CHAPTER 11

Narratives and Discourse on National Identity in Moroccan Textbooks

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Introduction

The concept of national identity is typically reinforced through the referencing of an Other, and "our" difference from "them". Ashcroft et al. (1998: 169) write that, "The existence of others is crucial in defining what is 'normal' and in locating one's own place in the world", and Michel Foucault (1990) argued that Othering often underlies power in order to achieve a certain agenda through knowledge and discourse. In other words, by Othering another group's perceived weaknesses we, in turn, make ourselves look stronger or better.

While colonialism is one such example of the power of Othering, post-colonial processes such as nationalist discourse often avoid emphasising internal plurality. This is especially the case where the post-colonial state has an interest in building or reuniting one nation, often under one ruling power and, to use the words of Ashcroft et al. (ibid), aiming to "eradicate historical difference". Anderson (2006: 5), for example, speaks of the "formal universality of nationality as a socio-cultural concept", underlin-

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ing that nationalism is inclusive and unifying. This means that internally there can be, what Verdery calls a "totalizing process … that entails a relentless press toward homogeneity" that at the same time requires an Other for the definition of the Self (1996: 231).

This chapter will examine narratives and discourse on national identity in current Moroccan textbooks while also taking the concept of Othering into account. In the process, it will look at official discourse especially on the indigenous population of Morocco, i.e. the *Imazighen* (plural form of Tamazight *Amazigh* "free man", referred to henceforth as *Amazighs or Berber*), or Berbers and other groups in Morocco such as the Jewish population. This study will query whether these groups are depicted as subaltern in official discourse. It will also examine whether the different practices in Morocco are part of a post-colonial homogenising process of "epistemic violence" (Spivak 1988: 292), that is, the violence of knowledge or of discourse when it is imposed upon a silenced group.

Methodology and Analysis

The present work will examine the discourse on national identity and the Other in Moroccan textbooks from primary, middle and high school. Textbooks are widespread media of national and official discourse and those used in Moroccan public schools are written and published by the Moroccan Ministry of Education. At the same time, other sources of national discourse will also be taken into account to determine whether the findings from the textbooks align with narratives elsewhere in the official domain.

As mentioned, only state-written textbooks are currently used in Moroccan public schools. As White (1973: 91) wrote, "… history has to do with the carrying out of projects and aims by specific individuals and groups …" and these state-written texts present an ideal media to analyse the narratives on national identity in Morocco while addressing the aims of the history writers, that is, the government. In this chapter, contemporary Moroccan identity in texts relating to national and non-national history will be analysed. Furthermore, given that Morocco is an ex-colonial Arab-Islamic state and a monarchy in North Africa, questions pertaining to (pan-)Islam(ism), pan-Arabism and Europe will also be investigated. A discussion will then proceed on themes relevant to North African and Middle Eastern identity, such as colonialism, and the topic of Israel-Palestine.

Morocco's location on the continent of Africa will also be considered in the present discussion on national identity in order to consider whether an

"African" identity features in the national narrative. As a further consideration, the last line of the Moroccan national anthem, which comprises the words, "Allah, al-Watan, al-Malik" [God, the nation, the King], will present another framework for this enquiry on Moroccan national identity in official sources. It will question whether the identities of Muslim, Moroccan and subject represent elements of national identity as presented in the discourse in the textbooks and elsewhere. It should also be noted from the outset that this chapter is not a study on the factual accuracy of the content unless of course it is relevant to the discussion on national identity; the main objective is to deconstruct the texts while examining the content with regard to above-mentioned themes.

The main questions on national identity of the present enquiry can be summed up as follows: What is comprised in Moroccan national identity as presented in state-written textbooks? Does the discourse on national identity include elements from the pre-Islamic past or does the collective memory start in post-Islamic period? Many have argued that Berbers have been marginalised and their history ignored in the educational system, especially in the textbook curriculum of post-colonial Morocco (e.g. Errihani 2013: 61). Therefore, it is important to question whether the discourse and narratives in the books include or exclude the non-Arab indigenous population. As to the claim that Moroccan nationalist discourse places more emphasis on Arab-Islamic civilisation, the question of whether pan-Arabism belongs to the discourse on national identity in the textbooks must also be addressed. Can the discursive construction of national identity, which is individualising and, which, in its very nature, is exclusive of those outside "us", include a pan-Arab ideology that is in its essence a transnational concept? Are there sentiments of solidarity towards other Arab nations in the discourse in the books? As Morocco is part of the Maghrib, is there a pan-Maghribi element to Moroccan national identity? Furthermore, given that Morocco is an Islamic state with a king who also carries the title of *Commander of the Faithful*, is there a pan-Islamic discourse, for example, in the form of sentiments of unity and solidarity with non-Moroccan Muslims? This will all be examined in the following.

Morocco

Morocco is officially a constitutional monarchy whose sovereign is descended from the de facto longest-ruling dynasty in the Arab-Islamic world—the Alawis.[1] The official title of Muhammad VI, present king of

Morocco, is "His Majesty the King Muhammed the Sixth, Commander of the Faithful, may God grant him victory" (*Ṣāḥib al-Jalālah al-Malik Muḥammad al-Sādis, 'Amīr al-Mu'minīn, Naṣṣarahu-Illāh*). The title of *mālik* or "king" came into use in official discourse after Muhammad V returned from two years of exile; prior to this, the term sultan had been used to designate the head of state in Morocco. Historically the Alawi dynasty has always had strong ties to the West. Morocco has a longstanding friendship treaty with America and has strong economic ties with the EU. Unlike some other Arab states, Morocco has never subscribed to socialism—which is unsurprising given that it is a monarchical state.

The present king, King Muhammad VI, has opened up even more national and international dialogue by taking measures to officially further Berber issues and maintaining diplomatic ties to the West. His many reforms include the 2004 Family Code (*Mudawana*) to regulate marriage, polygamy, inheritance and child custody. His 2011 reforms concerning the extent of his power, corruption, freedom of expression and gender issues were described by the European Union as signalling "a clear commitment to democracy" (EU press release 2011).

Morocco officially gained independence from France in 1956 after 44 years of a Protectorate. France, however, was not the first European or non-European power to occupy or invade Morocco over the course of its history. The Phoenicians, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Arabs, Spanish, the Portuguese, amongst others, also attacked or conquered the territory now known as Morocco at one time or another. There are still two exclaves in north Morocco under Spanish rule, that is, Melilla and Sibta, and Western Sahara is an autonomous region in the south. The location of Morocco on the periphery of the Arab-speaking world in North Africa, also known in Arabic as Maghrib al-Aqsa (the farthest west), with only a narrow strait separating it from the south of Europe means that it has a particularly complex identity.

The Moroccan Education System

The Moroccan Ministry of National Education was established in 1959. Initial objectives were to train native teachers in order to replace foreign teachers, build new schools and implement governmental education reforms. At the moment of Moroccan independence, enrolment of school-aged children was only at 17 per cent. In the early 1960s basic education became compulsory, thereby raising enrolment levels to 85 per cent by

1985. Despite schooling being compulsory and free (at state schools) many children, particularly those in rural areas, still do not attend school (https://wenr.wes.org/2006/04/wenr-apr-2006-education-in-morocco). From 2008–2012, the literacy rate of those between 15 and 24 years of age was 88.8 per cent for male youths and 74 per cent for female youths.[2]

Basic education (primary and middle school) lasts nine years and is followed by three years of secondary education. Standard Arabic is the main language of instruction, but French is still used in technical disciplines at some secondary schools and university faculties. French is introduced into the curriculum in the third grade. Spanish is spoken by many Moroccans in the north of the country, while English is increasingly becoming the foreign language of choice for youth attending private schools. A second foreign language is introduced into the state curriculum in grade 10, that is, the first year of secondary school. Since 2003, the Tamazight language has been an obligatory subject for all Moroccan school-aged children regardless of their ethnic or linguistic heritage.

The Textbooks

The textbooks examined in the present analysis were published between 2004 and 2007 and are four textbooks for civics for the last year of elementary school and the three years of middle school and two history textbooks for the first and second years of high school.[3] These books are the result of an overhaul of Morocco textbooks after the NGO HREA (Human Rights Education Associates) reviewed Moroccan textbooks for gender bias in 2004/2005 in cooperation with the Moroccan Ministry of Education. Following the study, there was also talk of non-government written textbooks being introduced into the curriculum of Moroccan public schools, which, however, has not yet been implemented at the time of writing. Although history textbooks were not included in the review, they were also rewritten following the study.

History is a mandatory subject for the Moroccan *baccalauréat*. The curriculum of the textbooks, mostly presented chronologically, commences in the prehistoric period and concludes in 2006. The main territories covered are: North Africa, the Middle East, Europe, Asia and the USA. The history can be broken down as follows: approximately 50 per cent of the history covered pertains to the history of the West (mainly European); around 25 per cent is Moroccan history, and around 25 per cent covers the rest of the Arab world.

The history textbooks take the form of compilations of texts, timelines, images, illustrations, graphs, tables etc. taken, for the most part, from other sources which are cited either underneath the texts and images or at the end of each chapter. Only maps seem to be illustrated specifically for the textbooks, but these are few as most maps are taken from elsewhere (e.g. Encarta). There are no texts written by the "compilers" of the books, apart from introductions to each chapter and the tasks and exercises. This means that interpretation of these sources is left to the instructors and students, but the way that the sources that have been selected is significant and therefore worth briefly considering.

The sources cited in the textbooks range from French secondary school textbooks to Arab and non-Arab authors, encyclopaedias and government and non-government (Moroccan and other) websites. The chapters on European history mainly cite European sources, and the chapters on Islamic history also cite some non-Arab sources. The chapters on Palestine and Israel cite both Muslim and Christian Arab (e.g. Emile Toma) authors (*Modern History*. Year 2, High School. 2007/08 110; 205).[4]

French textbooks are heavily relied upon in some chapters, which, in the post-colonial context, support the theory of Ashcroft et al. that there are often "ongoing continuities and the elements of colonial influence that continue to mark post-colonial politics and the post-colonial state, even after it achieves political independence" (1998: 129). If current Moroccan textbooks are presenting texts, maps and images from French textbooks, the prior objectification (to use the words of Foucault) of the ex-colonial power over its ex-colony seems to have continued post-independence (2000: 327). One explanation might be the theory that power struggles revolve around the question of who we are (ibid: 331). If this is the case, then Morocco still depends somewhat on the ex-colonial power without directly collaborating with them, ergo France's "legitimate knowledge" (Apple 1995) remains a source for Moroccan "legitimate knowledge".

Islamic and non-Islamic history is addressed in the same textbooks. This is unsurprising given the chronological order of the books, and the fact that the Islamic world and the West have often crossed paths. This could be interpreted to mean that there is neither an Islamic framework nor a European framework to the books. However, it could be argued that the *Bismillah* at the beginning of each book appears as a kind of exergue to the books. Derrida (1995: 11) wrote that, "to cite before beginning is to give the key through the resonance of a few words … the exergue has at once an institutive and

a conservative function; the violence of a power (*Gewalt*) which at once posits and conserves the law". On the other hand, the *Bismillah* is traditionally quoted at the beginning of all religious and secular writings by Muslims and therefore might simply be acting in its conventional role as the introductory part of a discourse or treatise.[5] It might not specifically, to paraphrase Derrida (ibid), aim at a prearchiving the lexicon.

The Berbers of Morocco

As this chapter will discuss the discourse and narratives on Berbers in the textbooks as well as in official discourse, some information on who they are and developments in the education system, language policy and official discourse since 1994 will be presented here. Although the Arabs invaded Morocco in the seventh century bringing with them their language and religion, Berbers in Morocco still make up somewhere between 28.4 and 50 per cent of the population.[6] There are three main varieties of Berber spoken in Morocco today: Tashelhit in the south, Tamazight in middle Morocco and Tarifit in the north. The language has its own alphabet, Tifinagh.

Definitions of the Amazighs have changed over time. Gellner wrote of Berbers and Arabs in the Maghrib that "there are only two linguistic categories [in the Maghreb]—Arabic and Berber … Neither has ever acted or felt as one unit" (Gellner and Micaud 1973). Defined as the "original population of North Africa", he argued that "The Berber sees himself as a member of this or that tribe, within an Islamically-conceived and permeated world—and *not* as a member of a linguistically defined ethnic group […]" (Gellner 1964: 13). More recent literature (Gilson Miller and Hoffmann 2010; Maddy-Weitzman 2011) approach a definition of who Berbers are and what they perceive themselves to be. Gilson Miller and Hoffmann (2010: 4) see Berber culture as "a constantly changing orientation, shaped and reshaped by forces within and outside the group … the terms "Berber" and "Amazigh" have had histories that have been made and remade over time". Maddy-Weitmann meanwhile describes contemporary Berbers as speakers of Tamazight whose varieties of language were transmitted almost exclusively orally until recently and whose history "was traditionally written from the perspective of others who presented them as semisavages" (2011: 2). Although Berbers appear in Greek and Roman annals under different descriptions such as "Africans" and "Moors", they

appear first as a "Berber" collective in the chronicles of the Arab Muslim armies (Ibid: 2). In sum, the main component of Berber identity agreed on by scholars seems to be that of language.

According to Gilson Miller, recognition of the state now allows Tamazight to be present in the public sphere (2010: 6). This process began in Morocco in 1994 with the introduction of short televised news summaries. The establishment of l'Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe (IRCAM) in the early 2000s aimed to further the development of Berber language and culture, especially within the educational system.[7] Errihani, however, argued that these were "clearly political decision in response to several events that might have led to a worse outcome had the state not concocted such a well-timed decision" (2013: 61).

Nevertheless, since 2003, the Tamazight language has been an obligatory subject for all Moroccan school-aged children regardless of their ethnic or linguistic heritage.[8] Berber textbooks were made available in 2004. The standardisation of the three main dialects into one language, Tamazight, to make the language more accessible to the entire Berber population is a long-term goal of IRCAM (Errihani 2013: 61). The success of such steps has been discussed and excellently summarised by Errihani (2013: 64) who writes that:

> despite the multifaceted difficulties standing in the way of implementing the policy of teaching Tamazight to all Moroccans […] the linguistic landscape in Morocco has started to change. With the inclusion of Tamazight in the educational system as well as in the public sphere, speaking in, and of Tamazight is now being viewed less and less suspiciously or as backward. This was certainly not the case 10 years ago […] it is very difficult for any specialist to foresee the long term fate of this language policy, but one cannot deny that in the short term, at least, the teaching of Tamazight continues to make great strides despite many challenges.

In 2011, Tamazight became an official language of Morocco. The preamble of the 2011 Moroccan constitution states that Moroccan "national identity" is indivisible and that "Its unity, is forged by the convergence of its Arab-Islamist, Berber and Saharan-Hassanic components, nourished and enriched by its African, Andalusian, Hebrew and Mediterranean influences". The Berber component of Moroccan national identity, amongst others, is now officially incorporated into official discourse as per the constitution.[9]

Podeh (2011: 3) says that national holidays reveal "the very inner mechanics of nation building and state formation." Berber history has not

as yet been incorporated into the Moroccan national calendar; however, the Arab element of Moroccan identity is not celebrated either. National holidays celebrated in Morocco include New Year's Day (CE), Labour Day, the Birthday of the Prophet, Independence Day, Green March Day and Throne Day, thereby incorporating secular, religious, historical and royal elements but not ethnic ones.[10]

Moroccan Jews

Morocco also has a small percentage of Jewish citizens whose numbers were estimated at approximately 250,000–270,000 prior to their mass emigration from Morocco after World War II: it is estimated that fewer than 5000 Jews remain in Morocco today (Schroeter 2008). The Jewish population of Morocco precedes the Arab invasion of Morocco; however, the majority of the descendants came to Morocco after 1492 and the Reconquista (ibid).[11] Today Morocco's Jewish population is very small, yet still visible. Jewish holidays are celebrated by the community and there are interreligious schools. At the Alliance schools in Casablanca, 50 per cent of the students are Jewish and 50 per cent are Muslim, and all students learn Arabic, Hebrew, English and French. Indeed, while Moroccan Jews are a separate and minority group, they share similar customs and culture to Muslim Moroccans. Moroccan Jews are, as Schroeter states and the 2011 constitution would also confirm, ascribed Moroccan identity in official discourse; anthropologists such as Patai describe their roots as "sunk deeply into Maghrib soil" (Schroeter 2008: 147; Patai 1971: 206–207). For this reason, a sub-topic of the present work will be the position of Moroccan Jews in the discourse and narratives on national identity in Moroccan textbooks as well as other official domains. In the following section, the textbooks will be examined with regard to their narratives and discourses on national identity.

Findings

Pre-Islamic History and Berbers

The textbooks depict much pre-Islamic and non-Moroccan history, such as the civilisations of the Egyptians and Greeks. Indeed, the textbook points out that the khamisa (also known as the Hand of Fatima), henna, cous cous and the burnus (traditional long cloak), central elements of contemporary

Moroccan culture, were brought to Morocco by the Carthaginians (*Civics*, Grade 6, 2005: 26; *Civics*, Year 1, Middle School, 2007: 29). This incorporates the Carthaginians into the national historical discourse and places the beginnings of the Moroccan cultural identity in the pre-Islamic epoch.

The textbooks first reference the Berber kingdoms as defenders of Morocco during the Roman invasion, in one chapter entitled "The Arrival of the Romans and Berber Resistance—Roman Monuments in Morocco" (*Civics*, Grade 6, 2005: 27–30), and another chapter entitled "Ancient Morocco: Berber Kingdoms and Resistance to Rome" (*Civics*, Year 1, Middle School, 2007: 30–34). The genealogies of two Berber kingdoms are illustrated, and timelines of their reigns are included in latter chapter (ibid: 30). In this way, Berbers are incorporated into the national narrative while recognising their pre-Islamic identity and assigning them an important role in Moroccan history. This is the first depiction of a large European invasion in the textbooks and, since the Berbers are portrayed as Morocco's defenders, the Romans are thus perceived as the enemy. Yet it seems to be a safe choice of Other: portraying an empire that no longer exists as an enemy entails little risk of antagonising or alienating people today.

The Post-Islamisation Period of Moroccan History and the Berbers

The first mention of an independent Moroccan Islamic state occurs in the context of the establishment of the Idrisid Dynasty 789–985 (*Civics*, Grade 6, 2005: 46–49 and *Civics*, Year 2, Middle School, 2004: 8–11). References are made to Berbers in their role of helping Moulay Idris establish the first independent Moroccan Islamic state; this once again depicts the Berbers as having an important function in national history, thereby cementing their place in the national discourse.[12] The source texts are largely taken from Moroccan history books. The establishment of the first Islamic state marks the beginning of the Islamic Moroccan collective memory and a Moroccan state in the nationalist discourse while reiterating the place of the Berbers in the national narrative. Berber history is also presented in a chapter on "Maps of the commercial routes of Almohads" (*Civics*, Grade 6, 2005: 41–44) on the Almohads and the Almoravids describing their respective reigns as the "heydays" of the Moroccan State (*Civics*, Year 2, Middle School, 2004: 12–16).[13] In the following chapter, entitled "The Decline of Jihad and the Beginning of the Battle of Retreat", the fall of the Almoravids is presented (*Civics*, Year 2, Middle School, 2004: 17–21) followed by a chapter on Iberian raids on Morocco (*Civics*, Year 2, Middle School, 2004: 22–26).

Moroccan Independence and the Berbers

The textbooks locate the beginnings of the Independence process in the 1930s after the passing of the Berber Decree (*Modern History*, Year 2, 2007/8: 168–179). It is portrayed as a nationalist movement for reform, incorporating much of Moroccan society and culture and transitioning from calls for greater autonomy into a movement for full independence. The textbook includes, for example, an excerpt from a newspaper describing how the French separated the Berber from Sharia and took power from the government. Another excerpt describes the passing of the Berber Decree as the ignition for the nationalist movement. Once again, the Berbers are incorporated into the Moroccan identity in discourses of national identity and independence.

Thus, the history of the Berbers, both pre-Islamic and post-Islamic, is firmly embedded in the textbooks' national narrative. It is often presented in the context of European hostility towards Morocco, where Berbers are depicted as the nation's defenders and helpers. This may serve to promote the unifying of the different ethnic populations of Morocco in the discourse improving the stability of the state since the Berber population represents a large minority or almost half of the Moroccan population.[14]

The History of the Arab-Islamic World

The history of the Arab-Islamic world is presented in the within the context of Moroccan history, Maghribi history and then the history of the rest of the Arab world, usually in less detail than the Moroccan and Maghribi history. Interestingly, a chapter entitled "A Modern State in Greater Maghrib and the Arab Orient. The Model of Morocco" contains a map depicting northern Africa, including Mauritania, Ethiopia, Somalia, Egypt and the Middle Eastern Arab states (*Modern History*, Year 2, High School, 2007: 206). The only state named is Morocco; only the capital cities of the other states (except for smaller states) are marked on the map. However, everywhere else on the map—and there is a large part of Africa illustrated—is left blank with no borders and no names. The illustration is accompanied with the caption "Morocco within the Arab World". Given this caption, the omission of the names of sub-Saharan African states is not remarkable, but fact that no borders are shown suggests that African identity does not feature in the discourse on national identity at all in the textbooks. Furthermore, there is hardly any history of sub-Saharan Africa in the textbooks except in the context of imperialism in one chapter (*History*, Year

1, High School, 2006: 80) and the context of the emergence of the Third World after the dissolution of colonialism (*Modern History*, Year 2, High School, 2007: 133), and both are quite general. There is no sub-Saharan history depicted in the textbooks for before or after these periods.

Middle Eastern history in the textbooks alludes to the history of Israel and Palestine. All three chapters on this (one in *Civics*, Year 3; one in Middle School, Year 3, 2005; and one in *Modern History*, Year 2, High School, 2007) are entitled "The Palestinian Issue/Cause" (the Moroccan goverment website refers to it as both a cause and an issue, see http://www.maroc.ma/en/news/palestinian-fm-praises-hm-kings-pioneering-role-palestinian-cause), with the first and third having the subheading, "The Arab Israeli Struggle". The chapters comprise little or no text written by the authors of the textbooks, consisting instead of pages of text excerpts, images, timelines etc. (*Civics*, Year 3, Middle School, 2005: 55–59; *History*, Year 2, 2007: 102–110; *History*, Year 2, 2007: 197–205). In the list of works cited as sources at the end of one chapter called "The Palestinian Issue", there are books written by Arab authors published in various countries such as Lebanon and Israel, as well as French authors (ibid: 110). The third chapter on this theme entitled "The Palestinian Issue: The Arab-Israel Struggle" lists Arabic works published Cairo, Tunis and Beirut and two Palestinian websites as sources. Most of the maps are from 1947, 1948 and 1967 in these chapters and show, for example, lands described as "seized/occupied/annexed" (Arabic *istawala*) by the state of Israel. There is one map showing the territory in 1948 and 1982 and although areas are marked with different colours, and the colours are given as keys beside the map, the text for these keys has been not been printed; however, this appears to be an error on the part of the editor (*History*, Year 2, 2007: 204).

Much of the information is presented in timelines, documents and photos and students are instructed to complete tasks such as, "observe the stages of the Arab-Israeli struggle and figure out the present scope of the Palestinian issue …" (*Civics*, Year 3, Middle School, 2005: 55). The images include a photo of Faris Odeh, an image that has assumed an iconic status within the Palestinian territories as a symbol of opposition to the area's occupation by Israel, with the caption: "Intifada Children [sic!] with Stones" (*History*, Year 2, 2007: 197), photos of tents in a refugee camp (*Civics*, Year 3, Middle School, 2005: 58 taken from *Encarta*) and a photo of Palestinians on a hill aiming guns at what could be a settlement with the caption "Palestinian Resistance to Israel's Occupation 1948" (*History*, Year 2, 2007: 199). Later a similar image of stone throwing youths is used underlining a narrative of oppression in the discourse

(*History*, Year 2, 2007: 203). However, as an image of Palestinians on a hill aiming guns at what could be a settlement is also presented, it can be argued that the depiction of the issue is not overtly tendentious.

Morocco is incorporated into the textbooks' discourse on Israel-Palestine through an image depicting participants of the Twelfth Arab League Summit in Fez in 1982 (*History*, Year 2, 2007: 202) on the same page as an image of President Bill Clinton standing behind Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin during negotiations at Camp David. The result of the summit was a statement calling for the creation of an independent Palestinian state and recognition of the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The statement also affirmed the right of all the states of the region to live in peace. Once again there is no accompanying text so this is therefore open to the interpretation of the instructors and students. It can, however, be argued that Morocco's role in this process is depicted as notable. The fact that there are three chapters on this topic and that Fez is highlighted as the setting for negotiation means that it has a position of relevance in the national narrative; no other contemporary Middle Eastern territory or history is presented in as much detail.

The Depiction of (Moroccan) Jews

Although there is a chapter on religions entitled "Religions in Ancient Civilisations between Polytheism and Monotheism" with a description of all three monotheistic religions (*Civics*, Grade 6, 2005: 35–39), the only other mention of Jews as a homogenised group, Moroccan or otherwise, occurs in the above-mentioned chapters on Israel and Palestine. Even then, there is no use of the term "the Jews", but rather the "Jewish state" or Israel. The history of Moroccan Jews is not mentioned in the textbooks, thereby excluding them from the discourse on national identity in this media. It must, however, be noted that Moroccan Jews are not excluded from official discourse elsewhere. In January 2014, for example, King Muhammad VI appealed to both Moroccan Jews and Muslims to pray for rain (http://www.timesofisrael.com/morocco-king-asks-jews-to-pray-for-rain/). The preamble of the 2011 constitution mentions an enriching Hebrew influence on Moroccan identity. During World War II, Sultan Muhammad V defied Vichy by not sending Moroccan Jews to France on the grounds of their being Moroccan citizens. Indeed he invited Moroccan Rabbis to Throne Day celebrations, cultivating a rhetoric of Moroccan Jews being no different to other Moroccans. Yet, the ommission of the Holocaust in the chapters on World War II in *Civics* (2005) and *Modern History*

(2007/08) leaves much open to discussion. This could, on the one hand, be interpreted as a sort of denial—as it has been (http://www.un.org/en/holocaustremembrance/docs/paper27.shtml). However, on the other hand, the fact that a speech was read out on behalf of King Muhammad VI at a ceremony launching the "Aladdin Project" (an initiative of the Paris-based Foundation for the Memory of the Holocaust whose objective is to raise awareness of the genocide among Muslims) would refute this claim.

Interestingly, some of the sources of information and literature used in the textbooks come from Jewish individuals. Moroccan Jewish authors are included such as Germain Ayache and Albert Ayache, a historian who was also at one stage arrested by colonial powers (e.g. *History*, Year 2, 2007/08: 88). In this sense, the textbooks do incorporate the Jewish element of Moroccan identity indirectly into the discourse.[15] With regard to official discourse elsewhere, it has been argued (Schroeter 2008) that a Moroccan Jewish component of national identity is incorporated into official discussion. The preamble of the 2011 constitution as well as actions of Kings Muhammad VI and Muhammad V in the past would also confirm this.

The History of the West

The history of the West presented in the textbooks is mainly European, which is not surprising considering Morocco's past: Moroccan dynasties ruled parts of the historical al-Andalus; it was a Protectorate for 44 years and was involved in World War II. This involvement is described as their "contribution" in the textbooks. Events in Europe had been having massive repercussions for Morocco and the rest of Maghrib and Middle East for centuries. For example, after the Reconquista in the Middle Ages, Muslims and Jews fled to Morocco and other Muslim states. The sheer volume of the European history depicted in the textbooks (almost half of all the history presented) means that only a selection will be discussed here.

The chapter on colonial "exploitation" provides some useful insight into Morocco's discourse on Europe. While the chapter entitled "Morocco: Colonial Exploitation in the Era of the Protectorate" portrays the modernisation of Morocco through images of buildings, trains, airports, harbours, dams, mining, mass agriculture and children being educated, other graphs depict the profits that the colonial power made from such areas as agriculture and mining (*History*, Year 2, High School, 2007: 82–93). This chapter therefore highlights both exploitation and a progression towards becoming a modern industrial state. This portrayal of modernity as somewhat ambivalent is a key concept in the discourse on contemporary

Morocco: even more modern but similarly ambivalent images are presented in chapters on the Alawi dynasty.

There is further ambivalence in the depiction of historical confrontations between the Islamic world and the West, for example, during the Crusades. This information is presented in a chapter comprising four pages, consisting largely of maps, excerpts and tables (*Civics*, Year 1, Middle School, 2007: 70–75). The title of the chapter, "The Crusades: Confrontations and Contact between the Civilisations", is intriguing in its juxtaposition of the neutral word "contact" with the more controversial term "confrontations". The non-violent elements of this period are highlighted: one table in the chapter presents words that were imported into European languages as a result of the contact, such as cotton, algebra and alcohol (ibid: 73), while another image depicts a Muslim and Christian playing chess in a tent (ibid). The only explicit mentions of Christians as a homogenised group in the textbooks appear in this chapter and another on religion, which provides no more than an overview of Christianity. In the chapter on the Reconquista it is specifically the "Christian Monarchs", that is, the Catholic Monarchs, who are mentioned (*Civics*, Year 2, Middle School, 2004: 22–26). The European history in the textbooks, whether involving Morocco and the Islamic world or not, never refers to "the Christians" as a homogenised group; instead they are referred to by their respective nationalities. Therefore, there is no explicit discourse on "Christians"—it is rather on Europe, and the attitude towards Europe appears somewhat ambivalent.

World War II

The depiction of World War II focuses on the role of the then sovereign Muhammad V in events such as the Anfa conference and the hosting of this historical meeting between Roosevelt, DeGaulle and others in Casablanca. The image of Muhammad V and his son the later King Hasan II with the other world leaders is recurrent in the books (e.g. *Modern History*, Year 2, 2007/8: 59) and is also used on the cover of one of the books (ibid). The Moroccan contribution to World War II is depicted in detail, using tables with numbers on troops and volumes of grain, vegetables and so on ("Morocco's Contribution to World War II" in: *History*, Year 2, 2007/8: 57–63). These are accompanied by images of Moroccan troops fighting for the French and receiving honours, and images of signs in French bakeries declaring that there is no bread. These underline the necessity and relevance of Morocco's contribution to the Allied Forces fight again Vichy and Hitler.

At the same time, the use of the word *musāhama* (participation) combined with the citation of a letter from Sultan Muhammad V read out in all mosques in 1939 proclaiming solidarity with France and urging Moroccans to assist France (*History*, Year 2, 2007/8: 58) places Morocco on an equal standing with the forces involved. Moreover, it also serves to validate the pro-Western narrative presented in the discourse.

The Alawi Dynasty

There are many chapters on the Alawi dynasty in the textbooks. The keywords used in the depiction include unification, colonisation, Morocco's contribution to World War II (*History*, Year 2, High School, 2007: 57), independence (*History*, Year 2, High School, 2007: 168), reform and modernity (*History*, Year 2, High School, 2007: 206–211). Above all, the discourse on the ruling dynasty stresses links between Morocco and Europe while promoting the idea of a unifying, reformative modern monarch and state. It therefore seems fitting to ask how the discourse in the textbooks presents contemporary Morocco to the reader.

The title of one chapter sums up how the textbooks portray modern Morocco: "A Modern State in Greater Maghreb and the Arab Orient. The Model of Morocco" (*History*, Year 2, High School, 2007: 206–211). This chapter lists the many modern features of the Moroccan state, such as the constitution, its United Nations Membership, its parliament, human rights and the setting up of different foundations like the Muhammad VI Foundation for Solidarity. By including this in a narrative on Morocco today, the country is presented as a modern democratic state that has international relations and strives for human rights. The title of this chapter also provides insight into the discourse on Moroccan identity. Morocco identifies with the Maghreb and then the Arab Orient, but the African component is not included.

Conclusion

Moroccan national identity as presented in the discourse in the textbooks comprises elements from Morocco's pre-Islamic past, but is deeply rooted in an Arab-Islamic narrative. Further, with regard to the rest of the Arab world—the discourse places Morocco within the context of greater Maghrib and then the Arab world, but not Africa or the non-Arab-Islamic world. Morocco does not subscribe to pan-Arabism. Perhaps this is because pan-Arabism finds some of its origins in socialism and secularity,

which is not compatible with the form of state in Morocco where a king claiming Sharifian lineage is the sovereign. Moreover, a pan-Arabic discourse would also explicitly exclude the Berbers. However, there is perhaps an inherent pan-Arab discourse as opposed to an overt pan-Islamic discourse in the texts especially when considering the content of history presented. The Islamic history in the books is limited to history of Arab regions and not to the wider Islamic realm. While there are a number of chapters on the Ottoman Empire, possibly because they ruled much of the Arab world except for Morocco, there is little to nothing on Modern Turkey, Iran or Afghanistan. There is no mention of the larger Muslim populations in present-day Pakistan or Indonesia, for example, even within the context of colonialism, either. This means that Arabic, the sacred language of Islam, unites Morocco with the Arab-Islamic world, but not, it would seem, with the non-Arabic-speaking Islamic world.

With regard to the national discourse and the Berbers, the narrative includes the history of the Berber population and there seems to be no explicit Othering of Berbers in the discourse on national identity. The history of pre-Islamic Berber kings such as Bocchus, king of the historic Mauritania, is included in the textbooks while greater Africa is not part of the discourse on national identity. Berbers are presented as integral to the collective "we" through their role in defending Morocco against the Romans, the establishment of the Islamic state and the independence process.

With regard to the West, much emphasis is placed on European history. The discourse on collective groups are not overtly negative; the mention of "the Christians" as a homogenised group only occurs in the short chapter on the Crusades and the textbooks highlight non-negative aspects of the confrontation such as Arabic loanwords while presenting images of Muslims and Christians in a non-violent context. This displaces an emphasis on the violence of the Crusades. The account of the Romans is perhaps where a form of Othering could be interpreted, but, as mentioned above, it could also serve more a homogenising role in the context of the Berbers and, given that Rome no longer exists, this would be a safer form of Othering in relation to contemporary Moroccan relations with the Europe and the West.

The discourse on Jewish people and Israel is complex. Again, there is no mention of "Jewish people" as a homogenised group and there is no text written on Israel by the authors of the textbooks. The students are encouraged to observe and draw conclusions. At the same time, it could be argued that there is a certain angle to the textbook narrative evident in the images of tanks and stone-throwing Palestinian children and refugee camps. There is no text attached to such images apart from descriptive captions, yet the

maps depicting this territory add ambiguity to the textbook's narrative. Moroccan Jews meanwhile are entirely overlooked, except in the sources, as is the Holocaust. On the other hand, given that Morocco is almost always incorporated into the history depicted in the books and the Holocaust is not, de facto, Moroccan history, it may not be deemed relevant for the nationalist rhetoric framing the discourse. Nevertheless, even if Schroeter is correct when he argues that Jewish people are "sunk deeply into Maghrib soil", they are treated differently to the Berber minority in that they are excluded from the narrative of Morocco's national history in their textbooks. Whether this suggests that Moroccan Jews are depicted as an Other is debatable: the textbooks do not identify and isolate them as such, but the textbooks do not include information about the history of Moroccan Jews or their contribution to Moroccan society either.

Ultimately, the construction of the Other in Moroccan textbooks is far from clear. It would seem that the discourse on national identity is careful in its portrayal of (non-)Moroccan history. By using quotes and texts, documents, images and tables taken from other sources while avoiding the use of written texts by the authors of the textbooks, any distortions in the depictions apparently become primarily the responsibility of others. The Moroccan nationalist discourse in the textbooks avoids emphasising internal plurality, echoing the concept of a post-colonial totalising process that entails a relentless press towards homogeneity while at the same time promoting the pro-Western politics of Morocco's monarch. There are no explicit depictions of strangers and enemies in the discourse and, as such, the Moroccan national identity is not explicitly defined by the construction of an Other. Finally, it seems that the last line of the national anthem does indeed present a framework for an approach to defining Moroccan national identity and is generally in agreement with the findings here. According to the narrative in the textbooks, Moroccan national identity can be summed up with the synonyms of Muslim, citizen and subject—although perhaps not in that order.

Notes

1. The Alawis have been in power, with the exception of the two years of exile during the Protectorate since the seventeenth century. See A. K. Bennison, 2014, *ʿAlawī dynasty* in P. Bearman et al. (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, Brill Online. Retrieved on 14 September 2016 from http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/alawi-dynasty-SIM_0072?s.num=156&s.rows=100&s.start=80.

2. See statistics on UNICEF website. Retrieved on 14 September 2016 from http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/morocco_statistics.html
3. Mostly American designations have been taken here as they were found to be the most fitting translation.
4. Emile Toma (1919–1985) was a Palestinian political historian and philosopher.
5. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/66367?redirectedFrom=exordium#eid
6. Data on numbers and percentages with regard to the Berber population vary greatly. Fatima Sadiqi (1997), for example, maintains that Berber is the mother tongue of almost half of the Moroccan population: the official Moroccan census of 2004 published by several Moroccan newspapers gave the following figures: 34 per cent of people in rural regions spoke a Berber language and 21 per cent in urban zones making the national average 28.4 per cent or 8.52 million.
7. L'Institut Royal de la Culture established Amazighe under royal decree (*dahir*) number 1-01-299. Located in Rabat, it has legal and financial independence from the executive branch. It can also make recommendations about the education of the Berber languages in Moroccan public schools that are, however, not legally binding for the government. Its responsibilities include: the maintenance and development of the Berber language; the inclusion of the Berber language in the Moroccan educational system and the reinforcement of the status of Berber culture in Moroccan society.
8. During the colonial period, there was a policy of separate education for Berbers to minimalise the influence of orthodox Islam in the Middle Atlas. See Segalla 2009. Segalla cites Burke 1972. After independence, this policy was no longer implemented.
9. Berber rights were also part of the platform of the so-called February 20 Movement. See P. Karber 2012, *Fear and Faith in Paradise: Exploring Conflict and Religion in the Middle East*, p. 258.
10. http://www.maroc.ma/en/content/national-holidays-religious-holidays
11. See J. Zafrani, 2014, "Judaeo-Berber", in P. Bearman et al. (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Second Edition, Brill Online. Retrieved on 14 September 2016 from http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/judaeo-berber-SIM_3726
12. Idrīs b. ʿAbdallāh (r. 172–5/789–91), eponym of the Moroccos first dynasty, the Idrīsids (r. 172–375/789–985) and founders of Fez. See S. O'Meara, 2014, "Fez, city of, history and art and architecture" in G. Krämer et al. (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Third Edition, Brill Online. Retrieved on 14 September 2016 from http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/fez-city-of-history-and-art-and-architecture-COM_27112

13. The word "Almohad" derives from the word *al-Muwaḥḥidūn*, a word that means "followers of the doctrine of the divine unity". They were a Muslim Berber dynasty that ruled large areas of North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula between 1121 and 1269. See M. Shatzmiller, 2014, *al-Muwaḥḥidūn* in P. Bearman et al. (eds), *Encycopaedia of Islam,* Second Edition.

    The Almoravids were a Berber dynasty who ruled large territories of the Maghrib and the Iberian Peninsula between 1040 and 1147. See, R. A. Messier, "Almoravids", 2014, in G. Krämer et al. (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Third Edition. Retrieved on 14 September 2016 from http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/almoravids-COM_22934
14. For a study on older Moroccan textbooks (published 1995–1996) that includes an analysis of discourse on the Almohad dynasty, see Maye-Saidi 2007, "The historical al-Andalus in Spanish and Moroccan secondary school history books", *History of Education & Children's Literature*, 2(2): 17–44.
15. According to C.R. Pennell, 2000, *Morocco since 1830: A history,* New York: New York University Press pp. xviii, Germain Ayache was a "Frenchman who took Moroccan citizenship after Independence". On the other hand, J. Baida writes that he was born into a Jewish family in Berkane to a family that had French citizenship: "Ayache, Germain", 2013, in N. A. Stillman (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*. Brill Online. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/ayache-germain-SIM_0002640 (accessed 14 September 2016).

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