

# Noura the Explorer

## Including Children in Morocco's Democratic Process

Haley | Larson



Brief No. 9.5

The Project on International Peace and Security © 2017  
All rights reserved.

Please direct inquiries to:  
The Project on International Peace and Security (PIPS)  
Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations  
The College of William and Mary  
427 Scotland Street  
Williamsburg, Virginia 23185  
tele. 757.221.1441  
fax. 757.221.4650  
[pips@wm.edu](mailto:pips@wm.edu)

Electronic copies of this report are available at [www.wm.edu/pips](http://www.wm.edu/pips)

# The Project on International Peace and Security

---

Launched in 2008, the Project on International Peace and Security (PIPS) is an undergraduate think tank based at the College of William and Mary. PIPS represents an innovative approach to undergraduate education that highlights the value of applied liberal arts training to producing the next generation of foreign policy analysts, leaders, and engaged citizens.

PIPS is premised on two core beliefs: (1) rigorous policy-relevant research is a core component of a student's education; and (2) when guided by faculty and members of the foreign policy community, undergraduates can make meaningful contributions to policy debates; their creativity and energy are untapped resources. To this end, PIPS each year selects six research fellows and six research interns. Research fellows identify emerging international security challenges and develop original policy papers. Research interns support the work of the fellows and learn the craft of conducting policy research and writing briefs.

For more on PIPS, visit [www.wm.edu/pips](http://www.wm.edu/pips).

Amy Oakes  
Dennis A. Smith  
Co-directors

Noura the Explorer  
Including Children in Morocco's Democratic Process

APRIL 2017

Haley Larson

# Noura the Explorer

## Including Children in Morocco's Democratic Process

*Although Middle East analysts often point to Morocco's governance as a democratic model for the region, top-down reform has restricted broad political participation in the Kingdom. A growing youth population and limited outlets for non-violent political expression could lead to a more violent uprising than the Moroccan protests in 2011. This policy paper proposes the development of a children's cartoon series, created by Moroccan youth organizations, that introduces democratic values to promote peaceful civic engagement. A bottom-up approach focused on educating children at an age when most political socialization occurs will foster a lasting culture of democracy in Morocco.*

### **Introduction**

Despite calls to end corruption and absolutism, King Mohammad VI still maintains full control over the Moroccan political system. U.S. officials have lauded Morocco for its nominal democratic transition; however, Morocco's undemocratic practices risk inciting another Arab uprising. The United States has encouraged strong political parties and a robust civil society in Morocco, but its efforts have overlooked the importance of children as civic participants. If reform is to be bottom-up, then reform must take place at the base of society—children—so that Moroccans can impart democratic ideals to younger generations. To educate children about democracy, this policy paper advocates for a cartoon series developed by Moroccan youth, with assistance from U.S. non-governmental organizations (NGOs), that highlights the importance of civic participation on a micro-level, tailored to Moroccan culture.

### **An Illiberal Government Hiding Under Liberal Reform**

Morocco has been deemed a “model” and “leader” of political reform in the Middle East, despite the persistence of absolutist rule.<sup>1</sup> Although the monarchy responded to the 2011 protests by passing a series of constitutional reforms, substantive change has not been achieved according to both Moroccans and outside observers.<sup>2</sup> The monarchy has prevented meaningful political participation—where citizens can influence and engage in politics—through formal constitutional restrictions as well as informal means rooted in corruption and centralization of power.

## *Unconstrained Constitutional Monarchy*

The February 20<sup>th</sup> movement of 2011 demanded political reforms, such as reducing the king's power and ending corruption.<sup>3</sup> King Mohammad VI responded to the protesters' concerns by establishing a new constitution that nominally conceded to the people's demands, but in practice the king relinquished none of his power. Furthermore, the committee tasked with creating a new constitution was comprised of 18 civil servants and led by a pro-autocratic constitutional law professor, all of whom have a history of supporting the king.<sup>4</sup> Each of the constitution's revisions highlight the committee's pro-monarchy bias and undercut prospects for authentic democratic reform.

- *Prime minister as a figurehead.* As of 2011, the king is required to choose a prime minister from the party with the most votes in parliamentary elections.<sup>5</sup> Prior to this law, King Mohammad selected a prime minister from any party.<sup>6</sup> Among a landscape of 34 parties, no one leader can possibly wield enough influence to sway the king from his platform.<sup>7</sup> King Mohammad and his predecessor further restricted influence by co-opting party leaders.<sup>8</sup> The prime minister only serves as the king's consultant, leaving national decision-making in the monarch's control.<sup>9</sup>
- *A restricted parliament.* First, the king has the power to dissolve parliament at any time.<sup>10</sup> While the dissolution of parliament would be a radical move, recent delays in government coalition talks have highlighted the possibility of recalling parliamentary elections.<sup>11</sup> Second, Article 64 in the constitution forbids any parliamentarian from speaking of Islam or the monarchy itself, thereby ensuring loyalty to the king.<sup>12</sup> Finally, the parliament is mainly a symbol of democratic participation, as Article 73 states that any law is subject to amendment by royal decree.<sup>13</sup>
- *King's judiciary influence.* King Mohammad's last major concession was the creation of an independent judiciary.<sup>14</sup> However, the king still presides over the judiciary and can now choose half of the magistrates, an increase of ten percent from the previous constitution.<sup>15</sup> Article 107 also states that, "The King is the guarantor of the independence of the judicial power," giving constitutional backing to the king's presiding role over the judiciary.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to political concessions, King Mohammad also officially recognized Tamazigh as a national language and guaranteed women full legal equality with men.<sup>17</sup> But these concessions are not enough to allow for meaningful political participation. Even though Article One of the Constitution claims that "Morocco is a constitutional, democratic, parliamentary, and social Monarchy," strong executive authority continues to limit any significant movement toward democracy.<sup>18</sup>

## *Informal Barriers to Political Participation*

Beyond constitutional restrictions, informal practices also constrain political participation. These long-held practices contribute to the Moroccans' loss of confidence in politics.<sup>19</sup>

- *Unelected officials.* The *makhzen*, otherwise known as “the deep state,” refers to the monarch’s inner circle of unelected officials who have influenced monarchical decision-making since the Cold War.<sup>20</sup> The *makhzen* paid people to counter-protest those who were demonstrating against King Mohammad’s constitutional reforms in 2011.<sup>21</sup> In 2013, the *makhzen* played an integral role in parliamentary coalition negotiations and cabinet appointments, and some political parties closely tied with the *makhzen* have gained influence at the expense of other parties.<sup>22</sup> Most recently, the *makhzen* are believed to have interfered in the 2016 coalition negotiations, resulting in a four-month deadlock and government inactivity.<sup>23</sup>
- *Bribery at all levels of government.* Bribery is rampant in Morocco. Moroccans often bribe officials for identification certificates and permits.<sup>24</sup> In 2013, a survey found that “82 percent of Moroccans believe the state is corrupt, and 91 percent say personal connections are the key to finding employment.”<sup>25</sup> Moreover, in leaked government documents, officials bribed foreign diplomats to gain support for their position on the Western Sahara.<sup>26</sup> In the October 2016 elections, political parties were also found to have bribed voters.<sup>27</sup>
- *Tradition of autocracy.* Since Morocco’s independence, the monarchy has exercised authoritarian rule and promoted loyalty to the king. In 1993, print media began to call for democratic reform under King Hassan II, only to be met with strict censorship.<sup>28</sup> King Mohammad continues to imprison political dissidents, perpetuating the fear experienced by older Moroccan generations.<sup>29</sup> While many chose to break down this “barrier of fear” in 2011, many Moroccans continue to recognize their king as “sacred” due to 24/7 broadcasting of the king on public television, yearly celebrations renewing the people’s allegiance to the king, and a constitutional statute defining the king as “inviolable.”<sup>30</sup>

These informal barriers are rooted in corruption and have fostered a mindset that political change is not possible. However, this mindset has eroded over the years, as evidenced by the 2011 demonstrators who demanded an end to unjust rule despite government retaliation.

## **Channeling Unrest While Expanding Opportunities**

*[In the West] the “flower power” seeds that were planted in the 1960s and 1970s needed some time to grow. A couple of decades later, their underlying values have become mainstream in the West. Of course, the analogy has its limits, but in the greater scheme of things, something comparable is happening in the Arab world.*

-Ahmed Benchemsi, 2015<sup>31</sup>

Every president from Ronald Reagan to Barack Obama outlined democracy promotion as a top priority of U.S. national security strategy.<sup>32</sup> President Donald Trump has not yet released a national security strategy, but his early campaign and administration rhetoric do not prioritize democracy promotion.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, democracy promotion remains a key part of U.S. national

identity, which transcends formal government practices. Political NGOs will be the most important driver in democratic development abroad for both security and strategic purposes.

### *Potential for Violent Arab Uprisings*

Discontent and instability is brewing across the Arab world. By 2020, “three out of four Arabs could be ‘living in countries vulnerable to conflict,’” according to the United Nations.<sup>34</sup> The Arab youth population is rapidly growing, along with associated political and economic marginalization, thus increasing the potential for youth unrest.<sup>35</sup> The UN report also warns that Arab governments’ efforts to quell unrest “may achieve temporary stability and ward off cycles of protest, but [do] not reduce the possibilities of their recurrence—it may lead to the accumulation of these demands and their re-emergence more violently.”<sup>36</sup>

Morocco has been no exception to protests since the Arab uprisings. The death of a fish seller in October 2016 triggered massive protests in major cities, calling for an end to the makhzen and the need for justice.<sup>37</sup> Just this year, protesters in Rabat marked the anniversary of the February 20<sup>th</sup> protests by demonstrating against the government.<sup>38</sup> The Moroccan monarchy, like other Arab regimes, has become more repressive since the initial Arab uprisings, further inciting discontent.<sup>39</sup> Protests have largely been peaceful, but as police continue to meet dissent with force, civilians may turn to violence to achieve their demands.<sup>40</sup> U.S. NGOs can assist Moroccans calling for political rights and prevent the country from devolving into the next Syria or Yemen.

### *Positive Environment for NGO Influence*

Morocco’s emphasis on development and engaged civil society make the country an attractive investment for NGOs.

- *Importance of human development.* Morocco uses an effective three-pronged approach to combat terrorism: bolstering security, emphasizing tolerant Islam, and promoting development opportunities.<sup>41</sup> Development efforts seek to curb terrorism at its source by mitigating issues such as poverty and social marginalization.<sup>42</sup> While U.S.-based NGOs cannot greatly influence security and religious efforts, groups can partner with Moroccan-based NGOs focused on promoting social inclusion.<sup>43</sup>
- *History of U.S.-Morocco cooperation.* Many February 20<sup>th</sup> activists have created Moroccan civil society organizations (CSOs) focusing on cultural and democratic development.<sup>44</sup> The constitution allows NGOs and CSOs to operate freely, and the monarchy has demonstrated its tolerance by permitting the Theatre of the Oppressed, Democratic Angass Movement, and the Prometheus Institute for Democracy and Human Rights to act in society.<sup>45</sup> The American Embassy and USAID have implemented projects with Moroccan-based CSOs and NGOs dedicated to democratic reform, youth development, and arts projects.<sup>46</sup> Cooperation between U.S. and Moroccan groups,

including the respective governments, provides a strong foundation for further development.

- *Regional influence.* The kingdom has recently joined the African Union (AU) to expand its economic opportunities and advance its security interests.<sup>47</sup> Additionally, King Mohammad has relentlessly pursued relations with East and West Africa in an effort to strengthen diplomatic ties.<sup>48</sup> Over the past 17 years, Morocco has made numerous trade agreements with African countries and invests heavily in the continent.<sup>49</sup> U.S. NGOs can benefit from Morocco's regional influence, as the country can serve as a more effective model of democratic governance in North Africa.

Morocco provides a favorable environment for NGOs, but repression and absolutism still need public attention and calls for change. While branches of the U.S. government offer programs for civil society development in Morocco, NGOs have their own advantages. The nonpartisanship of NGOs resonates more with youth who are disillusioned by the regime's shallow reforms. Additionally, because NGOs are apolitical, their intentions are less likely to be misconstrued. NGO messages are also more salient than other deliverers, because they typically favor a targeted approach, offering local solutions to local problems. Although democracy promotion may not be part of the U.S. government's agenda, NGOs and similar organizations can provide peaceful, impactful opportunities to channel discontent and desire for democratic change in Morocco and the broader Arab world.

## **Foundation for Democratic Reform**

The strength of a country's educational infrastructure and civil society influences the success of democratic reform. Washington and U.S.-based NGOs have worked closely with Morocco to support education and political development. These efforts provide the basis for a new, targeted democratic approach.

### *U.S. Educational Assistance in Morocco*

USAID has supported Morocco's commitment to education, which is foundational in promoting an understanding of democratic values. For nearly two decades, King Mohammad has improved Morocco's education system by creating teacher training centers, improving school curriculums, and raising school enrollment rates at all levels of education.<sup>50</sup> To help Morocco advance their education agenda, USAID works to improve literacy rates among children and enhance existing teacher training programs.<sup>51</sup>

U.S.-based education NGOs have a limited presence in Morocco, but have the opportunity for expansion. For example, Moroccan citizens have highlighted the need for better textbooks and higher quality schools.<sup>52</sup> A positive development by the Moroccan government involves the mandated incorporation of a citizenship course for all curriculums from grades four to nine.<sup>53</sup> The course must include elements related to democracy. That said, the intended effects are

undermined by a lack of teacher training on the subject matter and materials that do not encourage critical thought.<sup>54</sup> International NGOs such as Camfed, BRAC International, and the Arab Campaign for Education for All provide educational tools to help children succeed in a number of developing countries, but U.S.-based NGOs are lacking in this regard.<sup>55</sup> USAID has laid the groundwork for more successful democratic reform in Morocco, but NGOs can act in more significant ways to spur such change in Moroccan society.

### *U.S. Civil Society Support in Morocco*

In addition to strengthening education, USAID cooperated with the monarchy to build stronger relationships between civil society and government, as well as to develop robust political parties.<sup>56</sup> To stimulate broad political participation, USAID launched the four-year-long, \$17.3 million Civil Society Strengthening program in 2015, which builds upon the successes of USAID's Strengthening Advocacy and Networking to Advance Democracy program, which was completed in 2012.<sup>57</sup> The project aims to facilitate dialogue between civil society organizations and government, while also reinforcing civil society organizations' ability to influence policy.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, USAID has partnered with Moroccan political parties to develop party agendas that are more reflective of citizens' desires, as well as more inclusive of women and youth.<sup>59</sup>

A variety of U.S.-based NGOs and NPOs have prioritized democracy development and civic engagement efforts in Morocco. The National Endowment for Democracy, National Democracy Institute, and International Republican Institute often partner with the State Department. Their initiatives include conferences and workshops aimed at promoting civic participation, youth and women's inclusion, and strengthening political parties and CSOs.<sup>60</sup> Groups that are more independent of the U.S. government have taken a targeted approach, such as Counterpart International and Search for Common Ground. Counterpart International works solely to strengthen CSOs, holding conferences to bridge the gap between CSOs and government.<sup>61</sup> Search for Common Ground takes a more creative approach in civic engagement—the group produces a TV show, *The Team*, to promote tolerant and peaceful social attitudes among marginalized groups.<sup>62</sup>

USAID and NGOs recognize the importance of promoting civic education. However, past efforts have excluded children, who are more likely to sustain attitudes in the long term and are more likely to be socialized through mass media.<sup>63</sup>

## **Democracy: A Matter of Evolution, Not Revolution**

*This problem comes from the way the regime raises its children. [...] It results in a citizen who is always afraid, who is passionate about opinions that aren't even his.*

—Younnes Belghazi, a February 20<sup>th</sup> Activist, 2011<sup>64</sup>

This white paper recommends a children's cartoon that discusses and illustrates broad democratic values as envisioned by Moroccan society. By teaching shared history, values, and

knowledge of government processes to children from a local perspective, civic education can unite citizens under a common ideology.<sup>65</sup> Beyond a shared set of values, civic education also increases the likelihood of political engagement.<sup>66</sup> This recommendation does not seek to promote an alternative government. Rather, the cartoon strives to inspire a generation of children to build a system of governance that guarantees space for robust civic participation, holds the government accountable to the people, and provides individual rights and freedoms.

### *Key Elements of the Cartoon*

The cartoon will be developed by Moroccan activists for a Moroccan audience, with minimal U.S. influence. Content will aim to generate critical thinking about broad democratic norms that are not only central to any democratic government, but also have long been championed by youth, NGOs, and Human Rights groups in Morocco. U.S.-based NGOs should work with Moroccan groups to facilitate technological production and distribution of the show.

- *Target audience.* The show will be geared towards children under the age of 15, with the aim of appealing to both children and adults to establish an intergenerational dialogue. U.S. foreign policy already focuses on Moroccan youth, traditionally defined as ages 15-29, through the Favorable Opportunities to Reinforce Self-Advancement for Today's Youth program discussed above. Thus, this cartoon seeks to target the only age group excluded from past governance efforts.
- *Content development.* Moroccan youths should drive the creation of the cartoon because of their political activism and firsthand knowledge of local problems. During the Moroccan uprising of 2011, youth were the largest age group to advocate for democratic governance; thus, they will continue to be the largest proponents of democratic reform. Additionally, because Moroccan youth are raised in Morocco, they can better identify issues relevant to Moroccan children.<sup>67</sup> Some Moroccan youth have previously received training in cartoon illustration to depict issues in contemporary Moroccan society.<sup>68</sup> Broad themes discussed in the show can include: conflict resolution, respect, tolerance, equality, and individual freedoms.
- *Creation of the show.* U.S.-based NGOs can recruit youth by asking eligible artists to submit their designs via Facebook or other online platforms. The Moroccan Center for Civic Education, the Democracy and Modernity Collective, and other Moroccan NGOs committed to democracy development and political engagement could also assist with recruiting artists. After artists have been chosen, U.S.-based NGOs can work with the selected artists and activists to develop the show. Contributors would then air the show on Facebook and YouTube, which are popular in Morocco.<sup>69</sup> Project employees can expand their audience through various forums, such as comic books, coloring books, gaming apps on tablets, and puppet shows.

Morocco's child population, youth political engagement, and infrastructure provide the necessary foundation for a children's cartoon of this sort. NGOs must ensure that the cartoon is locally-developed and reflective of Moroccan culture, identifiable by all Moroccan children.

## *Children and Political Socialization*

Most political socialization occurs during elementary school age.<sup>70</sup> By the first year of primary school, students are already familiar with political knowledge and values of citizenship—and can even develop political orientations.<sup>71</sup> By 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> grade, most students have developed stable political views, but specific political knowledge has been shown to increase with age.<sup>72</sup> Parents have a major effect on their children’s politics, but external influences can also shape a child’s views.<sup>73</sup>

Moroccan parents do not typically see themselves as “educators,” instead allowing teachers to fill this role.<sup>74</sup> This attitude presents an opportunity for children’s educational development within the home. Moroccan parents encourage their children to watch educational cartoons, such as *Dora the Explorer*, for its bilingual teachings.<sup>75</sup> Because parents already value cartoons as an educational tool, parents would likely support a cartoon that teaches children lessons on civic engagement.

Research has shown that cartoons are an effective way to learn material because they are based not on memorization, but rather on critical thinking.<sup>76</sup> Visuals, when combined with humor and text, promote the transmission of information through stimulation and better hold the attention of young children.<sup>77</sup> These combined effects allow cartoons to instill in children broad democratic values fundamental to developing robust, participatory governance over time.

### *Meena Cartoon: Proof of Concept*

UNICEF created the *Meena* cartoon in 1998 to improve the condition of women in South Asia. *Meena* is an inquisitive young girl who embarks on new adventures while questioning her environment. Through these adventures, *Meena* addresses topics such as women’s education, HIV/AIDS, sex trafficking, and abuse.<sup>78</sup> In 2004, UNICEF evaluated *Meena* viewers’ awareness of issues being portrayed in the show.<sup>79</sup> Over half of all viewers, both children and adults, in Nepal, Pakistan, and Bangladesh were aware of habits highlighted in the cartoon after being exposed to *Meena*.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, a 2002 study conducted in Nepal revealed that *Meena* viewers incorporated at least one behavioral change after being exposed to the program—the most common among the changes includes attending school regularly.<sup>81</sup> *Meena*’s strong evaluation indicates positive results after being exposed to a cartoon designed to encourage societal change.

## **Potential to Export the Model**

Like the *Meena* cartoon, the Moroccan cartoon model can be exported regionally, after being tailored to each specific country and dialect. Algeria, Jordan, and Tunisia are the best-suited countries for this model, given their relative openness to democratic reform, large child populations, absence of internal wars, and high Internet penetration rates.<sup>82</sup>

- *Candidate 1: Algeria.* Like Morocco, Algeria's government is run by an elite circle of politicians and advisors.<sup>83</sup> Unlike Morocco, however, Algeria could potentially face a power vacuum with the impending death of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, as well as declining profits from oil.<sup>84</sup> The centralization of the Algerian government, combined with rampant corruption and electoral fraud, has left many Algerians feeling alienated and marginalized.<sup>85</sup> Youth dissatisfaction with the government highlights the need for a long-term, grassroots project, such as a youth-created, democratic values-based cartoon.
- *Candidate 2: Jordan.* Despite electoral reform in 2016, Jordanians have accused the monarchy of not being fully committed to democracy.<sup>86</sup> Corruption still exists, and restrictions on freedom of expression limit political reform.<sup>87</sup> Jordan's loose restrictions on NGOs, in addition to friendly U.S.-Jordanian relations, provide the space necessary to influence society.<sup>88</sup> Jordan faces another source of instability, unlike Algeria and Morocco, due to the spillover from the Syrian civil war.<sup>89</sup> Nonetheless, long-term democratic reform should be the priority for Jordan given its prominence in the region and potential for political instability.
- *Candidate 3: Tunisia.* As the only country to successfully depose their dictator and initiate a democratic transition, Tunisia emerged from the Arab uprisings as a symbol of hope for the region. Tunisians have implemented a new constitution that grants citizens diverse freedoms.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, Tunisians now freely elect their parliament and president.<sup>91</sup> While the reforms seem promising, 71 percent of Tunisians believe the country is headed in the wrong direction, but a majority also thinks of democracy in positive terms.<sup>92</sup> U.S. NGOs can transmit democratic values to younger audiences through a cartoon highlighting democratic Tunisian principles.

Morocco, Algeria, Jordan, and Tunisia differ culturally and politically, but they share common issues that have sparked youth discontent. These issues can be addressed via a children's cartoon to promote gradual and peaceful change towards authentic democracy.

## Conclusion

Moroccan youth must adjust their strategy if they want to continue encouraging democratic change. Electoral reforms and monitoring are not enough to ensure long-term democracy—groups must relay the importance of democracy to a younger audience to foster strong, positive beliefs in the face of injustice and oppression. Growing discontent in Morocco and the larger Arab world creates the possibility for another set of more violent protests. U.S.-based groups can assist Moroccans in a non-intrusive, creative manner that allows Moroccans to take agency over their work and transmit principles to the next generation of leaders. Without relying on parents or teachers, a television character can teach children how to seize the next opportunity for social change.

- 
- <sup>1</sup> Hillary Clinton, *Secretary Clinton Delivers Remarks at the U.S.- Morocco Strategic Dialogue*, posted by "U.S. Department of State," YouTube video, 7:20, September 13, 2012, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_3aPjwmVzWY](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_3aPjwmVzWY).
- <sup>2</sup> National Democratic Institute, *Citizens Express Their Priorities: Moroccan Citizens' Views and Preferences Ahead of the 2016 Parliamentary Elections*, report, 2016, [https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/%20Morocco%20Focus%20Group%20Report%20\(English\).pdf](https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/%20Morocco%20Focus%20Group%20Report%20(English).pdf). Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, "Is Morocco Immune to Upheaval?," *Middle East Quarterly* 19, no. 1, (Winter 2012): 90-92.
- Ghafar, Adel Abdel, and Anna L. Jacobs. "Morocco: The king's dilemma." Brookings. March 02, 2017, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/03/02/morocco-the-kings-dilemma/>.
- <sup>3</sup> Adria Lawrence, "The mixed record of Morocco's February 20 protest movement," *The Washington Post*, February 20, 2016, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/02/20/the-mixed-record-of-moroccos-february-20-protest-movement/?utm\\_term=.3561f2e4a4ba](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/02/20/the-mixed-record-of-moroccos-february-20-protest-movement/?utm_term=.3561f2e4a4ba).
- Ilhem Rachidi, "Inside the movement: what is left of Morocco's February 20?," *Middle East Eye*, February 25, 2015, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/in-depth/features/what-left-morocco-s-february-20-movement-857852436>.
- <sup>4</sup> Ahmed Benchemsi, "Morocco: Outfoxing the Opposition," *Journal of Democracy* 23, no. 1 (January 2012): 58.
- <sup>5</sup> "Q&A: Morocco's referendum on reform," BBC News, June 29, 2011, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13964550>.
- <sup>6</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>7</sup> Benchemsi, "Morocco: Outfoxing the Opposition," 63.
- <sup>8</sup> Anna Khakee, "Democracy aid or autocracy aid? Unintended effects of democracy assistance in Morocco," *The Journal of North African Studies*, (January 2017): 3, 4, 5.
- <sup>9</sup> Benchemsi, "Morocco: Outfoxing the Opposition," 64.
- <sup>10</sup> Morocco World News, "Insights on Morocco's Actual Governmental Crisis," Morocco World News, January 22, 2017, <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2017/01/206304/insights-moroccos-actual-governmental-crisis/>.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>12</sup> "Morocco's Constitution of 2011," Constitute Project, May 23, 2016, [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Morocco\\_2011.pdf?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Morocco_2011.pdf?lang=en).
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>14</sup> Benchemsi, "Morocco: Outfoxing the Opposition," 65.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>16</sup> "Morocco's Constitution of 2011," Constitute Project, 29.
- <sup>17</sup> "Q&A: Morocco's referendum on reform," BBC News.
- <sup>18</sup> "Morocco's Constitution of 2011," Constitute Project, 4.
- <sup>19</sup> Ahmed El Amraoui, "Moroccan elections: Disappointing voter turnout," Al Jazeera, October 23, 2016, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/10/moroccan-elections-disappointing-voter-turnout-161007140007092.html>.
- <sup>20</sup> Saad Eddine Lamzouaq, "Morocco's New Government: 'The Makhzen' is Running the Show," Morocco World News, October 14, 2013, <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2013/10/108651/moroccos-new-government-the-makhzen-is-running-the-show/>.
- Hisham Al-Miraat, "Showdown in Morocco," *Foreign Policy*, May 26, 2011, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/05/26/showdown-in-morocco/>.
- <sup>21</sup> *My Makhzen & Me*, dir. Nadir Bouhmouch, vimeo, 29:35, February 17, 2012, <https://vimeo.com/36997532>.
- <sup>22</sup> Lamzouaq, "Morocco's New Government."
- <sup>23</sup> "Who can unblock Morocco?" *The Economist*, January 26, 2017, <http://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21715657-talks-forming-new-government-have-stalled-who-can-unblock-morocco>.
- "Morocco's PJD restricts government to parties in previous coalition," *Middle East Monitor*, March 03, 2017, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20170303-moroccos-pjd-restricts-government-to-parties-in-previous-coalition/>.
- <sup>24</sup> National Democratic Institute, *Citizens Express Their Priorities*.
- <sup>25</sup> Ursula Lindsey, "'Til Kingdom Come," *The Nation*, November 11, 2016, <https://www.thenation.com/article/til-kingdom-come/>.
- <sup>26</sup> Freedom House, "Western Sahara," Country report: Freedom in the World 2015, <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2015/western-sahara>.
- <sup>27</sup> Youness Bermime, "Why Are Morocco's youth boycotting the elections?," *The Moroccan Times*, October 03, 2016, <http://themoroccantimes.com/2016/10/20954/why-are-moroccos-youth-boycotting-the-elections>.

---

<sup>28</sup> Jonathan Smolin, *Moroccan noir: police, crime, and politics in popular culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 41.

<sup>29</sup> Lawrence, "The mixed record of Morocco's February 20 protest movement."

Freedom House, "Morocco," Country report: Freedom in the World 2016, <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2016/morocco>.

<sup>30</sup> Wendy Pearlman, "Narratives of Fear in Syria," *Perspectives on Politics* 14, no. 1 (March, 2016): 26.

Ahmed Benchemsi, "Ahmed Benchemsi - From Subtle Dictatorship to Subtle Revolution," video, 12:07, posted by "Oslo Freedom Forum," June 8, 2011 [mhttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y0UIagNNMhw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y0UIagNNMhw).

Benchemsi, "Morocco: Outfoxing the Opposition," 61.

<sup>31</sup> Ahmed Benchemsi, "Arab Liberalism is Alive and Well, Thank You," Free Arabs, February 22, 2015, <http://www.freearabs.com/index.php/ideas/102-stories/2166-jb-span-arab-liberalism-jb-span-is-alive-and-well>.

<sup>32</sup> Barack Obama, *National Security Strategy* (Washington, DC: The White House, February 2015), 20, <http://nssarchive.us/national-security-strategy-2015/>.

Barack Obama, *National Security Strategy* (Washington, DC: The White House, May 2010), 37, <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2010.pdf>.

George W. Bush, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, DC: The White House, March 2006), 31-32, <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2006.pdf>.

George W. Bush, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, DC: The White House, September 2002), 21, <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2002.pdf>.

William J. Clinton, *A National Security Strategy For A Global Age* (Washington, DC: The White House, December 2000), 44-45, <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2001.pdf>.

William J. Clinton, *A National Security Strategy For A New Century* (Washington, DC: The White House, December 1999), 25, <http://nssarchive.us/national-security-strategy-2000-2/>.

William J. Clinton, *A National Security Strategy For A New Century* (Washington, DC: The White House, October 1998), 33, <http://nssarchive.us/national-security-strategy-1998/>.

William J. Clinton, *A National Security Strategy For A New Century* (Washington, DC: The White House, May 1997), 22, <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1997.pdf>.

William J. Clinton, *A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement* (Washington, DC: The White House, February 1996), 32-34, <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1996.pdf>.

William J. Clinton, *A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement* (Washington, DC: The White House, February 1995), 22-24, <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1995.pdf>.

William J. Clinton, *A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement* (Washington, DC: The White House, July 1994), 19, <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1994.pdf>.

George H.W. Bush, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Washington, DC: The White House, January 1993), 6, <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1993.pdf>.

George H.W. Bush, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Washington, DC: The White House, August 1991), 14, <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1991.pdf>.

George H.W. Bush, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Washington, DC: The White House, March 1990), 9, <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1990.pdf>.

Ronald Reagan, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Washington, DC: The White House, January 1988), 4, <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1988.pdf>.

Ronald Reagan, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Washington, DC: The White House, January 1987), 5, 9, <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1987.pdf>.

<sup>33</sup> Thomas Carothers, "Prospects for U.S. Democracy Promotion Under Trump," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, January 5, 2017, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2017/01/05/prospects-for-u.s.-democracy-promotion-under-trump-pub-66588>.

<sup>34</sup> "Another Arab awakening is looming, warns a UN report," *The Economist*, November 29, 2016, <http://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21710934-arabs-make-up-just-5-worlds-population-they-account-about-half>.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> *Arab Human Development Report 2016*, Regional Bureau for Arab States, United Nations Development Program, 2016, 8, [http://www.arabstates.undp.org/content/rbas/en/home/library/huma\\_development/arab-human-development-report-2016--youth-and-the-prospects-for-/](http://www.arabstates.undp.org/content/rbas/en/home/library/huma_development/arab-human-development-report-2016--youth-and-the-prospects-for-/).

- 
- <sup>37</sup> Aida Alami, "Morocco's Al-Hoceima protests reflect 'a heavy legacy'" Al Jazeera, November 01, 2016, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/11/morocco-al-hoceima-protests-reflect-heavy-legacy-161101061913733.html>.
- <sup>38</sup> Ahmed Zakarya Mitiche, "Morocco's February 20 movement: 'Demands still alive'" Al Jazeera, February 22, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/02/morocco-february-20-movement-demands-alive-170222063934604.html>.
- <sup>39</sup> Kenneth Roth and Ahmed Benchemsi, "Morocco's Smiling Face and Heavy Hand," Human Rights Watch, November 09, 2015, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/11/09/moroccos-smiling-face-and-heavy-hand>.  
"Morocco: Protests Violently Dispersed," Human Rights Watch, January 18, 2016, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/01/18/morocco-protests-violently-dispersed-0>.  
"27 injured as police clash with protesters in Morocco," Middle East Monitor, February 07, 2017, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20170207-27-injured-as-police-class-with-protesters-in-morocco/>.
- <sup>40</sup> "Morocco: Thousands March for Reform," Human Rights Watch, February 22, 2011, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2011/02/20/morocco-thousands-march-reform>.  
Abdellah Tourabi, "The Protests That Erupted In Morocco After Fishmonger's Death Restore Hope," The Huffington Post, November 03, 2016, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/abdellah-tourabi/the-protests-that-erupted\\_b\\_12786506.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/abdellah-tourabi/the-protests-that-erupted_b_12786506.html).
- <sup>41</sup> Samir Bennis, "How Morocco Became a World Leader in Combatting Terrorism," Morocco World News, November 26, 2015, <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2015/11/173579/how-morocco-became-a-world-leader-in-combatting-terrorism/>.
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>43</sup> World Bank, *Morocco - National Initiative For Human Development Support Project (INDH)*, (Washington, DC: World Bank Group, 2014), 2, <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/817541475092702301/Morocco-National-Initiative-For-Human-Development-Support-Project-INDH>
- <sup>44</sup> Dörthe Engelcke, "Morocco's Changing Civil Society," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, January 7, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/?fa=62417>.
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>46</sup> "Expanding the Reach and Voice of Civil Society in Morocco," MSI Worldwide, July 11, 2013, <http://www.msiworldwide.com/project/expanding-the-reach-and-voice-of-civil-society-in-morocco/>.  
Ruqayyah F. Ali, "Urban Arts and the Youth of Morocco," *Morocco: Field Studies in Journalism and New Media*, Paper 3, (2013): 5, <http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/moj/3>.
- <sup>47</sup> Habibulah Mohamed Lamin, "What's on Morocco's agenda as it rejoins African Union?," Al Monitor, February 12, 2017, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/02/morocco-agenda-join-african-union.html>.
- <sup>48</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>49</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>50</sup> Arne Hoel, "Maintaining Momentum on Education Reform in Morocco," World Bank, September 11, 2013, <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2013/09/11/maintaining-momentum-on-education-reform-in-morocco>.
- <sup>51</sup> "Education: Morocco," U.S. Agency for International Development, December 7, 2016, <https://www.usaid.gov/morocco/education>.
- <sup>52</sup> GEM Report, "Citizenship Education in Morocco: How civil society organizations can help," World Education Blog, February 15, 2017, <https://gemreportunesco.wordpress.com/2017/02/15/citizenship-education-in-morocco-how-civil-society-organizations-can-help/>.  
Majid Dardour, "Moroccan Education: Problems and solutions," Morocco World News, May 28, 2013, <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2013/05/92534/moroccan-education-problems-and-solutions/>.  
Ezzoubeir Jabrane, "Moroccan Education: Problems and solutions," Morocco World News, October 15, 2016, <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2016/10/199052/moroccos-ministry-education-address-issue-overcrowding-schools/>.
- <sup>53</sup> GEM Report, "Citizenship Education in Morocco."
- <sup>54</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>55</sup> "Success Stories," Arab Campaign for Education for All, 2017, <http://arabcampaignforeducation.org/page-600-en.html>.  
"About Us," Camfed- Campaign for Female Education , 2017, <https://camfed.org/>.  
"What We Do," BRAC International, 2015, <http://www.bracinternational.nl/en/2012-09-12-06-32-12>.
- <sup>56</sup> "Democracy and Governance: Morocco," U.S. Agency for International Development, December 7, 2016, <https://www.usaid.gov/morocco/democracy-and-governance>.

- 
- <sup>57</sup> "Civil Society Strengthening Program (CSSP) Fact Sheet: Morocco," U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), August 8, 2016, <https://www.usaid.gov/morocco/fact-sheets/civil-society-strengthening-program-cssp>. *Evaluation of USAID/Morocco Civil Society Advocacy Project (SANAD)*, report, Regional Partnership on Culture and Development, USAID Middle East, September 2, 2012, 4-5, [http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf\\_docs/pdacw258.pdf](http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/pdacw258.pdf).
- <sup>58</sup> "CSSP Fact Sheet," USAID.
- <sup>59</sup> "Building Responsive and Representative Political Parties Fact Sheet: Morocco," U.S. Agency for International Development, August 8, 2016, <https://www.usaid.gov/morocco/fact-sheets/building-responsive-and-representative-political-parties>.
- <sup>60</sup> "Morocco 2016," NED: National Endowment for Democracy, 2016, <http://www.ned.org/region/middle-east-and-northern-africa/morocco-2016/>.
- "Morocco: Overview," NDI: National Democratic Institute, January 18, 2017, <https://www.ndi.org/middle-east-and-north-africa/morocco>.
- "IRI and NDI Launch Women's Campaign Training in Morocco," IRI: International Republican Institute, March 21, 2009, <http://www.iri.org/resource/iri-and-ndi-launch-women%E2%80%99s-campaign-training-morocco>.
- "IRI Hosts Political Party Youth Training in Morocco," IRI: International Republican Institute, February 18, 2009, <http://www.iri.org/web-story/iri-hosts-political-party-youth-training-morocco>.
- "More Than 200 Youth Organizations Join IRI's Generation Democracy," IRI: International Republican Institute, October 28, 2015, <http://www.iri.org/resource/more-200-youth-organizations-join-iri%E2%80%99s-generation-democracy>.
- <sup>61</sup> "Civil Society Strengthening Program in Morocco 2015-2019," Counterpart International, 2017, <http://www.counterpart.org/civil-society-strengthening-program/>.
- "First-of-its-Kind Civil Society and Local Government Conference in Morocco," Counterpart International, January 16, 2017, <http://www.counterpart.org/first-kind-civil-society-local-government-conference-morocco/>.
- <sup>62</sup> "The Team: Morocco," Search for Common Ground, 2014, <https://www.sfcg.org/programmes/cgp/the-team-morocco.html>.
- <sup>63</sup> Eric F. Dubow, L. Rowell Huesmann, and Dara Greenwood, "Media and Youth Socialization: Underlying Processes and Moderators of Effects," in *The Handbook of Socialization*, ed. Grusec and Hastings, (New York, NY: Guilford Press, 2006), 404-405.
- <sup>64</sup> Younnes Belghazi, *My Makhzen & Me*, dir. Nadir Bouhmouch, vimeo, 34:16, February 17, 2012, <https://vimeo.com/36997532>.
- <sup>65</sup> Meira Levinson, "Benefits of Civic Education: Increased Equality and Narrowed Civic Empowerment Gap," In *Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools*, ed. Jonathan Gould, (Philadelphia, PA: Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics of the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania and the Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, 2011), 12, 13, 15.
- <sup>66</sup> Levinson, "Benefits of Civic Education," 6, 17, 39.
- <sup>67</sup> Rachidi, "Inside the movement."
- <sup>68</sup> UNESCO, "Moroccan Youth Sketch Their Vision of Society," United Nations- Office of the Secretary General's Envoy on Youth, July 21, 2016, <http://www.un.org/youthenvoy/2016/07/mark-get-set-draw-moroccan-youth-sketch-vision-society/>.
- <sup>69</sup> Larbi Arbaoui, "Morocco Ranks 4th of African Countries in Numbers of Facebook Users," Morocco World News, February 07, 2014, <https://www.morocroworldnews.com/2014/02/121967/morocco-ranks-4th-of-african-countries-in-numbers-of-facebook-users/>.
- TNS, *Arab Social Media Report*, report, Arab Social Media Influencers Summit (2015), 4, 21, 42, <http://www.dmc.ae/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/ArabSocialMediaReport-2015.pdf>.
- <sup>70</sup> M. Kent Jennings and Richard Niemi, "Patterns of Political Learning," *Harvard Educational Review*, 38, no. 3 (September 1968): 444.
- <sup>71</sup> This particular study was conducted in Germany, a Western democracy. Although Morocco's political system differs significantly from Germany, the psychological development of children applies universally. Political socialization Jan W. Van Deth, Simone Abendschön, and Meike Vollmar, "Children and Politics: An Empirical Reassessment of Early Political Socialization," *Political Psychology* 32, no. 1 (2011): 147.
- <sup>72</sup> Jennings and Niemi, "Patterns of Political Learning," 445, 456.
- <sup>73</sup> Elias Dinas, "The Long Shadow of Parental Political Socialization on the Development of Political Orientations," *Forum (2194-6183)* 12, no. 3 (October 2014): 397.

---

In terms of external influences, research shows that children who watch *Sesame Street* are more aware of inclusivity and tolerance. The program's messaging has been adapted to promote peace in conflict-prone regions, such as Palestine and Israel, and has achieved positive results.

Lee Hockstader, "A Bumpy Ride on 'Sesame Street,'" *The Washington Post*, November 9, 1999, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/WPcap/1999-11/09/080r-110999-idx.html>.

Alia Wong, "The *Sesame Street* Effect," *The Atlantic*, June 17, 2015, <https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2015/06/sesame-street-preschool-education/396056/>.

<sup>74</sup> Gail L. Zellman, Michal Perlman, and Rita Karam, "How Moroccan mothers and fathers view child development and their role in their children's education," *International Journal Of Early Years Education* 22, no. 2 (2014): 198.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Eker and Karadeniz, "The Effects of Educational Practice with Cartoons on Learning Outcomes," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 4, no. 14 (2014): 224-225.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 224.

<sup>78</sup> "Meena Communication Initiative," UNICEF South Asia - Media centre, [https://www.unicef.org/rosa/media\\_2479.htm](https://www.unicef.org/rosa/media_2479.htm).

Paul Chesterton, *Evaluation of the Meena Communication Initiative*, report, Unicef Regional Office for South Asia (Kathmandu, 2004), 13, [https://www.unicef.org/evaldatabase/files/ROSA\\_2004\\_800\\_Meena\\_Comm\\_Initiative.pdf](https://www.unicef.org/evaldatabase/files/ROSA_2004_800_Meena_Comm_Initiative.pdf).

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 55-56.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 56-57.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>82</sup> "The World Factbook: ALGERIA," Central Intelligence Agency, January 12, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ag.html>.

"The World Factbook: JORDAN," Central Intelligence Agency, January 12, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/jo.html>.

"The World Factbook: TUNISIA," Central Intelligence Agency, January 12, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/jo.html>.

<sup>83</sup> "Still waiting for real democracy," *The Economist*, May 12, 2012, <http://www.economist.com/node/21554565>.

<sup>84</sup> Robert Looney, "Does Algeria Still Have Time to Turn It Around?," *Foreign Policy*, September 23, 2016, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/09/23/does-algeria-still-have-time-to-turn-it-around-bouteflika/>.

<sup>85</sup> Eleanor Beardsley, "In Rich Algeria, Youth Face Meager Future," *NPR*, June 01, 2011, <http://www.npr.org/2011/06/01/136854232/in-rich-algeria-youth-face-meager-future>.

Amir Jalal Zerdoumi and Carlotta Gall, "Discontent Swells as President of Algeria Seeks a Fourth Term," *The New York Times*, April 13, 2014, <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/14/world/africa/discontent-swells-as-president-of-algeria-seeks-a-fourth-term.html>.

Freedom House, "Algeria," Country report: Freedom in the World 2016, <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2016/algeria>.

<sup>86</sup> "Clashes erupt at pro-reform protest in Jordan," *Al Jazeera*, July 15, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/07/2011715131426955192.html>.

Sean Yom and Wael Al-Khatib, "How a new youth movement is emerging in Jordan ahead of elections," *The Washington Post*, September 14, 2016, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/09/14/how-a-new-youth-movement-in-jordan-is-emerging-ahead-of-elections/?utm\\_term=.99eee57bce46](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/09/14/how-a-new-youth-movement-in-jordan-is-emerging-ahead-of-elections/?utm_term=.99eee57bce46).

<sup>87</sup> Freedom House, "Jordan," Country report: Freedom in the World 2016, <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2016/jordan>.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Seth J. Frantzman, "Jordan Feeling Syrian War's Strain," *The National Interest*, May 2, 2016, <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/jordan-feeling-syrian-wars-strain-16013>.

<sup>90</sup> Christian Caryl, "Tunisia's Glorious Confusion," *Foreign Policy*, August 11, 2016, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/08/07/tunisia-glorious-confusion/>.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.