post graduate diploma course. For this reason, in 1975 the Higher Teacher Training School was integrated into Mohamed V University.

Admission to the Higher Teacher Training School is dependent upon the following requirements:

- 1 to be Moroccan.
- 2 to be aged between 18 and 40.
- 3 to be the holder of a "licence".
- 4 to sign a contract for a commitment to teach for 8 years after qualification.

A competitive examination is only held when the number of candidates, in a certain discipline, exceeds the number required. The annual number of graduates from the Higher Teacher Training school has been very small in comparison with the number of students enrolled in secondary education; this was the result of two factors:

First, there was only one Higher Teacher Training school in the whole country. The school recruited only a limited number of student-teachers each year, as compared to the number of candidates who applied to it, because of limited finance for scholarships.

Second, the regulations for admission (especially the third one stated above) made it difficult to recruit students to this school, because it offered places only to holders of "Licence".

These factors together with others slowed down the Moroccanization of secondary education. Thus, the Ministry of National Education considered ways to redress the situation and this was summed up in the second reform of 1978.

The Triennial Plan 1978-1980, projected the establishment of eight Higher Teacher Training Schools; but by the end of the Plan only five were available for the academic year 1979-80. The five new schools preserved the name of the former schools but drew up new regulations. In fact, when we look at the requirements for admission and the period of training, we may think that it was a return to the original regulations of the former school; i.e. before the reform of 1970. Admission to the new Higher Teacher Training Schools is granted to candidates who meet the following requirements:

- Moroccan nationality (sometimes foreigners)

- Holders of the Baccalauréat Certificate or its equivalent.
- Candidates whose age is under 30
- Candidates who sign an eight year contract to teach after qualification.

The new schools offer opportunities/ for training/ to first and second year University students, to Junior Secondary teachers and to foreigners.¹⁰

- First, the schools are open to first and second year University students who can join the third year of training with the agreement of the school which is based on a scrutiny of the candidate's academic record.

- Second, opportunities are offered to Junior Secondary teachers to help in their promotion. For them admission is on a competitive basis and another condition which is that they should be at least on the second rung of their grade.

- Third, places are offered to foreigners whose candidatures should be presented by their governments and approved of by the Moroccan Government. Nevertheless, they have to meet the same requirements for admission as Moroccan candidates.

The training period was extended to four years during which students took three main courses either in the form of conferences, seminars or practical training. Students receive a general training where the discipline they specialise in is predominant. Also, there is a complementary course mainly dealing with the National language, Islamic civilisation and a foreign language. And there is a pedagogical theoretical course.

Examinations are set for students in all these courses to assess their ability and capacity to continue for further training. Students are given only one opportunity to retake an academic

year over the four years. But, there are some exceptions where students are allowed to retake two years during the training period especially in the case of a serious illness or other admissible absence (stated in Article 23 of the 28th September 1978 Decree).

Those who fail twice without any valid reason are expelled from the school. Students who fail their last year of training are eligible to take posts in Junior secondary schools only.

It may appear that by the establishment of the new Higher Teacher Training Schools, secondary education has fully achieved Moroccanization. But in reality, Moroccanization in secondary school as a whole, is far from being achieved, especially in the second cycle of secondary education as the scientific subjects are still taught by foreigners. The Moroccanization of the staff is closely related to Arabization of education and as long as Arabization is not accomplished, secondary education will still have to rely on foreigners and the teaching will be in French, not in Arabic.

4 - UNIVERSITY TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS

The development of Higher education has been different from that of Primary and Secondary education in Morocco. We may distinguish two distinct phases. First, there was the time when only Traditional education was available. The second phase was the development of the New Higher Education starting with the establishment of the Modern University : Mohamed V, shortly after Independence in 1957.

During the first phase, most of the teachers who taught in the traditional University were Moroccans with the title of "Ulama" (Islamic Scholars). They had undertaken considerable research

in Islamic Civilisation, "Sunna" and "Hadith". Some of them graduated from Karaouine University and some from other Universities in the Arab World such as "Al Azhar" University in Egypt. Apart from Moroccan teachers, there were a few Egyptians, Lebanese, Syrians, Jordanians and Iraqis.

If Morocco managed to rely on its own resources as far as the Traditional Higher Education was concerned, this was mainly due to the fact that Traditional Education had a long history in the country, from 859 A.D., when the Karaouine University was established. Traditional education was deeply rooted in the Moroccan Society and Culture and this was the reason why it had been respected by many rulers and encouraged by many traditionalists such as : Allal El Fassi in the 1950's.

The second phase began with the establishment of Mohamed V University and this became one of the major factors influencing educational philosophy in Morocco. The reason for the establishment of this University, which was the first of its kind, was to provide holders of the Baccalauréat with Modern Higher Education at home, instead of going abroad and also to meet the needs of the situation at home.

Mohamed V University largely depended on foreign teachers because it taught new modern disciplines such as medicine, pharmacy and languages, and Morocco suffered from a shortage of highly qualified teachers in these subjects. The government was not in a position to establish a training institute due to lack of competent and qualified staff. Therefore, the only immediate solution to this problem was to send holders of the Baccalauréat Certificate abroad to study for higher degrees so that they could take posts in the University after their graduation. This was

a part of the Moroccanization policy which was in force at the time.

Many scholarships were granted to students to go abroad. The grants were of three kinds : from the Moroccan Government, from other countries or from International Organisations.

On the 22nd July and 28th October of 1957, the Moroccan Government offered 510 scholarships to Moroccan students for the 1957-58 academic year. Further, the Ministry of National Education made an agreement with the French University and Cultural Mission which awarded 171 scholarships to young Moroccans.

Also, in 1957 the Moroccan Government awarded special scholarships to students to pursue their studies in some European Countries: 102 were sent to Spain, 15 to Germany, 2 to Austria, 7 to Great Britain, 3 to Switzerland and 1 to the United States. Another group of students was awarded scholarships to study in Middle Eastern Countries : 110 went to Egypt, 102 to Syria and 29 to Iraq.¹¹

Further foreign assistance was given in October 1967, when four pupil-teachers who graduated from Mohamed V University, received UNESCO grants to study for a diploma in Higher studies in France. Also, Tunisia offered 10 scholarships to Moroccans for further studies. To provide the University with national staff, on 11th December, 1967 competitive examinations were organised for candidates to become teachers at the University. Four candidates passed the medical "agrégation" in general medicine, surgery, pneumophthisiology and otolaryngology. Three of them were appointed as lecturers, one promoted to the post of vice-dean and nine national doctors were appointed as assistants after assessment by examination.¹²

By the Decree of 1975, teachers in the University had to fulfil a common mission which was to improve the standard of education in Universities and to help in the development of the country. In addition, special tasks were given to teachers according to their position in the hierarchy in which there were four grades:

- 1 "Professor" : title awarded to teachers with a Doctorate Degree. Their position is the highest in the hierarchy. They are mostly concerned with the supervision of research groups. Also, they provide courses and lectures for eight hours a week.
- 2 "Maîtres de conférences" : they hold the second position after "Professors". They are also required to hold the Doctorate Degree or its equivalent. They spend ten hours a week teaching.
- 3 "Maîtres-assistants" : this title is awarded to teachers with a Masters Degree or its equivalent. They teach fifteen hours a week. They are expected to engage in research with the aim of preparing for the Doctoral Degree which helps in their promotion.
- 4 "Assistants" : this title is awarded to candidates who, after the "licence", have had at least one year of Postgraduate study. Appointment to the University under this title is subject to a competitive examination. They teach eighteen hours a week.

We may notice that as we proceed toward the lowest grades, the number of teaching hours increases. This reflects a close teacher-student relationship especially for "maîtres-assistants" and "assistants" because first the number of hours they teach is higher than that of "Professors" and "maîtres de conference".

Secondly, "maîtres-assistants" and "assistants" on the other hand, help in the supervision of research students.

The number of "maîtres assistants" and "assistants" has not increased as rapidly as the number of students. In 1978-79, for instance, the total number of "maîtres-assistants" and "assistants" was 1,022¹³. In the same year, however, 62,107 students enrolled in the University. This means that it was difficult for teachers to establish a personal relationship and to provide much advice to their students.

For this reason, together with others, such as the high number of foreign teachers in the Universities, there was drawn up the Triennial Plan of 1978-80 which sought to achieve a solution to this problem. The Plan aimed at increasing the number of national teachers in Higher Education to meet the needs of students. Also, it established an Institute which provided training for teachers in Higher Education at home for a period of two years. Nevertheless, the establishment of this institute called "Assistanat", which trains candidates to take up posts of "assistants" did not entirely solve the problem, and difficulties both quantitative and qualitative are still experienced in Higher Education.

To conclude this section on teacher training, we may deduce that Teacher Training in Morocco has been faced with many problems such as : a lack of qualified teachers after Independence and the Moroccanization of the staff, which was not an easy task for the Ministry of National Education, since it is a long term process.

Thirdly, there has been the necessity to improve the qualitative level of teachers. And fourthly, there has been the urgent need to increase the number of teachers to meet the needs of the increasing numbers of students.



The present situation of teachers, in general in Morocco, can be summed up in the following table:

TABLE 8 TEACHING STAFF ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION, NATIONALITY AND SEX

1984-85	MOROCCANS	FOREIGNERS	TOTAL
<u>Primary</u>	76,800	-	76,800
Male	51,704	-	51,704
Female	25,096	-	25,096
% F/Total	32,	-	32,
<u>Secondary and Technical</u>	50,708	2,212	52,920
Male	36,311	1,244	37,555
Female	14,397	968	15,365
% F/Total	28,	438	29,
<u>Higher</u>	3,525	606	4,131
Male	2,849	447	3,296
Female	676	159	835
% F/Total	19,	26,	20,

Source : Le Maroc EN Chiffres 1984, Ministry of National Education

Table No 8 shows that Moroccanization has been fully achieved at the level of primary education, but foreigners still play an important part in secondary and Higher education. This is mainly due to the shortage of qualified nationals in the field of science. This phenomenon can be explained by the effect of Arabization on the whole system. This was a success as far as primary education was concerned, but unfortunately, all the plans were hindered by the lack of terminology. This creates problems not only for the Ministry of National Education but also for students who are confused by an incomplete reform.

NOTES

- 1 AREA HANDBOOK FOR MOROCCO. 1965 pp:132-33
- 2 HASSAN II, King of Morocco, Le Défi, Paris :Editions Albin Michel, 1976, p:115
- 3 ZARTMAN, I.W., Morocco : Problems of new Power, New York : Atherton Press. p:166
- 4 see Triennial Plan 1965-1967, p:173
- 5 ANNUAIRE de l'Afrique du Nord, 1962. p:564
- 6 Plan 1965-1967, p:173
- 7 The Social and Economic Development Plan (1984-1986)
- 8 KITCHEN, H., The Educated African, New York : Frederick, A Praeger, 1962, p:33
- 9 Arrêté Du Ministre de l'enseignement primaire et secondaire no. 563=75 du 28.Avril:1975
- 10 see also B.O. no 3265 du 28.5.75 p:721
- 10 BAINA, A., Le système de l'enseignement au Maroc, Casablanca. Editions Maghrébines, 1981 p:244

- 11 KITCHEN, H., op.cit. p:38
- 12 International Year book of Education, Vol XXX. Unesco, 1969. p:351
- 13 BAINA, A., op.cit., p:304

CHAPTER SEVEN

PROBLEMS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Throughout this study, our approach has been a historical one. The reason why we have adopted this analysis is that the problems, which Moroccan education is currently facing are the results of past experiences particularly of colonialization.

It is the aim of this chapter to examine the problem of arabization. This problem is closely related to others, such as bilingualism and Moroccanization. Also, we will touch upon some other minor problems.

1 - ARABIZATION

1.1 IDEOLOGY

After the achievement of Independence, Morocco, as well as other countries of the Maghreb (Algeria and Tunisia) saw Arabization as a step towards achieving self-dependency. It should not be thought of as a backward move towards former values and a neglect of modernism. It does not aim at the seclusion of the country, rather it is a policy which is concerned with substituting the Arabic for the French language in education, media and administration. To put it differently, Arabization is the rejection of both the French culture and language as part of the search for national identity. His Majesty, the King clearly stated from the throne in 1958, his wish to provide an arabised education for Moroccans, which he described as "an education that is Moroccan in its thinking, Arabic in its language and moslem in its spirit."¹

Arabization has been looked at from different angles according

to different trends. In what follows, the views of four prominent groups² will be examined:

First, the traditionalists, who can also be called conservatives, consider Arabization as a return to the original values of Morocco i.e. as a means to safeguard the Islamic aspect of Moroccan society.

Second, the Modernists who are less in favour of Arabization, fear that the Arabic language is not adequate for learning science. Also, for them, French keeps the country in touch with the progress and modernity of the western world.

Third, there are the nationalists who are concerned with safeguarding Morocco from a loss of identity. They were the first group to be conscious of the importance of Arabization, since they fought against the colonial authorities under the Protectorate, by establishing the arabised schools which they called "Al Madaris Al Hura", in order to sustain a national consciousness.

Fourth, are the professionals who appreciate the cultural objective of Arabization, but are aware of the technical problems it may create such as the inadequacy of teachers and terminology. This makes them less than enthusiastic about Arabization.

1.2 PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF ARABIZATION

Arabization was one of the four principles of the Royal Commission for the Reform of Education, which was established immediately after Independence (see chapter 3). Arabization was a long term process and the way Ministers of Education dealt with it proved to be unsuccessful and was bitterly criticised.

First, in 1956-57, Al Fassi, the first Minister of National Education drew up a plan to arabize the first year of primary education. The remaining years were to be taught 15 hours a week in

Arabic and 15 hours a week in French. But teachers who were asked to teach in Arabic were ill-qualified and had difficulties with the language since they themselves had received their education in French.

Second, the next Minister who succeeded Al Fassi, was Haj Omar Ben Abdeljalil, who tried to avoid the previous mistakes by placing more emphasis on teacher training. He asked Abdelkrim for assistance who later succeeded him as Minister. The latter planned the achievement of certain objectives, such as:

arabizing subjects with a specifically national character especially civics, history and geography. Also, he planned to strengthen science education in Arabized schools.

The next Minister, Mohamed Ben Hima was not in favour of Arabization and so he discontinued these projects. However, he was soon replaced by Abdelhadi Boutaleb. Nevertheless, there was complete stagnation as far as Arabization was concerned.

In 1977, the last Minister, Dr Laraki took over and vigorous plans, in which previous errors were taken into account, were drawn up. To start with, the standardized curriculum needed to be revised and teaching methods had to be modernised. There were plans to establish 26 Arabization training centres to help in this project. In 1980, Arabization of the primary level was fully achieved but the problem was that pupils, who succeeded at the primary level and were eligible to pursue their studies in the secondary schools, were faced with serious difficulties of language because the secondary level was not Arabized. This discontinuity in planning arose from the fact that Arabization of the primary level was easy to achieve because the terminology used at that stage is an elementary

one whereas at the secondary level, the terminology is more complex and it took the "arabisants" longer than they had expected.

The problem of Arabization at this point reached its most difficult stage : the majority of Moroccan pupils failed their examinations and parents were worried about their future, to the point that some of them considered transferring their children from the public bilingual schools to the French Cultural Mission, where education was stable.

To solve this problem, the Minister of National Education adopted a new approach to the Arabization of the scientific disciplines. It consisted of preserving the international symbols used in mathematics, physics and chemistry, but the explanations were to be written in Arabic. The mathematical formula and equations were to be written in French, i.e. from left to right. This approach has been successful in "arabised schools".

However, the main problem is not the symbols but the terminology "mustalahat". If we can preserve the international symbols used in mathematics, physics, it is not probable that we can keep the terms used to describe phenomena in physics or natural sciences. Nevertheless, we cannot deny the valuable efforts made by "The Institute of Study and Research in Arabization", but it must be admitted that Arabization cannot be achieved by one Arab country acting in isolation from the others. Unfortunately, disagreements about terminology among Arab countries are very common, partly, because of the legacy of colonialism. In North African countries, the scientific disciplines are taught in French; whereas in the Middle East, they are taught in English. The results is a lack of uniformity and disagreement. For one word, we can find more

than one translation, for instance, the word "horse" has three equivalents in Arabic which are hissan - Farass - Jawad.

So far, we have discussed both the theoretical and the practical aspect of Arabization. We now turn to consider some recommendations which may contribute to the success of this policy.

To begin with, a sense of unity should be developed among the Arab countries so that they can agree on a standardized terminology. This sense of unity can be achieved if and only if, they can tolerate political, geographical and linguistic differences.

Secondly, because Arabic is the language of The Holy book, it should not necessarily remain in its archaic form, in other words, Arabization should start by making the Arabic language itself flexible and capable of serving scientific and technical purposes, so that it can transmit scientific information accurately and exactly without losing the quality of the language. The traditional Arabic should be modernised to meet the needs of the modern Arab world.

Thirdly, on a local level, as far as Morocco is concerned, the system of education should be unified to strengthen Arabization. Also, French Cultural Mission Schools should be restricted to the education of the European Community only, so as to encourage Moroccans to receive arabized education. Moreover, the unification of the system of education will not only be a step towards the success of Arabization, but will also help to solve the problems of language experienced by the "type Français" students, those whose education was in French in the F.C.M.S.³ These pupils at present cannot express themselves at all in Arabic.

The fourth recommendation is related to the third and concerns people who speak French and who adopt French culture and ways of

living, whose attitude to Arabization is one of indifference and dislike. So, as long as there are groups whose attitude to Arabization is wholly negative, this policy will never succeed. Those who adopt the French language and the French way of life should be brought to realise the importance of achieving a Moroccan national identity.

In this respect, bilinguals are sometimes in the same situation as Bentahila said "in speaking French, some bilinguals seem also to adopt the kinds of association belonging to French culture rather than those of their Arabic culture"⁴

Bilingualism is one of the characteristics of the educated Moroccan. It is a major problem.

2 - BILINGUALISM

Bilingualism is a linguistic phenomenon which has different aspects, but in this section we will deal only with two types which are relevant to bilingualism as a problem in Morocco.

First, bilingualism can be considered as one of the consequences of colonialism which can be defined as the duality of two languages existing in one country: one is the mother tongue and the other is the language of the colonial power. Such is Arabic-French bilingualism which is common in Northern African countries, where Arabic is the official language and French was introduced by French colonialism.

Second, there is the bilingualism, which is not related to colonialism but which can be found in multilingual societies, where a variety of dialects are spoken.

Morocco is one of the countries where both types of bilingualism are represented: First, the Arabic-French and second the Moroccan

dialect - classical Arabic (we choose to consider the Moroccan dialect i.e. the Arabic dialect and not the Berber⁵ because it is spoken by the majority of the population). These two kinds of bilingualism in Morocco are considered as school bilingualism, because they are the result of learning languages at school by formal teaching; and this also implies that the learner has not had the opportunity to use the language as a normal means of communication i.e. as the mother-tongue which is used in everyday conversation.

In what follows, the two types of bilingualism in Morocco will be considered.

2.1 The Moroccan Dialect and The Classical Arabic

Bilingualism.

This section is devoted to an analysis of the Moroccan dialect and classical Arabic bilingualism or what is called in linguistic terms "Diglossia" as used by Ferguson⁶. There is also a discussion of the important part it plays in society and more specifically in education.

The Moroccan dialect is the mother-tongue of most people in Morocco. The child acquires it from his environment and later uses it to communicate in society.

Before the child goes to school, he is already fluent in using his first language which enables him to express himself freely. This language i.e. the Moroccan dialect, which is normally used for communication among Moroccans, is identified by Ferguson as a "low variety"⁷. On the other hand, he defines the classical Arabic as a "high variety"⁸, because it is only used on formal occasions. Moreover, the first contact of the child with classical Arabic is when he goes to school. In other words, it is only by formal

teaching that the child learns classical Arabic.

At the primary stage, the pupil is not only required to assimilate the meaning of new words which are introduced to him, but also to learn how to write them:

First, the vocabulary used in classical Arabic is different from the one in the Moroccan dialect, for instance, the word "M'sha" in Moroccan dialect which means "he goes" is "Dahaba" in classical Arabic. The second difficulty which faces the Moroccan pupil is the fact that the Moroccan dialect has no written form, it is "transmitted orally"⁹, whereas classical Arabic is written.

In addition, the functions of the Moroccan dialect and of classical Arabic remains separate. The former is used at home and in the street, whereas the other one is used only on formal occasions.

The position of the Moroccan pupil in school becomes more complicated when a second language (French) is introduced from the third year. The pupil is not yet prepared to learn French because he still has problems of learning classical Arabic: two years are not enough to master this language.

2.2 Arabic-French Bilingualism

The use of French in Moroccan education increases as the student advances in his studies from the primary to the secondary as all scientific disciplines are taught in French (see chapter 3 - The bilingual education). The use of French is most common among students of scientific disciplines in higher education such as medicine, engineering and dentistry.

The main point to be considered is what are the consequences of the use of French? Also what are the Moroccans' views on the

Arabic-French bilingualism?

To begin with, we must note that a person's attitude to a language is related to his or her attitude toward the people who speak the language. Therefore, the Moroccan views about French and Arabic-French bilingualism are embodied in two widespread attitudes in Morocco.

The first attitude is that of those who believe that Arabic is the language of the Koran and our religion, therefore it should be used in all aspects of life including education and administration.

The second attitude is that of those who are in favour of French because they think that French is a modern language and also most useful for studies 71.26%¹⁰.

After this brief representation of these two attitudes, we can say that the problem of bilingualism is mostly experienced in the group who favour French. The influence of French is so great for these bilinguals that they cannot express themselves in one language at a time, but they tend to mix Arabic and French in one sentence. For instance, they speak the whole sentence in French with only one or two words in Arabic or vice-versa.

1 - Je vais à la ville "mša" quatre heures -

I am going to the town "at" four o'clock.

2 - f "le début" dj al had šhar safar

At "the beginning" of this month he travelled.

These two sentences reflect the restless mind of the speaker who is an Arab-French Moroccan bilingual who can neither express himself fully in Arabic nor in French. The code switching that we notice in these sentences is the consequence of both language planning and also of peoples' attitudes to French and Arabic.

As far as language planning is concerned, the following recommendations are suggested:

First, French should not be introduced from the third year of primary education but from the first year of secondary education, so as to allow the pupil to become fluent in Arabic which is itself a new language to him.

An Arab linguist Furayha¹¹ proposed the following solution to this problem. The Classical Arabic should be replaced by any local Arabic dialect (he did not refer to any specific country but to the learning of Arabic in The Arab world). He also suggested that since dialects have no written form, they should be written in the Roman script.

However, this suggestion is not viable because it has some negative consequences for the Arabic language and its position in the world. Also, it would lose the riches of the linguistic heritage that classical Arabic has preserved through the ages.

Our second recommendation concerns peoples' attitudes to the French language. People who favour French do so because they are fascinated by the French culture and way of life which is introduced to them by means of French texts. Our suggestion is to adapt these texts to the Moroccan way of life.

3 - OTHER PROBLEMS

The first problem to be considered in this section is that of Moroccanization. The solution to this problem depends upon a solution to the problem of Arabization, and as this is not yet achieved in secondary and higher education, foreign teachers will continue to be needed. Arabization of the Primary School was achieved in 1978; therefore, Moroccanization of this level is fully

implemented.

This, however, does not mean that there are a great number of foreign teachers in secondary and higher education. But some foreigners still occupy posts in Moroccan schools.

If, as is planned, Arabization can be achieved by 1988-90 then Moroccanization will not be a difficult task for the Ministry of National Education.

The second problem is the overcrowded classes. There is a great shortage of local teachers. As far as the primary level is concerned in 1980-81, there were 38 pupils per class¹². At the secondary level, there were 36 students per class.¹³ The following table shows the situation in Universities:

TABLE 9 : RELATIONSHIP STUDENTS/LECTURE HALLS IN UNIVERSITIES
in 1978-1979

UNIVERSITIES	STUDENTS	LECTURE HALLS	RELATION STUDENTS/LECTURE HALLS
Mohamed V Rabat	32.150	81	397
Hassan II Casablanca	13.820	20	695
M ^{ed} Ben Abdellah Fez	11.005	53	208
Mohamed I ^{er} Oujda	1.444	2	722
Karaouine Fez	2.097	13	161
TOTAL	60.586	169	358

Source : Le Maroc Universitaire 1978-1979, p:15 and p:186

This phenomenon of overcrowded classes has a deleterious effect on the psychology of some pupils who by nature need attention and encouragement from the teacher. But unfortunately in such a

2 ref.

situation not everyone in the class can receive attention and care, and as a result shy pupils lose confidence in themselves. On the other hand, it is not easy for the teacher to communicate with the whole body of students, so he tends to concentrate on a small number who carefully follow the explanation and argumentation. It is not easy for a University teacher to conduct a discussion or even to give his lecture in a hall containing at least 160 students.

The main conclusion that can be drawn from this situation is that the quantitative aspect of education in Morocco has a great impact on the qualitative aspect. To remedy this difficulty, plans for building schools, colleges and universities should be drawn up every year to match the increasing number of students enrolling.

The third and the last problem to be considered is the lack of libraries adequate for the needs of research students. This lack of well-equipped libraries results in one characteristic of Moroccan students; which is that of relying on the teacher all the time. So the teacher is considered as the sole source of knowledge by the students. This has a bad effect on the students. It kills their sense of research and the inclination for further studies. As a remedy for this situation, more funds should be allocated for the equipment of libraries in all subjects taught in Moroccan education.

Before leaving the topic, it is worth mentioning that the problems we have discussed are not the only ones that Moroccan education is facing. There are others which are beyond the scope of this thesis.

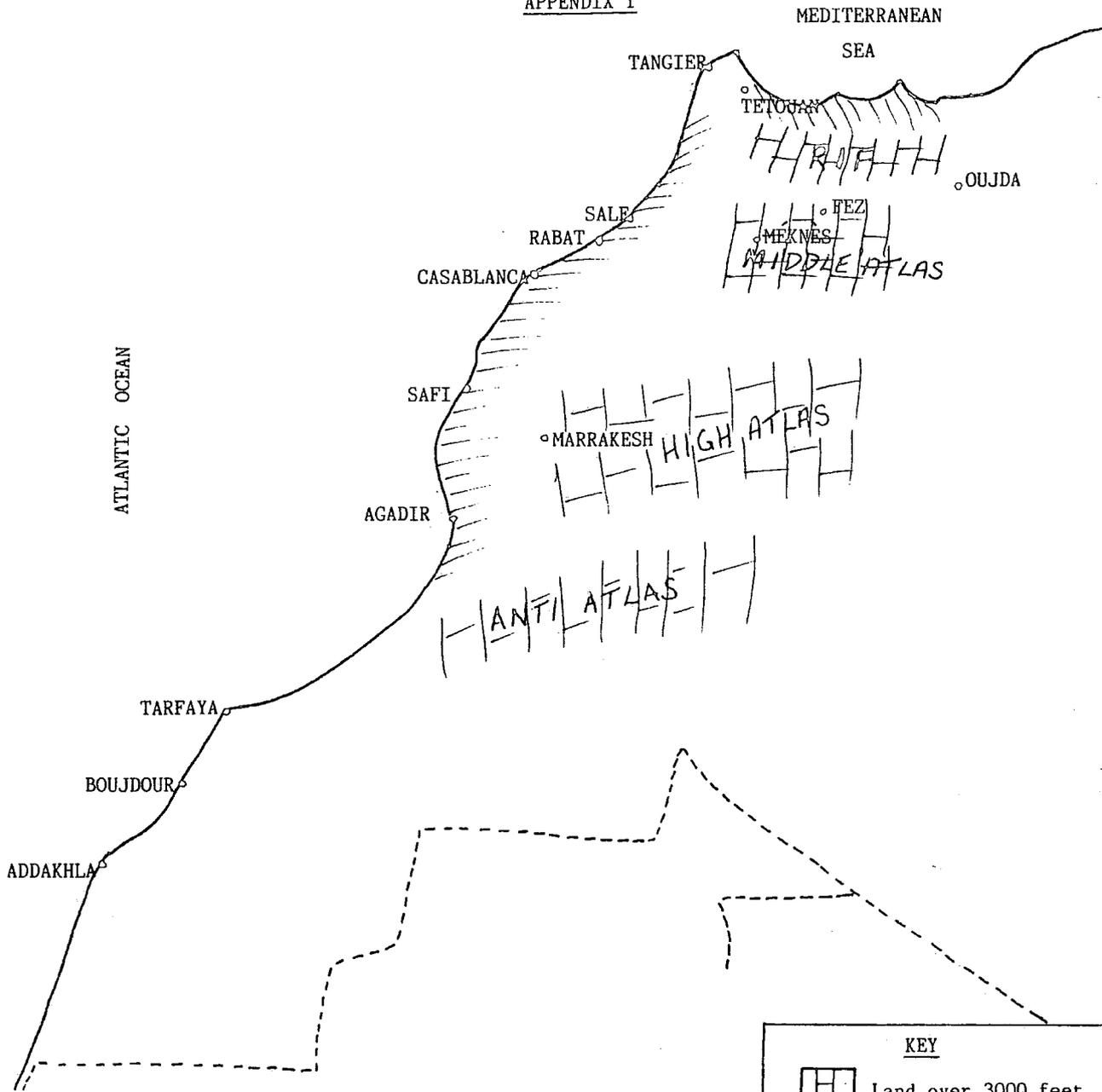
To conclude, we can say that the Moroccan system of education has gone through difficult periods in its history. However, without the strong support of the Government as the first step towards

progress, Moroccan education would have never bridged the wide gap left after the end of French colonialism.

NOTES

- 1 ZARTMAN, I.W. Morocco : Problème of New Power.
New York : Atherton Press, 1964, pp:155-156.
- 2 Ibid., pp: 156-161.
- 3 The French Cultural Mission Schools.
- 4 see BENTAHILA, A. Language Attitudes Among Arabic-French
Bilinguals in Morocco. Multilingual Matters Ltd., 1983.
- 5 See Chapter One (3.3 - Language).
- 6 FERGUSON, C.A. "Diglossia" Language and Social Context, 1972.
p: 232.
- 7 Ibid., p:234.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 BENTAHILA, A. Language Attitudes Among Arabic-French Bilinguals
in Morocco. Multilingual Matters Ltd., 1983. p:5.
- 10 Ibid., p:33
- 11 FASSI, F.A., Linguistique Arabe : forme et interprétation.
Rabat : Imprimatlas, s.a., 1982. p:34
- 12 BAINA, A., Le Systeme de L'Enseignement Au Maroc. Casablanca:
Editions Maghrébines, 1981. p:424.
- 13 Ibid., p:425.

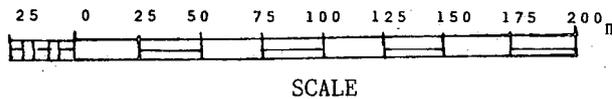
APPENDIX 1



SOURCE : MINISTÈRE DE L'AGRICULTURE et de LA RÉFORME AGRICOLE. DIRECTION DE LA CONSERVATION FONCIÈRE ET DES TRAVAUX TOPOGRAPHIQUES RABAT.

KEY

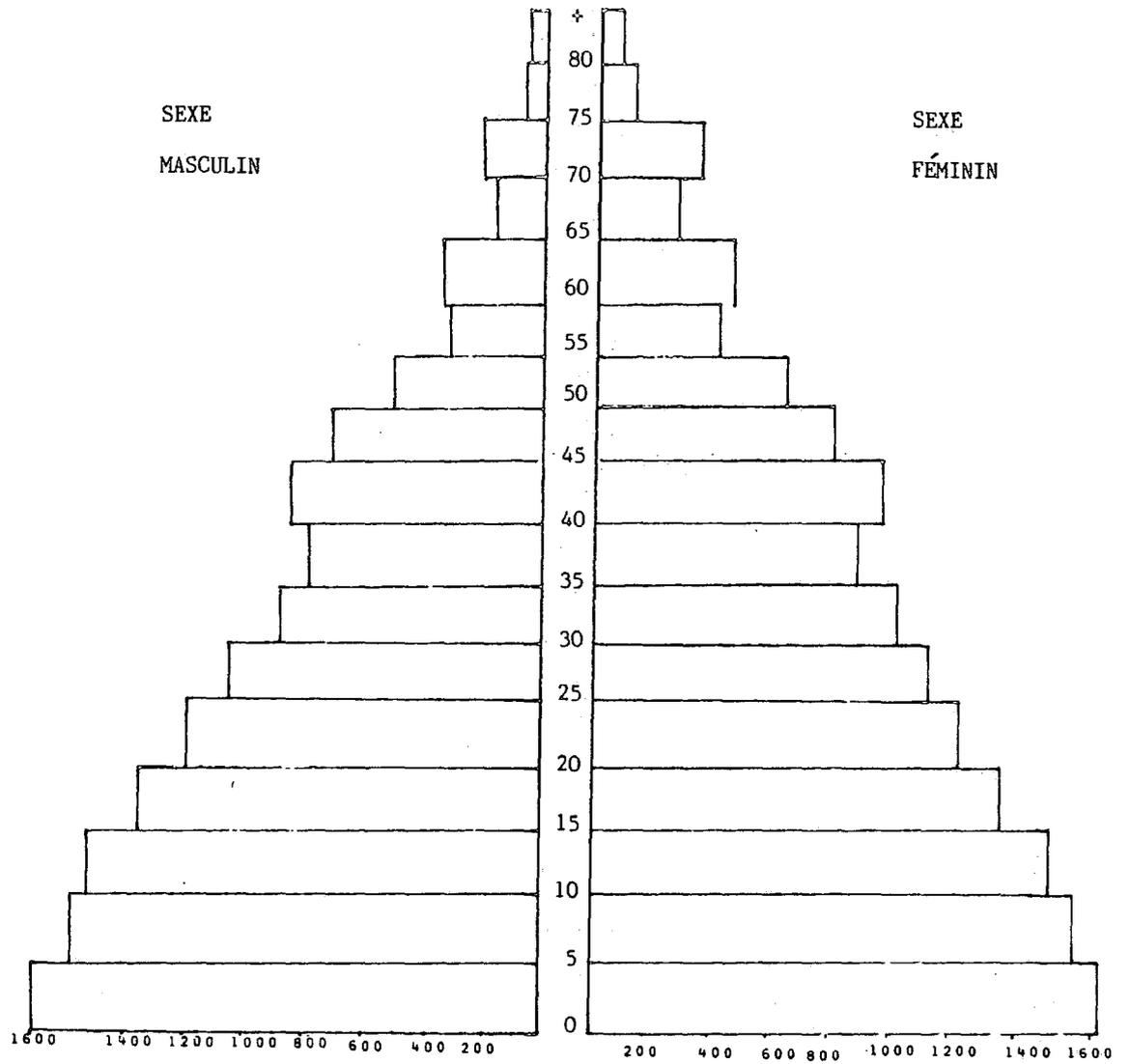
	Land over 3000 feet
	Fertile land.



APPENDIX 2

AGE PYRAMID

General census of the Population and Habitat 1982.



en milliers

SOURCE : MINISTÈRE DU PLAN, DIRECTION DE LA STATISTIQUE.

ANNUAIRE STATISTIQUE DU MAROC, 1984. p: 23.

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