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# Aiding Neocolonialism? Moroccan NGOs, International Actors, and Questions of Autonomy in Human Rights Advocacy

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Aiding Neocolonialism? Moroccan NGOs, International Actors, and Questions of Autonomy in

Human Rights Advocacy

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### Abstract

As development studies have challenged the traditional narrative of Western “humanitarian work” developing the Global South, concerns have been raised about the shifting roles of NGOs as they are incentivized to depoliticize and professionalize in a market dominated by foreign aid. Given the legacy of colonialism and the emergence of systems of domination such as the non-profit industrial complex, NGOs have been explored as a potential avenue of neocolonialism. Based on background research, general observations and interviews with representatives of local non-governmental organizations based in Rabat, this project examines how local organizations advocating for their communities view their relationships with international actors, whether through funding or program implementation, and what they envision as effective, empowering approaches in their work. The purpose of the project is to center the voices of local organizers in exploration of how local NGOs navigate the manifestations of these systemic power structures in their human rights activism. This study presents varying perspectives past theoretical ones by engaging with the broad range of ways that local NGOs realistically view their goals, strategies and identities in the context of their interactions with international actors, and how they interact with perceptions of these relationships by other influential entities. This study contributes to the discussion of how these organizations involved in political movements view and maneuver subversion of their autonomy from two sides: both with the historical legacies of foreign interference and the appropriation of critiques of neocolonialism to aid their delegitimization and repression by the Moroccan state.

*Keywords:* Social Sciences, Development Studies, Public and Social Welfare, Peace and Social Justice, Social Work

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### Abbreviations

NGO: non-governmental organization

NPIC: Nonprofit-industrial complex

### **Aiding Neocolonialism? Moroccan NGOs, International Actors, and Questions of Autonomy in Human Rights Advocacy**

In 1956, Morocco achieved independence from France, declaring autonomy from this colonial power. However, declaration of autonomy did not fully eliminate the repercussions of colonialism. The third All-African Peoples' Conference Resolution on Neocolonialism outlined neocolonialism as the "survival of the colonial system in spite of formal recognition of political independence" in which the countries become "victims of an indirect and subtle form of domination."<sup>1</sup> This, they asserted, was the greatest threat to the emerging African nations. The Conference emphasized the "duty of popular, political, syndical, youth and women's organizations to be vigilant" in the struggle against neocolonialism as they realize it is rooted in the "struggle against all forms of opportunism which is the mask of the accomplices of imperialism."<sup>2</sup> One of the many difficulties in disrupting power dynamics set in motion by systems like colonialism and combatting systemic, structural inequalities lies in their startling tendencies to adapt and re-manifest themselves. While a system of domination such as colonialism is more readily observable and tangible, its subsequent manifestations, such as neocolonialism, are more veiled in their effects and mechanisms.

Whether by empires and territories, colonial powers and the colonies, "Third World" terminology which first emerged during the bloc formation of the Cold War, or "developed" versus "developing" economies, subdivisions of the world have historically been rooted in Western-centric perspectives. This divide of the "developed" and "developing" worlds is reinforced by theories of modernization and globalization that have dominated the discourse of development. The traditional narrative of development in previously colonized post-

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<sup>1</sup>*Third All-African Peoples' Conference: Resolution on Neocolonialism*. (1961). Cairo. Retrieved from <https://www.pambazuka.org/global-south/africa-all-african-peoples-conference-statement-neocolonialism>.

independence has been one of Western, affluent nations sending aid and wealth to the “global south,” a category that encompasses nearly two-thirds of the world.<sup>3</sup> However, a deeper look at these interactions disrupts this oversimplification; the Global Financial Integrity and the Centre for Applied Research at the Norwegian School of Economics conducted an analysis of all financial resources transferred from rich to poor countries and found that aid is “effectively flowing in reverse. Rich countries aren't developing poor countries; poor countries are developing rich ones.”<sup>4</sup> While giving the impression of aiding, external influence can counteract its own surface level efforts, draining the very regions it claims as its beneficiaries. Therefore, this oversimplification can be extremely detrimental and highly inaccurate. With this common narrative, it is difficult to determine the less obvious structural implications of international assistance and aid on a society. While individual interactions might not suggest covert agendas and cycles of dependency, interference is not always blatant, especially when misleading conversations dominate the underlying mechanisms of aid and development. Therefore, in returning to the resolution by the third All-African Peoples’ Conference, is the “humanitarian work” conducted throughout the “developing” world by non-governmental organizations one potential arena in which one must remain vigilant of the opportunism they describe? Is it possible that non-governmental organizations in Morocco function as arms of neocolonialism?

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>3</sup> The definition of the “global south” in this context is the following one penned by Jacqueline Anne Braveboy-Wagner in *The Foreign Policies of the Global South: Rethinking Conceptual Frameworks*: “the states that together make up two-thirds of the global community: ‘third world countries’ or, more appropriately today, the ‘countries of the global south.’” (Braveboy-Wagner, 2003, p. 1) However, it is prudent to note that the term “global south” also has been used in academic work by authors such as Nour Dodos and Raewyn Connell to challenge the simplistic view of development and incorporate analysis of geopolitical power relations, as well as the history of colonization, neo-imperialism and socioeconomic inequality. (Dodos and Connell, 2012)

<sup>4</sup> Hickel, J. (2017, January 14). Aid in reverse: how poor countries develop rich countries. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2017/jan/14/aid-in-reverse-how-poor-countries-develop-rich-countries>



This was my initial area of interest: given the historical legacies of colonialism in Morocco, as well as the shifting role of NGOs in Morocco, do neocolonial power structures exist in international aid initiatives in Morocco? If so, how are neocolonial power structures impacted by the relationships between local organizations advocating for human rights and international actors? Although ideology cannot be measured quantitatively in the same manner as aid, trade, and foreign investment, what would a qualitative approach reveal? If international Western organizations do not challenge the underlying structures behind social inequalities that are needed for long-term social change, given the legacy of colonialism, does this lack of action result in a new manifestation of the same power dynamics? How does this, in combination with the shift of accountabilities from communities to donors, impact the struggle for social justice? I was particularly interested in the effects on local organizations and their perspectives in the face of this literature. One can study theories of colonialism and neocolonialism, the opportunism of external agents through foreign aid, or how the non-profit industrial complex has incentivized NGOs to professionalize and depoliticize their actions, shifting roles in society. However, how does one confront this theory in action? How does this play out with organizations with broad ideological goals and specific projects executed to achieve these missions, while also grappling with the realities of these complex power structures in the difficulties of funding, programming and implementation that accompany activism? These inquiries have resulted in my following primary research question:

Given the context of the history of colonization and the position of NGOs in Morocco, how do local organizations view their relationships with international actors in their efforts to advocate for their communities and participate in human rights movements in Morocco?

This main query led me to further ones which I hoped my research could explore: what do local organizations envision as effective, empowering approaches as they work with international

actors in human rights movements in Morocco? Additionally, for organizations working in movements specifically aimed at the practices of the Moroccan government, how do they maneuver these interactions given their tensions with the Moroccan state? Considering the note from the Directorate of Legal Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation on March 27, 2017 asking all diplomatic and consular missions, and international representatives to inform and consult with the MAEC before financing of non-governmental organizations, what are their opinions on the Moroccan government's relationships with international actors?<sup>5</sup> As some of their critics explicitly cite foreign interference when challenging their work in more controversial social issues, when is neocolonialism's tie with foreign funding being considered? Can this rhetoric be categorized as an appropriation or perversion of efforts of the anti-colonialist movement? In the eyes of local organizations, how does the positionality of the critic factor into the societal power structure at play, especially in regard to neocolonialism and foreign funding? I hypothesized that neocolonialism, as with most interlocking systems of domination, is perpetuated in a wide array of arenas, including the NGO sector. I hypothesized that this is related to the pre-existing power dynamics with foreign entities from colonial times, and the maintenance of these structures given the emergence of the non-profit industrial complex and the international aid system, which impact local NGOs' relationships with international actors.

To pursue these questions, I will begin with a critical analysis of the basic theories of development studies, as well as an exploration of neocolonialism, informed by the work of Kwame Nkrumah in "Neo Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism." From here, I will continue on with a brief review of theories of development studies, and NGOs' roles and structure that I argue interact with the legacy of colonialism. This theoretical framework will be

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<sup>5</sup>Bentaleb, H. (2017, April 11). Le financement étranger des ONG passe sous les fourches caudines des Affaires étrangères. *Libération*. Retrieved from <http://www.libe.ma/Le-financement-etranger-des-ONG-passe-sous->

aided by field research through in-depth interview with local NGOs working in different movements to gain an understanding of some of their perspectives and how they interact with these more abstract, structural issues. By combining these various frameworks and theories, my study aims to center the voices of local organizers in exploration of how they navigate the manifestations of these systemic power structures in their activism. This study aims to present varying perspectives past theoretical ones by engaging with the many ways that local NGOs realistically view their goals, strategies and identities in the context of their interactions with international actors, and how they interact with others' perceptions of these relationships.

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[les-fourches-caudines-des-Affaires-etrangeres\\_a85279.html](https://www.les-fourches-caudines-des-Affaires-etrangeres_a85279.html)

### Methodology

To analyze the legacy of colonization in Morocco and its potential intersections with the international aid system through the vehicle of NGOs, I rooted my study in background research of neocolonialism and its mechanisms, in tandem with theories of that challenge traditional narratives of development in a “developing” economy such as Morocco.<sup>6</sup> While these theories often focus on the economic components of development, my research focused on the power dynamics, primarily those at play in relationships between local NGOs and international actors, and incorporating examination of the NGO sector and the international aid system as a whole. To add to this body of background research, I conducted a qualitative study based on in-depth interviews with representatives of local non-governmental organizations based in Rabat, also incorporating general observations considered with historical frameworks. Initially, I hoped to interview a wide array of organizations, in order to gain more understanding of how strategies and outlooks varied in and within various human rights movements. However, as I did anticipate, interviewing these organizations proved to be difficult and this resulted in me interviewing individuals from four organizations: two representatives of L'Association Marocaine des Droits Humains, the President of Azetta Amazigh (Réseau Amazigh pour la Citoyenneté), a representative who is the “primary mover of things” of Fondation Orient-Occident, and a program assistant at Thaqafat Association.<sup>7</sup>

While I also initially hoped to gain more understanding of how these organizations operate within broader networks and the logistical aspects of organizing, with the language barrier and lack of connections, as anticipated, I found it difficult to observe this first-hand and

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<sup>6</sup> Here, Morocco’s classification as a “developing” economy is based on the “World Economic Situation and Prospects 2017,” the United Nations publication. (World Economic Situation and Prospects 2017)

primarily learned about these processes during my in-depth interviews with organization representatives. Nonetheless, I was able to attend events hosted by local NGOs, spend time in their physical spaces, and informally communicate with individuals who were either staff or were involved in the communities of these organizations. Whether by stopping by a cultural event organized by the organization, reviewing Facebook events they promoted, or even observing their Twitter activity regarding current events, I was able to ground my in-depth interviews with participant observations of these organizations, aiding my understanding of their structures and general roles in society.

These interviews and general observations were then analyzed in the context of my background research and theories on development, neocolonialism and the role of NGOs in civil society. I was able to utilize these three components to gain a better understanding of local organization's perspectives and strategies in navigating these complex, systematic power structures.

### **Research Design**

To conduct my qualitative field research, I primarily conduct in-depth interviews with representatives of local NGOs working in human rights movements in Morocco. I used one general set of questions for these organizations; however, questions were altered slightly depending on organization structure (for example: if the organization had a unique method for funding). If I had additional questions that were specific to the individual or organization, these were also a part of the interview process. The broad template questions are included in the appendix of my research paper. Furthermore, for organizations that have specifically been targeted by the Moroccan government or critics for serving foreign agendas and have more

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<sup>7</sup> The phrase "primary mover of things" is quoted from Dr. Taieb Belghazi's term frequently used during

specific perspectives, as I learned about through my participant observations and discussions with my academic director Dr. Taieb Belghazi or my academic advisor, my interviews would include more follow up questions about how the reaction to their work factored into their strategies and ideologies. Additionally, I would typically ask the final questions in my general template only if issues of autonomy and independence and autonomy from donors arose in previous answers, in an effort to avoid leading questions and falsifying my research findings.

My research participants were given a confidentiality agreement form, which is also included in the appendix, before any of the interviews were conducted. I obtained a signature both to recognize that participation was completely voluntary and could be reversed at any time, and another for permission to use audio recordings or transcriptions of interviews in my final research paper. While three of my four in-person interviewees consented to using their names and full quotes in my work, one did not wish to be directly quoted nor recorded and will be referred to as a representative of their organization in the interest of confidentiality. Furthermore, one of my interviewees had a last-minute conflict and could not meet in-person, and instead sent written answers to my primary questions in English, along with a fax of a completed consent form for me to use in my research.

My interviews were all conducted in either French or Arabic, with the help of a translator. My translators were either fellow students on SIT programs here in Rabat, or students from the Université Mohammed V who graciously agreed to help me with my research after meeting in a CCCL activity. During interviews, due to my rudimentary and lacking Arabic and French skills, the translator would pose questions and translate answers one at a time, during which I would take notes based on the English translation and my basic understanding of the languages.

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lectures to reference the countless contributions of Nawal Chaib, the Program Assistant of SIT Morocco: Multiculturalism and Human Rights, to the success and well-being of the entire program.

Furthermore, I utilized audio recordings to review parts of the interviews for more direct quotations and observations of the general sentiments of my interviewees. Audio recordings were only taken with the explicit permission of participants, and will not be used in any manner other than to confirm the direct quotations used from the interview and to ensure translation was accurate.

### **Research Site and Subject Population(s)**

The subject population of my research was members and representatives of local non-governmental organizations based in Rabat. Although I initially thought I might travel to other cities to interview partner organizations of my interviewees, my research ultimately remained within Rabat, which was largely situational and due to the connections and understanding I had developed of the local organizations based in Rabat. Furthermore, many organizations have central offices located in Rabat; while I would have preferred expanding to more local sections outside of the capital, language barrier limited my research locations. Additionally, language barrier and difficulties garnering responses limited my number of interviewees. After sending out five rounds of emails in English and French to about thirty organizations, calling multiple times, stopping by organizations during working hours, or attending an event hosted by the NGO, I was able to secure five interviews; four in-person and one with written answers.

### **Limitations, Assumptions and Ethics**

Although I initially considered doing an in-depth case study of one organization's experiences, I opted to have a broader, more representative array of NGOs and strategies in my research, as this would be more helpful in centering the multitude of perspectives that local organizations espouse on my research topics. However, difficulties in communicating with NGOs and finding interviewees were reinforced by my lacking Arabic and French skills;

although my fellow students in SIT and from Université Mohammed V were extremely generous with their time, difficulty in securing interviews was reinforced by challenges in basic communication.

Additionally, language barrier was my greatest obstacle. Having to conduct any interview with the help of a translator does inherently change the structure of the interview, halting conversation slightly and also putting much on the role of the translator to effectively communicate between the two parties. Furthermore, although it was certainly still possible, engaging in genuine conversation through a third party did add another layer of difficulty to the process, especially when discussing the more sensitive aspects of the research questions. While I was extremely fortunate to be assisted by skillful translators in all of my interviews, this is an important component to keep in mind.

Assumptions that I held prior to beginning my research include the fact that the traditional narrative of aid flowing from the “developed” to the “developing” world is, in fact, a misconception when one considers sheer flow of capital. Additionally, after working in non-profit organizations for the past two summers and witnessing how influential funding is, and how survival for these organizations often arise from unlikely and less than ideal partnerships, I assume that these same factors, as elaborated on in the literature, are at play for NGOs in Morocco as I present my arguments. However, in my field research, I seek to answer the questions of how these very real pressures manifest themselves for local NGOs. Further assumptions that I made with my field research was that the NGOs personnel were at least somewhat free to speak to me about their opinions on relationships with foreign actors. As this work is not to be published, I assumed that pressures of implicating partners and disturbing



fragile relationships could be mitigated for the most part, and that NGO personnel felt free to speak openly.

Additionally, it is far easier to discuss systematic issues like neocolonialism, foreign interference, and autonomy in abstract terms, especially when considering one's goals. If I ask organizations whom they feel most accountable to, it is fairly simple to respond with "the local community." However, I must assume that these goals and priorities, verbalized in my interviews, are actually implemented in their overall philosophies and actions. Therefore, while I hope conflicts of interests are minimized in my research, I also do understand that at the end of the day, these individuals represent organizations with clear priorities, and that they may be unlikely to act against their best interests when speaking to an American student researching the topic of neocolonialism.

For the purposes of my research, I assumed that NGO representatives are answering me truthfully, especially given my various positionalities. I am an outsider attempting to enter their space and question them: an American student studying here in Rabat for the semester. I am unfamiliar with Moroccan society and by no means can claim any true understanding of these human rights movements in the Moroccan context, the historical context of the manifestations of inequality, especially colonialism, or the societal structures that NGOs must navigate as they attempt to reverse these inequalities. My positionality factors into many of the assumptions I held before the ISP period began. I was born and raised in the United States, which has fundamentally shaped how I have been educated; my learning has predominantly been extremely Western-centric, reinforcing these same theories which are critiqued for their simplistic, US and Europe-supremacist modes of thinking. I am the citizen of the most active imperial force on the planet today, although this is not how I was taught to view my nation as I grew up. When

discussing issues of imperialism and colonialism and its subsequent forms that exist today, I cannot ignore how my positionality may color my own perceptions of this issue. One cannot discuss the issue of foreign interference without referencing the United States of America. However, I have also been raised by Pakistani and Indian immigrants in a home very critical of concepts of American exceptionalism; the idea of the United States as a “protector” and “champion” of human rights has never been left unchallenged. As a Western, Muslim, student researcher of South Asian descent and extreme socioeconomic privilege, my various positionalities will no doubt shape my understanding of my surroundings, my observations, my interactions, and my inferences.

I assumed that with the language barrier, aid from translators for interviews in Arabic and French will capture the sentiments of my interviewees (which will be strengthened by review of the interview transcriptions and translations). Additionally, I assumed that by emphasizing confidentiality if preferred and ensuring that interviews are in a safe environment, I would have to work to create an environment in which representatives would feel comfortable and willing to speak with me past the surface level. Furthermore, I am assuming that the representatives of the local NGOs represent at least a portion of local communities. Though marginalized groups who are often deeply entrenched in human rights movements may not always be those with the podiums, so I aimed to center these individuals, whom I hope feel at ease voicing their perspectives, experiences, and opinions, especially if these are often overshadowed.

Consequently, I understood that I would inherently take more than I could give with this research project; another limitation of my work. While I aim to center the voices of local organizers and highlight their perspectives, this work will not be contributing to any policy change or specific aid of the human rights movements that these organizations dedicate their

passion and efforts to supporting. Especially as this project will be limited to my academic institutions, I have nothing concrete to offer in return to my interviewees, who have been exceedingly generous with their time and voices, other than listening and centering them in my work. Especially as a theme in the literature of international non-profits is foreigners entering, gathering information, and never returning, I believe that respect and consideration for the desires of my interviewees is essential. I attempted to mitigate this by being clear about the purpose of my work and the scope of influence (or lack thereof) it would hold from the onset, so that my interviewees could make the decision of how they chose to proceed. Listening was what I could offer, and was what I decided would guide my field research. Although I had an extensive list of questions for each interview, this instead functioned as a starting point. The conversations would move in the direction that NGO representatives organically desired; the point of my research was to hear what was important to them and how they grappled with these very large structures of power while also trying to achieve their organization's goals.

In addition to this imbalance of exchange, the other main ethical dilemmas of my research included confidentiality. I anticipated that if NGO representatives had negative opinions of international partners or groups they are reliant on and must continue working with, I would have to be aware of these sensitive dynamics and ensure that I do not jeopardize the positions of any organizations or their representatives. To avoid this, I very clearly discussed my research topic before interviewing any representatives, and ensured that I clearly understood their expectations of confidentiality, and respected these. As my work revolved around their opinions, perceptions and experiences, and my research did not include any specified vulnerable populations, these were my primary concerns of ethical dilemmas.

Additionally, I believe that is extremely important to verbalize that my findings are by no means representative of the perspectives of all local Moroccan NGOs. In addition to the fact that some of the organizations that I worked with are atypical in structure and mission, tending to be more focused on systematic power structures, I understand that I am an outsider, lacking understanding of many nuances significant to this issue, who conducted research with an extremely small sample. The goal of this research is not to make a broad claim on what local NGO representatives believe; it is to put forth some of the perspectives that I have encountered, in historical and theoretical context. While this work was invaluable to me personally in better understanding the challenges that NGOs maneuver in human rights advocacy, I do not believe that all Moroccan NGOs can be generalized in the same stroke with the frameworks found in the literature, nor that this work even slightly encompasses all of the perspectives that would fall under the category of local NGOs working in the vast array of human rights issues today.

## Literature Review

**Neocolonialism**

Neocolonialism is commonly defined as the use of economic and political policies by a world power to maintain or extend influence over another area or people, particularly in contexts with a legacy of hegemony and dependency.<sup>8</sup> Instead of utilizing the direct military intervention characteristic of imperialism, neocolonialism, the control of countries by "more developed" ones, instead is rooted in tools of international capitalism and globalization that reproduce the exploitation of colonialism by less direct means.<sup>9</sup>

Concepts of neocolonialism were originally explored by Kwame Nkrumah, the first Prime Minister of Ghana, in his 1965 work *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*. Nkrumah writes that neocolonialism revolves around the principle of dividing large expanses of previous colonies into "small non-viable States which are incapable of independent development" and are left dependent on their previous colonizers for defense, security and financial stability as their economic systems remain associated.<sup>10</sup> Nkrumah designates neocolonialism as the "worst form of imperialism."<sup>11</sup> In the era of colonialism, the colonial power had to offer protection to colonies and somewhat justify its actions; however, neocolonialism offers external powers "power without responsibility," subjecting the targets to "exploitation without redress."<sup>12</sup> Its mechanisms are not only through economics, but also in

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<sup>8</sup> Here, neocolonialism is loosely defined based on the first results one would find in the Merriam-Webster and Dictionary.com online dictionaries.

<sup>9</sup> Halperin, S. (2016, March 23). Neocolonialism. Retrieved December 10, 2017, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/neocolonialism>

<sup>10</sup> Nkrumah, K. (1965). *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*,

“political, religious, ideological and cultural spheres.”<sup>13</sup> Additionally, he touches on the inevitable failure of neocolonial aid due to the underlying agenda:

Neo-colonialism is the victim of its own contradictions. In order to make it attractive to those upon whom it is practised it must be shown as capable of raising their living standards, but the economic object of neo-colonialism is to keep those standards depressed in the interest of the developed countries. It is only when this contradiction is understood that the failure of innumerable ‘aid’ programmes, many of them well intentioned, can be explained. [...] It is in the field of ‘aid’ that the rivalry of individual developed States first manifests itself. So long as neo-colonialism persists so long will spheres of interest persist, and this makes multilateral aid — which is in fact the only effective form of aid — impossible.<sup>14</sup>

### Development

Development has been dominated by four primary schools of thought; modernization, dependency, world-system, and globalization.<sup>15</sup> The first two are what has previously dominated development study, especially in Africa. Modernization, listed as an irreversible process that “third world countries” will be “unable to resist” once they are in contact with the West, is a theory with an “attitude of complacency” towards the U.S. and the West.<sup>16</sup> Its many criticisms, including unidirectionality, ethnocentricity, and US-supremacist perception that traditional values and modern values are inherently at odds, lead to its decline of popularity in the end of the 1960s. Dependency theory, combining the “neo-marxist perspective with Keynes economic theory.” Emerging from 1950s scholarship in Latina America, the main points include the following point on development in the “Third World;” “in contrast to development of core nations which is self-contained, this necessitates subordination to the core. Peripheral nations experience the greatest economic development when the ties to the core are weakest.” This theory begins to encompass

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 12

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 7-8

<sup>15</sup> Reyes, G. E. (2001). Four Main Theories of Development: Modernization, Dependency, World-System, and Globalization. *Nómadas: Critical Review of Social and Juridical Sciences*, 4. Retrieved from <https://webs.ucm.es/info/nomadas/4/gereyes1.htm>.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.,

historical analysis of the various power structures that have caused countries to be less “developed” in the first place: such as the exploitation of colonialism. However, this theory is also largely one-directional, and still elevates Western values and processes as the top of the ladder of development, as pointed out by scholars such as AndréGunder Frank in his theories of “underdevelopment.”

The international system’s intersection in development has been further explored by Evans and Stephens, as they write:

“studies of wide range of manufacturing industries reinforce view that north-south eco ties not simply given in structure of the international economy, but also depend on political will and skill of 3rd world states, which in turn depend on patterns of alliance and conflict among local classes and eco groups, as well as on nature of state apparatus itself.”<sup>17</sup>

Analysis of the development in the third world leads us to post-development thought, which “has called for a return to the stress on people as both the measures and the determinants of development. Postdevelopment suspected [foreign] intentions, and neoclassical theory tended to celebrate its perceived demise in a “borderless world.” But the reality is that in a global age, sovereignty has increasingly come to be contested by agents both above and below the state who have gnawed away (often with its consent) at its powers.”<sup>18</sup>

Post-development studies have been explored by Sally Matthews in *Post-Development Theory and the Question of Alternatives: A View from Africa*. In this, she outlines a framework to use that deconstructs this concept of a universal, standard “Third World” that can be analyzed as such, and discusses why these limited views of development must be addressed:

The PWII developmentprojecthas failed not only because it was frequently badly implemented,but also because it was misconceived because it is based on the

<sup>17</sup>Evans, P., & Stephens, J. D. (1988). Studying Development since the Sixties: The Emergence of a New Comparative Political Economy. *Theory and Society*,17(5), 725. doi:10.1007/bf00162617

<sup>18</sup>Rapley, J. (2007). *Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World* (3rd ed.). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 6.

universalization of Western experience, and does not take into account the diversity of experiences, needs and aspirations of those it claims to assist. A dismissal of the PWWII development project must not mean an end to attempts to solve the problems it purported to be able to address (such as poverty, deprivation and inequity), but rather as the pursuit of alternative ways to address these problems.<sup>19</sup>

This is the primary work and theoretical framework I use in my analysis of international aid, along with the work of S. Andreasson in *Orientalism and African Development Studies: the 'reductive repetition' motif in theories of African underdevelopment*, which challenges common tropes that continue to be perpetuated in development studies in non-Western countries.

### **Theoretical Frameworks: Aiding Neocolonialism**

In my work to expand upon the effects of neocolonialism through the vehicle of NGOs, I drew upon Kwame Nkrumah's explanation of neocolonialism and its mechanisms. This exploration was conducted using the ideological frameworks of post-development theory, which incorporates historical context, global power dynamics, and "return[s] to the stress on people as both the measures and the determinants of development."<sup>20</sup> I specifically drew upon the work of Sally Matthews on the "African View of Post-Development Theory" to explore development and NGOs as potential avenues of neocolonialism. The most significant difference between development studies and post-development schools of thought for my analysis is the shift away from the linearity. As is consistent with the mode of capitalism, assessing societies based on how they work for the Western utopia of society fuels the supremacy of Western values and societal structures that neocolonialism operates alongside.

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<sup>19</sup>Matthews, S. (2004). Post-Development Theory and the Question of Alternatives: A View from Africa. *Third World Quarterly*, 25(2), 373-384. doi:10.1080/0143659042000174860, 379.

<sup>20</sup>DeWitt, J. (2000). RAPLEY, JOHN. Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World [Review of the book *Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World*]. *Journal of Third World Studies*, XVII(1), 6.



One of the major critiques of this literature as I proceed with my analysis is the reference to the African view, falsely designating an entire continent as a monolith which can studies as such. Even in Matthews' work, she describes how one of the primary critiques of development theory is its centering of Westernization and how it does not account for the "diversity of experiences, needs and aspirations of those it claims to assist."<sup>21</sup> Matthews even expands upon the "considerable diversity" among African cultures.<sup>22</sup> This basic principle can be extended to the general tendency of the literature to consolidate all of Africa in the same context, which overlooks the immensely different histories, structures, and experiences of nations after gaining independence from colonial powers, as well as how varied these nations' relationships with their previous colonizers are today. In this spirit, I attempt to ground my study of neocolonialism in the Moroccan context specifically, with study of the emergence of NGOs in the name of development, found in the literature and as described to me by my interviewees.

In tandem with this analysis, I refer to Andreasson's work on orientalism and the "reductive repetition" motif to establish the connection between neocolonialism and development in Morocco. As Andreasson notes, Western interest in Africa survived even after the symbolic fall of colonialism with independence. "As Western modernist project has evidently failed to 'successfully' conquer the African continent, the need to insist on Africa's fundamental inadequacies becomes increasingly urgent."<sup>23</sup> This narrative of inadequacy is rooted in reductive thinking, which not only reduces "cultures to a set of essential deficiencies (from the modern perspective), as is evident throughout the colonial and development eras," but also marks any concept "beyond development," such as deglobalizing, as a "counter-productive waste of time"

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<sup>21</sup> Matthews, S. (2004). Post-Development Theory and the Question of Alternatives: A View from Africa. *Third World Quarterly*, 25(2), 379.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*,

given all that marginalized communities face.<sup>24</sup> This consistent pattern of reduction helps lay the groundwork that allows an system like neocolonialism to be perpetuated:

The practice of ‘reductive repetition’, as identified by Abdallah Laroui and Edward Said, has been imported into African development studies from Orientalist scholarship. Reductive repetition reduces the diversity of African historical experiences and trajectories, sociocultural contexts and political situations into a set of core deficiencies for which externally generated ‘solutions’ must be devised. In the field of development studies, the notion of development is introduced to Africa as a *deus ex machina*.<sup>25</sup>

According to Andreasson, this “reductive repetition” which is perpetuated in theories of African underdevelopment can be challenged by three components. Firstly, although rhetoric of racial and cultural inferiority may be retreating from the forefront, tangible discussion and theoretical scholarship maintain the “notion of African deficiency.”<sup>26</sup> Secondly, the concept that this Western concept of development can be replicated anywhere has been debunked on economic, ecological and social grounds. Finally, Andreasson argues that a post-developmental framework which disputes the traditional assumptions of development concerning “rationality, linearity and modernity” can help dismantle this harmful narrative.<sup>27</sup> This is the framework I utilize to theorize the intersections of neocolonialism with international aid system of which NGOs can function as vehicles. This inherent “deficiency” that must be addressed by external Western actors is a legacy carried over from the colonial era; international aid simply serves as the instrument of today. Furthermore, this neocolonial hegemony is simply perpetuated unless challenged by application of post-development theories.

A striking example of how traditional narratives of development, lacking historical context and analysis of underlying systems of domination, render development studies useless

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<sup>23</sup>Andreasson, S. (2005). Orientalism and African Development Studies: the ‘reductive repetition’ motif in theories of African underdevelopment. *Third World Quarterly*, 26(6), 973.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 981.

<sup>25</sup>Andreasson, S. (2005), 971.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.,

and misinforming is demonstrated by the fact that the overall movement of capital has been shown to flow from the “developing” to the “developed world,” despite narratives of “developing” nations being beneficiaries of further “developed” ones.<sup>28</sup> One of Kwame Nkrumah’s foundational points on neocolonialism is that “investment under neo-colonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world.”<sup>29</sup> If capital, through investment, “aid” efforts, or resources is flowing back toward the “developed” world, this offers a manifestation of one of neocolonialism’s primary mechanisms. Therefore, the simplistic narratives of development used in conversations of aid must be problematized; this same framework can be used to analyze the ideological, social and political ramifications of this interaction in the NGO sector. As Krumah wrote, “the methods of neo-colonialists are subtle and varied. They operate not only in the economic field, but also in the political, religious, ideological and cultural spheres.”<sup>30</sup> While capital is the component that is easier to hone in on and collectivize through quantitative analysis, influence is not merely at play in monetary figures. The underlying pressures and agendas at play, as well as the larger, systematic ramifications of Western influence, values and power continuing to play a role in “democratizing” and liberating countries of the global south, all while acting as mechanisms of imperialism and neocolonialism.

NGOs are a particularly important sector to observe. Each individual NGO is incentivized to act in the manner that balances its needs and supports its achievement of its goals; the monetary and sociopolitical support that they need in their human rights advocacy is presented by international actors. Yet, the cumulative impact of foreign funding perpetuates a narrative of needing external entities to enact legitimate change, which could be to the detriment of Moroccan society as a whole. Nonetheless, each NGO must do what it must to achieve its

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<sup>28</sup>Hickel, J. (2017, January 14).

<sup>29</sup> Nkrumah, K. (1965), 3.

goals, whether that is protecting civil liberties and protesting human rights violations by the government, advocating for the end of discrimination against Amazigh individuals and culture, working to promote cross-cultural exchange, or providing services for refugees and migrants.

These human rights movements can quickly become reliant on this external aid. If aid is truly given without any sort of agenda, this aid is portrayed as an act of generosity: a case of humanitarianism. The intersection of humanitarianism and development is another component that must be problematized. The purpose of humanity is to help the human being, not the system; humanitarian action must then be neutral, independent and immediate; “ultimately, development and other long-term goods may be more important but to humanitarians they must remain goals of secondary value.”<sup>31</sup> Humanitarianism and development (still the Western-centric, externally defined form, as one should note) have fundamentally different perspectives, priorities, and obligations.<sup>32</sup> Their conflation on a grand scale, especially if international funders are claiming to solely be acting from a moral, philanthropic standpoint and not necessarily to achieve a clear and transparent goal that NGOs can outwardly maneuver, is another point of contention.

In fact, the “process of NGO expansion is rooted in a problematic ‘humanitarian view of development.’”<sup>33</sup> As explored by Nik Barry-Shaw and DruOjay Jay, this “conceives poverty as a quantitative problem, rather than viewing it as a product of social relations.”<sup>34</sup> This strengthens the perception of development as a technical matter that should be “isolated from ideology and

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>31</sup>DuBois, M., (2016, May 12). Don't blur the lines between development and humanitarian work. Retrieved December 11, 2017, from <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2016/may/12/dont-blur-the-lines-between-development-and-humanitarian-work>

<sup>32</sup>Suhrke, A., & Ofstad, A. (2005). *Filling “the Gap”: Lessons Well Learnt by the Multilateral Aid Agencies*(Vol. WP 2005: 14, Working paper). Bergen, Norway: CHR. Michelsen Institute. Retrieved from <https://www.cmi.no/publications/file/2063-filling-the-gap-lessons-well-learnt.pdf>.

<sup>33</sup>Gürkan, E. C. (2015). The Nonprofit-Corporate Complex: An Integral Component and Driving Force of Imperialism in the Phase of Monopoly-Finance Capitalism. *Monthly Review*,66(11), 37. doi:10.14452/mr-066-11-2015-04\_4

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.,

politics.” This depoliticization does little to tackle the structural roots of an issue such as poverty, simply allowing the previously existing systems of power, inequality, and marginalization to continue. Especially given the context of foreign interference through direct colonialism, leaving these power structures unchallenged is an alarming thought, raising questions of how “under the nonprofit-corporate complex, social movements are swept into serving the imperial project.”<sup>35</sup> Gürcan, in *The Nonprofit-Corporate Complex: An Integral Component and Driving Force of Imperialism in the Phase of Monopoly-Finance Capitalism*, explores how the IMF and World Bank supported the dramatic expanse of NGOs in the 1980s, which were largely directed by the United States Treasury and departments of finance of “developed” countries.<sup>36</sup> As NGOs were viewed by governmental institutions as “ideal vehicles for tackling social costs,” and replace the state in a variety of social and welfare services, which undermine their ability to innovate and remain “value-driven” and “bottom-up” organizations for the people, instead designating them as “bureaucratic, hierarchical and professionally-staffed organizations,’ serving imperialist interests.”<sup>37</sup> This lays the groundwork for the North-South relationship that is perpetuated in the partnership of international and local NGOs.

In *The role of NGOs and civil society in development and poverty reduction*, a working paper for the Brooks World Poverty Institute, Banks, Nicola and David Hulme explore the general impact of NGOs on the development sector.<sup>38</sup> Due to their grassroots structure and capacity for innovation, NGOs have been praised for their ability to promote development in a manner centered on the people themselves, which can “fill gaps left by the failure of states across

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<sup>35</sup> Gürcan, E.C. (2015).

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>37</sup> Gürcan, E.C. (2015).

<sup>38</sup>Banks, N., & Hulme, D. (2012). The Role of NGOs and Civil Society in Development and Poverty Reduction. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. doi:10.2139/ssrn.2072157

the developing world in meeting the needs of their poorest citizens."<sup>39</sup> However, Banks et al. find that the approaches that NGOs have taken in recent years can often depoliticize poverty, and have a minimal impact on tackling the structural roots and manifestations of poverty.<sup>40</sup> The focus has shifted from advocacy and empowerment to service provision, which does little to promote long-term change. Banks et al. draw a distinction between northern and southern NGOs, touching on the dynamics within the NGO sector. Northern or international NGOs (NNGOs) are those seeking development objectives abroad, which often possess financial means and resources but are more limited in grassroots knowledge. This understanding is more attributed to southern NGOs (SNGOs), which are "in closer proximity to communities geographically, culturally, and linguistically."<sup>41</sup> Northern NGOs often work at the local level through these domestic SNGOs; however, as Banks et al. point out, these "North-South" partnerships are often extremely unequal, benefiting the NNGOs with the funding and resources.<sup>42</sup> This scholarship supports Gürcan's assertions that NGOs can function as tools to serve imperialist interests.

Furthermore, with the incentives that NGOs are now facing, the authors note, "It is not possible to talk of real people's participation or equal partnership when the decision to keep the power and resources within the hands of the professionals and out of the hands of the community is one of the preconditions of the engagement."<sup>43</sup> Therefore, equal partnership and empowerment of the people is inherently undermined when social change is placed in the hands of outsiders and not in those of the community; exploring how organizations address this dilemma will be an important part of my research, as well as the North-South relationship when considering international versus local organizations here in Rabat. Furthermore, funding may prove to be an

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 4

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.,

important aspect to discuss, as Banks et al. note that funding incentivizes NGOs to professionalize and depoliticize; the social, political and economic agendas of donors tend to guide the interventions of organizations, furthering them from the needs of the communities that they seek to serve.<sup>44</sup> This work on the general trend toward depoliticization reinforces the previously mentioned work by Nik Barry-Shaw and DruOjay Jay.

Some research explores this phenomenon and how this happens in spheres of human rights other than development, such with ideological issues and proposed views on social issues. While this work is primarily conducted with an American scope focused on domestic non-profit organizations, in *Funding America's Nonprofits: The Nonprofit Industrial Complex's Hold on Social Justice*, J. C. Samimi describes the non-profit industrial complex as the system responsible for separating social justice from the provision of social services, as non-profits become a de facto institution.<sup>45</sup> Here, one can operate with the following definition of the nonprofit-industrial complex put forth in the book *The revolution will not be funded: beyond the nonprofit-industrial complex*: “a system of relationships between the State (or local and federal governments), the owning classes, foundations, and non-profit/NGO social service and social justice organizations.”<sup>46</sup> Samimi similarly touches on the impacts of funding, and how organizations’ engagement with the non-profit industrial complex reinforces the “cycle of sacrificing mission for funding” which “disenfranchises their constituents.”<sup>47</sup> In exploring potential solutions, Samimi argues that the non-profit organizations in the United

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>45</sup> Samimi, J. C. (2010). Funding America's Nonprofits: The Nonprofit Industrial Complex's Hold on Social Justice. *Columbia Social Work Review*, 1, 1. Retrieved from <http://www.racialequitytools.org/resourcefiles/2010NPIndustrialComplex.pdf>

<sup>46</sup> INCITE! (2017). *The revolution will not be funded: beyond the non-profit industrial complex*. Durham: Duke University Press, xiii.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.,

States are "rooted in origins of colonization and oppression" and that "social justice focused community-based initiatives would be possible if funding sources did not compromise their mission."<sup>48</sup>

In his analysis of neocolonialism, Kwame Nkrumah addressed the intersection of aid and this hegemony, and the cycle of dependency it reinforces, as is consistent with scholarship of the nonprofit-industrial complex. He addresses the categorizations of the IMF between industrial nations and the "less developed" areas; the "backwards" countries of this categorization are those in what Krumah designates as the "neo-colonial areas," including Africa.<sup>49</sup> Building off of these classifications, Nkrumah argues that it is within the "field of 'aid' that the rivalry of individual developed States first manifests itself. So long as neo-colonialism persists so long will spheres of interest persist, and this makes multilateral aid – which is in fact the only effective form of aid – impossible." Here, Nkrumah directly points to aid efforts as the next culprit of neocolonialism; true "multilateral aid" will be impossible if this sphere of influence are still at play; this can be applied to whether international aid aimed at development in its current forms does, in reality, contribute to development that is in the best interest of the recipient country. This is especially relevant in conjunction with the narrative of Western heroism and humanitarianism charging at the forefront of the battle of development in the "backwards" countries. Nkrumah directly offers his opinion on this matter; "The less developed world will not become developed through the goodwill or generosity of the developed powers. It can only become developed through a struggle against the external forces which have a vested interest in keeping it undeveloped."<sup>50</sup> And whether intention of indirect domination exists within donor agendas or not, this begs the

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>49</sup>Nkrumah, K. (1965), 9-10.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 11.



question of whether this development is sustainable and actually transforming a society, or simply creating a cycle of dependency.

While the non-profit structure differs from that of NGOs here in Morocco, this perspective and theory touches on similar issues of funding and who is being given agency. The exploration of the non-profit industrial complex and issues of development and NGOs can offer guidance in analysis of NGOs addressing human rights in Rabat. This perspective and theory, as well as the framework of the North-South relationship, can be useful in informing a greater understanding of similar dynamics that simply manifest themselves differently. While it might not be as clearly calculated as with aid and quantitative measures of development, these underlying power structures could be just as relevant with ideological movements. Exploring this is deeply connected to advocating for human rights; the maintenance of colonial power structures is no less detrimental in ideological spheres than with aid and development.

In relation to aid in particular, even if organization's individual interactions with aid are viewed as necessary and positive, this does not prevent organizations from concluding that the larger-scale societal implications are not positive. In *Time to listen: Hearing People on the Receiving End of International Aid*, Anderson et al. explore how organization representative in recipient countries view international assistance is on the whole a "good thing;" yet, the system is flawed and most of the cumulative impacts, including dependency, increased intergroup tensions, distrust and disrespect, cited are negative.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, this creation of international aid as a delivery system undermines its objectives, turning recipients into "'objects' of others

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<sup>51</sup>Anderson, M. B., Brown, D., & Isabella, J. (2012). *Time to listen: Hearing People on the Receiving End of International Aid*. Cambridge, MA: CDA Collaborative Learning Projects.

decision-making and planning, rather than engaging them as subjects in their society's progress."<sup>52</sup> Additionally, there is the contradiction within the foundation of aid:

The purpose of international assistance is to support people to develop their own economy, build their own peace, achieve good governance, and protect their own human rights. If the purpose of international assistance is to help people so that they no longer need assistance, then those providing assistance should be working to grow smaller—that is, working to go out of business.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 135-136.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 48

## Results and Analysis

Building upon this theoretical and analytical framework, to answer the question of how local organizations view their relationships with international actors in human rights advocacy, I will provide a comprehensive summary of my findings and interviews with the AMDH, Association Azetta, Fondation Orient-Occident, and Thaqafat. Theory only extends so far when it comes to actualizing mobilization for human rights through the work of NGOs; studying the tangible impacts of systems of domination on individual organizations presents a variety of perspectives. I will structure this analysis by identifying broad themes that I heard consistently, the varying perspectives of the organizations on these themes and how they responded in their work, accompanied with application of relevant theory and commentary in previous scholarship on these topics. My interviewees represented organizations from both parts of the divide in the literature: those focused on service-provision and those concentrated on advocacy. Each NGO that I interviewed had a unique opinion to offer with most of my questions, with extremely different strategies and priorities within their larger, comprehensive goal of fighting for human rights in Morocco. Similarities, differences, disagreements, and concerns of these organizations will be explored in the context of the following overarching themes: Civil Society, Overarching Goals and Organizational Structures; Strategies and Evaluation Priorities; Relationships and Experiences with International Actors and Funding; Accountability and Autonomy; and Opposition by the Moroccan State.

### **Perspectives of Local Organizations**

#### **Role in Civil Society and Goals**

When asked about their overarching goals, all mentioned a priority of improving human rights on a societal scale in Morocco, each with a specific focus or subpopulation that took

precedence. However, within this larger objective of aiding human rights, they varied in their views of their roles in civil society and how they visualized their relationship to political movements for human rights.

### Goals

The representative of Fondation Orient-Occident described how the primary goals involve creating a space for intercultural exchange and serving the immediate needs of refugees and migrants.

*“The objectives of Thaqafat are the cultural exchange and the promotion of the volunteering services between national and international participants. We target the organizations who are our partners in Morocco and who have a huge need of some volunteering services.*

- Karima El Alami, Program Assistant of Thaqafat Association

*“Our motto: first and foremost: to fight and build a better country for better human rights. It doesn't all happen to be the same strategy for when something happens. Sometimes, when needed, we stand with victims in court against government. We protest; in extreme cases that catch the attention of all of society, we write a manifest to government in which we express our abhorrent feelings about what happened and what needs to be changed.”*

- Khadija Abenaou, a member of the AMDH Central Bureau

*“The main missions and primary goals are democracy in Morocco and human rights of the Amazigh by defending rights of speaking the Amazigh language and Amazigh culture. Also, encouraging young people and women to participate in era of voicing their rights.”*

- AbdollahBadou, President of Azetta Amazigh organization

### Roles in Civil Society and Political Movements

According to the representative I interviewed, Fondation Orient-Occident strives to host workshops to encourage sensitization and peacebuilding between local Moroccans, Arabs and Sub-Saharan populations to counteract discrimination. However, the representative emphasized that the organization should maintain political and religious neutrality. The representative described NGOs as functioning in the social sphere, which should remain separate from politics; NGOs should have clear goals and purposes, whereas this is not the case with politics.

*“It is a very important role [in civil society] because Thaqafat sends volunteers who participate in the human development in different domains which is a good initiative to have those volunteers help and exchange their skills especially when they join a small NGO who cannot pay for employees so they can do their work through volunteers. [...] I don't think [the NGO's role] should be political but [should be] more [about] having a social development target. That's why*

*it is a very important idea to create an NGO to encourage citizens to be more involve in their communities and move to the better future engagement with society. However, they need to be responsible as active actors in their communities and think of being involved in civil society and not wait for the government to make their lives better.”*

- Karima El Alami, Program Assistant of Thaqafat Association

*“[Our role in civil society] is always being present and participating and rooting for culture of human rights and democracy within Morocco. [...] There is nothing without politics. If you say you are not doing politics, you are doing politics. We are not a political party but we participate because they do interact with the government for decisions.”*

- AbdollahBadou, President of Azetta Amazigh organization

*“What motivates us is the need for changing the situation in Morocco for the establishment of more human rights to validate democracy and human rights. There is a huge wave of violation of human rights in Morocco and instead of initiating conversation they [the government] are arresting us. We contribute to fight for our rights and to abolish privileges, those who fight for their rights needs to have certain literacy in the subject to learn to fight for their rights. To be a social activist, you must be equipped with the right tools to fight for the cause. [...] Our reports work on expanding the culture of human rights among the students and young generation.”*

- Khadija Abenaou, a member of the AMDH Central Bureau

## Discussion

Drawing upon the work of Banks et al., civil society is “the arena, separate from state and market, in which ideological hegemony is contested across a range of organisations and ideologies which challenge and uphold the existing order.”<sup>54</sup> As explored in Schuurman’s work, the central role of the nation-state has been challenged by the increasing importance of civil society.<sup>55</sup> “Good governance” and democratic ideals are no longer linked to the previous concept of a “welfare state” but instead incorporate “new forms of local synergy between economic, political and cultural actors,” including collaboration with civil society actors.<sup>56</sup> This is visible in the goals of the organizations I interviewed; Fondation Orient-Occident works to overcome one particular form of discrimination that weakens Moroccan civil society;

<sup>54</sup> Banks et al., (2012), 22.

<sup>55</sup> Schuurman, F. J. (2000). Paradigms Lost, Paradigms Regained? Development Studies in the Twenty-First Century. *Third World Quarterly*, 21(1), 16. doi:10.1080/01436590013198

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.,

Thaqafat seeks to increase cross-cultural understanding, and the AMDH and Azetta Amazigh clearly verbalize the universal protection of democracy and human rights as their primary goals.

These four organizations reflect the divide in the literature between organizations focused on service provision versus advocacy and empowerment. Fondation Orient-Occident deals with direct services for refugees and migrants; when asked about other factors and political movements relating to immigrant rights, the representative I interviewed declared that their role was in making immediate changes in the lives of migrants and refugees to improve their quality of life. Thaqafat focused on a different form of service provision of international volunteerism, by connecting local organizations in Morocco with the volunteering services they required from international participants. Although in different forms, both of these organizations seek to fill gaps that exist in the current time frame versus in the long run. While Thaqafat does explicitly reinforce the importance of participation in civil society, the service provision of both of these organizations relate to what Banks et al. described as the depoliticization of NGOs; their focus is primarily on provision of some service, and not the structural roots of these gaps.<sup>57</sup>

The AMDH and Azetta Amazigh, on the other hand, verbalize what they believe the structural issues of Moroccan society to be directly in their mission. In the eyes of the AMDH and Azetta Amazigh, advocacy and involvement with political movements inextricably linked to the promotion of human rights and democracy, as these organizations outlined in their roles in

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<sup>57</sup> Banks et al., (2012), 2.

civil society. One cannot advocate for the Amazigh people without understanding the political context. In *Civil Society in Morocco under the New 2011 Constitution: Issues, Stakes and Challenges*, Rashid Touhtou describes Nancy Frazer's work on how NGOs counter hegemonic interpretations of need with their own. Frazer touches on three primary components:

First, they contest the established boundaries separating "politics" from "economics" and "domestics". Second, they offer alternative interpretations of their needs embedded in alternative chains of in-order-to relations. Third, they create new discourse publics from which they try to disseminate their interpretations of their needs throughout a wide range of different discourse publics. Finally, they challenge, modify and/or displace hegemonic elements of the means of interpretation and communication; they invent new forms of discourse for interpreting their needs". I argue that development NGOs within Morocco's civil society are contesting, reordering the political space through a revitalization of the local, through 'oppositional' discourses on the 'social' in the form of 'needs talks'.<sup>58</sup>

As Touhtou argues, development NGOs can work to reorder the political space as they move to strengthen civil society and determine the needs of their society in particular. As AbdollahBadou noted, "there is nothing without politics." Any decision or action will have political implications, and with NGOs functioning as such a crucial part of civil society, this reinforces Frazer's theory that NGOs can contest the boundaries enacted between politics, economics, and domestics, and can challenge hegemonies within Moroccan societies through this manner.

Furthermore, this emphasis on democratic values is visible even within their structures. As described in my interview with Said Tbel, a volunteer member of the central bureau, the AMDH has 100 national sections across Morocco, with 10,000 members. Power is spread across sections, with each section having elected representatives. From these sections, a functional

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<sup>58</sup>Touhtou, R. (2014). *Civil Society in Morocco under the New 2011 Constitution: Issues, Stakes and Challenges*(Publication). Doha, Qatar: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 9. Retrieved from

committee is elected, as well as a central bureau that is situated in Rabat. Every three years, the AMDH organizes a national congress, in which goals and priorities are determined, which will then be carried out by the specialized committees designated by issue.<sup>59</sup> Azetta Amazigh has a similar organizational structure; with twenty-eight independent sections across the country, each sends delegates to a National Congress of about 150 representatives. This congress collectively gives rights to the national organizations, determines goals and sets the agenda. The National Congress selects forty-two individuals for the National Council. Thirteen of these individuals will be elected to the Executive Bureau through campaigning based on their qualifications. The President, whom I interviewed for my research, can serve up to two terms before stepping down for new leadership.<sup>60</sup> Although civil society does not always strengthen democratic ideals, organizational structures and missions such as these seek to reinforce democratic ideals at all levels of the organization.

In this manner, NGOs can play a significant role in destabilizing hegemonic systems of domination in their societies. As Touhtou argues, “participatory democracy is basically the answer to the development of ideas of citizenship. As the latter form of participation is more effective and efficient when people come together and coordinate their interests, organized civil society can therefore play an important role.”<sup>61</sup> And as argued by numerous authors throughout the literature, including Touhtou, associations are a fundamental aspect of civil society. Therefore, NGOs are not necessarily doomed to reinforce the systems of power that helped develop them; civil society has even be theorized as a “site of rebellion against the orthodox and

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[https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/lists/ACRPS-PDFDocumentLibrary/Moroccan\\_Constitution\\_of\\_2011\\_and\\_Civil\\_Society.pdf](https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/lists/ACRPS-PDFDocumentLibrary/Moroccan_Constitution_of_2011_and_Civil_Society.pdf).

<sup>59</sup> Interview with Said Tbel, volunteer member of AMDH Central Bureau

<sup>60</sup> Interview with AbdollahBadou, President of Azetta Amazigh

<sup>61</sup>Touhtou, R. (2014), 21.



the construction of hegemony [...] an area of challenge and contestation, based on mutuality and solidarity. Civil society in this sense is impregnated with conflict, class and power, [...] shaping critiques of the market, neo-liberalism and globalization today.”<sup>62</sup> Two of the four organizations that I interviewed thereby referenced this value of strengthening civil society and fostering solidarity and mutuality, which is reinforced in both the goals of the AMDH and Azetta Amazigh. This contributes to these two organizations’ perspectives that societal hegemonies at play, including neocolonialism, can be challenged. The AMDH aims to contribute to a “culture of human rights” by engaging young people. One example of this was Azetta Amazigh’s emphasis on involving teenagers, and outreach programs specific to this population; President Badou verbalized that encouraging them to participate and have their voices heard was an organizational priority, further demonstrating long-term goals being addressed structurally.

### **Strategies and Evaluation Priorities**

Each independent section of Azetta Amazigh conducts projects with determined goals, budgets and activities. They work with hundreds of local Amazigh associations, as well as government bodies and international organizations. The Executive Bureau oversees all organizing, research and projects. Projects are not simply judged on numbers; they must follow the organization’s goals and ethics. As each section is independent, the NGO participates in a wide array of projects and activities; the structure allows for “innovating human rights,” as President Badou stated, while also been overseen by the Executive Bureau.<sup>63</sup>

Some general strategies of the AMDH outlined by Khadija Abenaou, a member of the Central Bureau, including the following: location the violation of human rights, locating the victims, helping these victims in court, and writing memos to critique human rights violations by

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 5.

governmental organizations and created demands for further action. However, as referenced in her earlier statement about the goals of the AMDH, their strategies are dynamic and constantly developing based on what is necessary. They stand with victims, they protest, they draft memos, and also conduct a variety of projects, activities and public events. The AMDH has central committees for finance and projects which is responsible for reporting, proposing the project with budgets and activities in cooperation with other central committees related to the project. By the end of each project, the central finance committee and supervisor committee receives an evaluation with a narrative report and finance report. Each project's initial goals include success indicators which are used in the evaluation. Evaluation includes the feedback of the participants and beneficiaries of the project and their satisfaction.<sup>64</sup>

Each program conducted by Fondation Orient-Occident is evaluated at multiple levels. Programs are evaluated by external evaluators from the UNHCR and other organizations, including their funders. Additionally, Fondation Orient-Occident incorporates the views of all people involved in focus groups, including beneficiaries and Moroccans, to gain specific suggestions for improvement.<sup>65</sup> Programs include direct assistance of refugees and migrants, as well as larger events open to the public to encourage intercultural exchange.

*“We plan each time to develop our network with Moroccan local NGOs who work in different fields mainly; education, health, children, human right and other programs. We do trainings, we invite our Moroccan partners to participate in some activities and encourage especially youth to be more involved in such programs. There were some members who thought of founding a NGO that can give a chance to promote volunteering in Morocco because it wasn't common for many years ago. Thaqafat members work together to evaluate the programs and choose the most needed ones for the human development programs and involve people who are interested and mainly adults.”*

- Karima El Alami, Program Assistant of Thaqafat Association

## Discussion

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<sup>63</sup> Interview with AbdollahBadou, President of Azetta Amazigh

<sup>64</sup> Interview with Khadija Abenaou, volunteer member of AMDH Central Bureau

In Banks et al.'s analysis of NGO structure and roles, two primary models of NGOs are designated: service-delivery oriented and advocacy based, which pursues the deeper root of the societal inequality, in their case poverty. In their analysis of service-delivery oriented models, which operate off the assumption that increased access to resources and services, participation is not political action as it does not "attempt to change the underlying structures and processes underlying limited and unequal access in the first place."<sup>66</sup> Banks et al. comment that with these organizations usually are pressured to deliver tangible results. Evaluation is typically rooted in this quantitative analysis and numbers, as funders are "funding NGOs to supply target-oriented services directly, both professionalizing and depoliticizing operations by turning NGOs into implementers or contractors of donor policy, rather than representative of grassroots constituencies."<sup>67</sup> However, this is interesting to consider in the context of Fondation Orient-Occident. While its services for aiding refugees and migrants are primarily service-based, and are dominated by external entities such as the UNHCR, a large component of the organization's work is also the physical space it provides that is open to all, which is constantly hosting events and informal interaction, which cannot be quantified; the focus group evaluations involving all participants are a beginning to better understanding the results. While its services do not involve political action, the community building aspect of the organization, in conjunction with the service provision, is left unaddressed by the literature, especially given the fact that legal restrictions largely limit the beneficiaries; nonetheless, Fondation Orient-Occident is an organization that is very separated from the political sphere.

Thaqafat is similarly separate from the political sphere and instead functions in a concretely social one. As their activities and programs are much more relationship-based and are

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<sup>65</sup> Information from Fondation Orient-Occident representative

<sup>66</sup> Banks et al., (2012), 13.

evaluated internally by the Thaqafat staff accordingly, their work is also left uncovered by Banks et al: though, this is also given the context that Thaqafat does not receive funding, eliminating the need to clear external evaluation for sustainability and continued sustenance.

As explored by Banks et al., innovation in strategy, which was previously the advantage of NGO structure versus governmental programming, has been impacted by the increased dependence on donors; “given the high demand from donors to find simple, neat and comprehensive solutions to complex development problems, NGOs are ill-advised to try risky, innovative and unproven pilots for fear of losing funding. In effect, this means NGOs are also less likely to innovate in tackling the more difficult and structural conditions.” Interestingly enough, President Badou directly mentioned “innovating human rights” as one of the organization’s priorities; flexibility and ability to engage with a multitude of partners was underscored during our interview. The independence of each section allows each to innovate projects, programs and activities, which are later evaluated by the Executive Bureau, the elected central authority. Some of Azetta Amazigh’s most recent projects include fifty workshops for young people and sixteen debate clubs, mobilizing 1,600 teenagers. This is in addition to publications, policy advocacy regarding language rights, and hosting about three to four activities planned per weekend in a range of fifteen cities across Morocco. Their decentralized yet organized structure allows them flexibility to innovate with various projects to empower Amazigh Moroccans, while also remaining accountable to their goals, ethics and strategies.

Similar flexibility and evolution is seen on the part of the AMDH. While Banks et al. put forth the theory that NGOs might shift away from innovation and seeking high-order outcomes such as empowerment, these goals are built into the organization’s structure, and therefore are

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid.,

pursued with a wide variety of strategies that vary depending on the context. They collaborate with journalists, schools, draft recommendations for government members, and are even involved in the legal system. While each project does have designated success indicators built into the reporting process, feedback of participants and beneficiaries is a significant part of the evaluation process. Therefore, it appears that in spite of the incentives to move away from innovation and a variety of strategies, the ADMH and Azetta Amazigh, through overarching goals and organization structure, are able to maintain these components in their advocacy.

### **Relationships with International Actors and Funding**

#### **International Actors**

The representative of Fondation Orient-Occident described interactions with international actors as positive work relationships about collaboration and exchange. All decisions were made in conjunction with project committees. More powerful actors can't simply enter and push their own agenda; they must also go through the committees, so nothing is forced. She spoke of international assistance as a much needed supplement to the government that was worth the difficulties of the aid system. The organization's partners are all international entities.<sup>68</sup>

*“We have normal relationships. It is a partnership that ends with the project, with objectives that are predetermined. It is an opportunity to transmit this discourse and mobilize those international organizations. The international organizations put pressure on the Moroccan government and are pushing buttons that obligate the state to take action. International organizations help us speak the reality when the state is spreading false information. It makes the government too shy to lie.”*

- AbdollahBadou, President of Azetta Amazigh organization

*“It is clear that development is not always for the purpose of development – neocolonialists profiting off the global south. It is not always overt and is often linked with aid. Knowing that this exists, to counter it, we choose [international partners] on a case by case basis except for public institutions because it is obligatory. If an organization wants to do work and it goes against our mission or international law, we won't work with them. One example is immigration;*

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<sup>68</sup> Interview with representative of Fondation Orient-Occident

*every time we do not agree with European policy, we write to the European governments and denounce every project in Morocco that works with them.”*

- Said Tbel, volunteer member of AMDH Central Bureau

*“We work with local NGOs around Rabat and Sale and we also have international partners that are interested in volunteering programs mainly from the US and Europe. Actually, we don't receive funding or look for them because our organizations in a non for profit NGO and it aims at promoting the volunteerism sense of life within young people from different nationalities. It is important role because through their international participants, as an organization, we feel that we are a very active actor in our society.”*

- Karima El Alami, Program Assistant of Thaqafat Association

*“AMDH is a part of Le FédérationInternationale de Droit Humain. Right now, it is monopolized by the French and their friends in the African continent. Because we are too critical of the position of the French in international conflicts and critical of the situation in Morocco, we have applied three times for an administration position but have not gotten it. The FIDH is soft in its criticism of the Moroccan government, and other Moroccan organizations have been able to get into positions of power because they are not as hard on things happening in Morocco. This shows that in the end, the FIDH is still working for French interests and is still in the grip of the French.”*

- Said Tbel, volunteer member of AMDH Central Bureau

## **Funding**

*“If you could find funding here in Morocco, why would you go international? But this international cooperation gets to our objective. Even if we go to the United Nations, they don't even have ability to raise campaign for people to give funding. It is very difficult to raise money, and we don't have right to do so from the civil community. And we cannot complete our mission 100% without those funds., We are a modest organization in terms of finance and structure. Few know about the problems of the Amazigh in Morocco. But in terms of impact, we pass these borders and transmit our mission and ideologies globally by collaborating with other international actors. An organization for human rights is not only to serve a certain community; it has to serve the global matters of other communities with an open-mind for relations with other nations. We don't work in the same context and with the same funding, but we have the same visions and the same goals in terms of innovating human rights.*

- AbdollahBadou, President of Azetta Amazigh organization

*“A NGO like the AMDH must count on its own organizations and volunteering. Only three of our administrative staff are paid. We have the same problems with funding but we try to find organizations that are in line with our politics and belief system: the European organizations that have money. Now, almost all international funding has been stopped. It's mainly the Moroccan Ministry of Justice, the OMCT (organization against torture), the Swiss, a little from Norway on art and human rights, but it is about to expire.”*

- Said Tbel, volunteer member of AMDH Central Bureau

*“60% of the work is volunteering and the other 40% is projects and activities. Only three people out of 150 in the national organization are paid. 90% of the finances are from foreign organizations, but the members of the organization from local communities give their time, energy, and small contributions which add up to a big budget. This has been the principle since day one; they won't get paid for their volunteering when there are places where you can be paid for this work.”*

- AbdollahBadou, President of Azetta Amazigh organization

*“We don't just take the money. First, we have a project. We estimate the budget first and building upon that we request the appropriate funding. The financing side agree on the project without interfering in the decision of the NGO. Afterward, we write a report of the feedback report in finance and literary that enables us to acquire an integrity and honesty in dealing with projects along with other minor reports to keep us up to date with the progress. We do not cooperate with all NGOs like Zionist organizations; but we do cooperate with local and neighboring organizations that do not violate human rights.”*

- Khadija Abenaou, a volunteer member of the AMDH Central Bureau

*“We do not feel pressure from our funders. In terms of agenda, it is normal. If they obligate something that does not serve the organization, we will cut the partnership. Our strategy is to not rely on only one financial partnership with one organization to minimize this issue of control with foreign funding. This way, there is no one who controls us.”*

- AbdollahBadou, President of Azetta Amazigh organization

*“Sweden, Denmark and Holland embassies do give us funding. It is a political agenda in their policies of outside affairs. We deal with more democratic countries and less aggressive ones in comparison with America, and they help us in the values that they believe in as well. That is why they fund the projects that they deem appropriate. They are more of partners than funders.”*

- Khadija Abenaou, a volunteer member of the AMDH Central Bureau

## **Discussion**

Whereas much of the literature focused on the inherently exploitative nature of most relationships between international funders and local NGOs, majority of my interviewees experiences with international actors and funding were positive. However, their interactions were also in reasonably specific parameters, which may be been an important contributor. The representative of Fondation Orient-Occident had positive relationships with international actors which she described of “collaboration” and “exchange,” implying more equal footing that the typical North-South relationship in international aid assistance. This can be supported by

Anderson et al.'s work *Time to listen: Hearing People on the Receiving End of International Aid* expansion on components of positive partnerships, which “strongly emphasize collegiality, mutual respect, and joint problem solving.”<sup>69</sup> While funding and agendas still factor into these interactions, the joint committees representing multiple parties that are not dominated by achieving donor purposes and instead allow for dialogue on programs for the beneficiaries is a positive contributor. Nonetheless, the roles of funder, external agent, and local staff are still firmly defined.

Thaqafat presents an interesting case as it is fundamentally tied to external agents and international actors, but without any of the dependency that might arise with funding. While volunteer services by international participants are a service of a sort, the experience of the international participants is one of the priorities, thereby emphasizing a more collaborative experience than most interactions between international actors and local NGOs. The extent of contact with international entities by Thaqafat allows for the relationships to be mutually beneficial; Karima describes the importance of promoting volunteerism among youth from all over the world, which also aids Thaqafat’s contributions to civil society, also reinforcing the components explored by Anderson et al.

The theme of mutually beneficial relationships is also reinforced by the experiences of Azetta Amazigh with international actors. The relationships are partnerships that can start and end with specific projects that are predetermined and designed with Azetta’s priorities and missions in mind. Furthermore, the international platform benefits Azetta’s work by “transmitting” its discourse on a global scale and use the ensuing mobilization to further their agenda; international pressure on the Moroccan is one such example, as well as simply furthering

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<sup>69</sup>Anderson, M. B., Brown, D., & Isabella, J. (2012). *Time to listen: Hearing People on the Receiving End*



the narrative that Azetta seeks to validate here in Moroccan society across the world. In this, Azetta has very clearly formulated goals and specific strategies for how international organizations can contribute to these initiatives, whether through funding, influence, or exposure.

This functions within Nkrumah's framework of neocolonialism as well. As he writes, "the struggle against neocolonialism is not aimed at excluding the capital of the developed world from operating in less developed countries. It is aimed at preventing the financial power of the developed countries being used in such a way as to impoverish the less developed."<sup>70</sup> Therefore, international funding can still be utilized to assist local needs in a sustainable manner, that can even help destabilizing colonial hegemony. Funding is a tool; however, it must be used in a method that legitimately benefits the community, as was stated by President Badou. Furthermore, he expanded upon how international funding was necessary at this point; as long as the organizations shared the same vision and goals for human rights, they could forge a partnership and collaboration. Azetta specifically diversifies its funding sources to ensure no one gains control through funding. Furthermore, Azetta only partners with others as long as it is within their mission; as soon as this is no longer true, they cut their ties, maintaining this emphasis on mutual benefit and equality within their relationships with international actors and funders.

A significant factor that allows for this ability to sever ties with funders and partners who overstep this bound, cited by both Azetta Amazigh and the AMDH is the volunteerism component of their organizational structure, primarily supported by the local community members who are a part of the organization. As President Badou outlines, while 90% of finances are from foreign organizations, these are used for about 40% of the organization's work. The other 60% is run by volunteers, who give their time, energy and whatever they can contribute to

the organization. Only three personnel of the entire organization are paid, and this generosity from within the community itself is what allows for less of a dependency on funders. This shift to grassroots fundraising, whether through funds or time and labor, is addressed in *Fundraising Is Not a Dirty Word: Community-Based Economic Strategies for the Long Haul in The Revolution Will Not Be Funded*, exploring work through the framework of the nonprofit-industrial complex. Defining organizing as “building relationships and institutions to sustain community power, it follows that fundraising is organizing.”<sup>71</sup> This piece describes ideology of Project South, an organization returning to grassroots structures:

“One of the staunchest critiques of the non-profit industrial complex (NPIC) is that non-profits have become over dependent on foundation funds as their primary source of income. Though grassroots fundraising does not completely free us from the limitations of the NPIC, it is a method that can increase and strengthen out accountability to the communities most affected by injustice [...] and works to tie local and immediate struggles to the systemic root causes of oppression. We connect grassroots fundraising to our central program goals for two reasons: foundation dependency limits effectiveness and to create a community-based economic model while building a base of allies and community members to whom we are ultimately accountable.”<sup>72</sup>

This grassroots, community-centric form of organizing is also visible in the structure of the AMDH, which also only has three administrative staff and primarily relies on the volunteerism of its members. As Said Tbel stated, the AMDH must “count on its own organization in volunteering” if it does not wish to become indebted to funders and be pressured to engage with funder agendas.

The AMDH also determines its international partners and funders on a case by case basis, remaining very selective. As Said Tbel stated, it is “clear that development” is not always for development’s purpose. Being aware of this is central to their relationships with international

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<sup>70</sup>Nkrumah, K. (1965), 4.

<sup>71</sup>Guilloud, S., & Cordery, W. (2007). *Fundraising Is Not a Dirty Word. The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: INCITE!*, 107-108. doi:10.1215/9780822373001-009.

actors. However, the AMDH is also very openly critical of the human rights violations by the Moroccan state, as well as of the actions of European entities, which Said Tbel impacted their success in international organizations. For example, in their involvement with the FIDH, they are consistently denied positions of power because of their sharp criticism of the Moroccan state and of the French. The fact that this impacts their standing demonstrates that the FIDH is still in the “grip of the French” and serving their interests. Therefore, the AMDH is very conscious of how its staunch loyalty to its ideals will impact its standing in these hegemonic structures, both domestically and internationally. Nonetheless, this is one of the foundational identities of the organization, and so in choosing international partners, the AMDH seeks out ideological parallels with similar goals and missions. Additionally, as Khadija Abenaou declared in her interview, projects, goals and activities are established; the funding comes second. This minimizes the influence of funders in determining objectives and implementing their own agendas. And as these funders are often ideologically like-minded, Khadija Abenaou declares that these relationships are more of partnerships than simply finances.

### **Accountability, Concerns with Funding and Autonomy**

#### **Accountability**

The main goal of Fondation Orient-Occident is the benefit of the beneficiaries, whom the organization is most accountable to.

*“We are part of the community, not apart from the community. We are participating within the community. This is the mission of the organization. The organization has a strong structure that rules and governs it. Even though the[re are] Presidents and ones who are accountable for the organization, we need to also refer to the other sections. Workshops to help enrich expertise of members. There needs to be equality between the two [communities]: international and local.*

- AbdollahBadou, President of Azetta Amazigh organization

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<sup>72</sup>Ibid.,

*“We feel accountable to the population and public opinion. [We are accountable to] many: the international community, our members, the state, the media, the Moroccan people...the United Nations is probably the highest, as they can help us respect human rights.*

- Said Tbel, volunteer member of AMDH Central Bureau

*“We feel more responsible towards the local community for social development and of course the government and to the international community. It is good that Thaqafat runs their stay here to make them learn about their capacities and learn a new culture and be able to share what they have learnt with their communities back home.”*

- Karima El Alami, Program Assistant of Thaqafat Association

### **Concerns with Funding: Neocolonialism?**

*“There are two levels [of long-term concern with foreign funding.] The government and the national bank has acquired a huge debt of the past few years. When we speak about this debt the Moroccans, it is a debt service or interest exacted on the Moroccan community and this interest, that should be paid by the government, is taken out on Moroccan society and raises prices and costs of living to pay the debt.*

*On the second level, there is a difference with organizations. Some respect their basics and integrity but some start from that foreign funding without a cause just because there is funding. They alter their beliefs in accordance to the funder; their program is no longer theirs but instead their funders, because they believe that funding should be used no matter wherever it comes from. For example, an organization is funding a feminist journal, but the funder did not agree on that and instead suggested a project for tapestries. Instead of having capital and working for themselves, this organization follows the funders request and now works for a meager wage. Once you let go once, you always will. An organization must have independence in making its decisions. If it does not, then it will fall.”*

- Khadija Abenaou, a volunteer member of the AMDH Central Bureau

*“Since the organization was created and has emerged, we have always been rooting for independence and to not become a tool for other political parties, which became a problem for other organizations. This gives us respect and credibility with other partners. It is very difficult to maintain this independence in this game. We are the ones who are taking the harsh things because it is not easy to have funding. The political parties want to serve their people, not the community. Nothing is free. They can't fund you if they can't benefit from funding you. So what is the purpose of them funding you? That's why our first choice was to be independent. 15 years of work...I think we succeeded in keeping this balance of independence.”*

- AbdollahBadou, President of Azetta Amazigh organization

*“The AMDH is conscious of the risks of international money. First, projects are created; then, we ask for money, which comes directly to the AMDH for those projects. An example of a bad one that we will not engage with: the budget from Europe for the state and NGOs if we work to stop migration.”*

- Said Tbel, volunteer member of AMDH Central Bureau

*“There is always a decision for the national bureau for this organization. The criterion and ethics of the funders must be in line with ours. Certain organizations obligate you to transmit and promote certain political ideas and we don’t engage with them. That is not easy to do because there are certain structures that do not want us to criticize, but this organization has power to voice our own opinion because we do not care if the funding is cut or not. We have the privilege of voicing this. Otherwise, we could close this place and do something else. When you stop defending this idea or ideology of the organization, why would you keep doing work in the social community? Serving this community is the goal. Why would we continue if we do not serve the public community?”*

- AbdollahBadou, President of Azetta Amazigh organization

*“Like most countries that just follow the U.S., even France is involved in violence. We don’t cooperate with France because they seep out the resources of the Moroccan people and dry out the goods.*

- Khadija Abenaou, a volunteer member of the AMDH Central Bureau

### **Imperialism: the larger foe**

*We refuse to work with American finances because we think that the U.S. interferes with countries and works against their best interest. We don’t work with American NGOs like USAID because they are funded by the U.S. state. In the ranking of imperialism and overreach, it is: America, Britain, Europe. When Americans go into a situation, like the Gulf War, they go 100% in, use arms and do not think about the human rights aspect. Europe is imperialist but they don’t have the power to; Europe takes a gentler stance and think a little bit more.*

- Said Tbel, volunteer member of AMDH Central Bureau

*“We are in accordance with our beliefs and taking funding from the U.S. is against what we stand for. We don’t not establish partnerships with countries who directly violate human rights. With its violations in Iraq and Palestine, at the head of these countries is America. We demand the rights of the countries to make their own decisions and take their own independence. We can’t compare Spain to the violence of the American state. No one reach the level of violations of the Americans.”*

- Khadija Abenaou, a volunteer member of the AMDH Central Bureau

### **Discussion**

As explored previously with volunteerism, both with the AMDH and Azetta relying on this for their program sustenance, and the foundational component for Thaqafat, this deep-rooted connection with community is a prime source of accountability. Building off of the importance of grassroots fundraising explored through a nonprofit-industrial complex framework, accountability to a community and internally are both essential aspects of maintaining one’s

organizational goals and missions. Fondation Orient-Occident's priority is the benefit of the beneficiaries, whom the organization is most accountable to and those whom work with the organization. Representatives of the AMDH discussed accountability to the general population, both in protecting individuals in cases of human rights violations, but also with the general maintenance of a culture of human rights and democracy through actions and media. The international community is also an important player, as Said Tbel nodded to the United Nations as the most influential in their struggle for human rights externally. Thaqafat is built off of theories of social development, and therefore the local community is a source of accountability, although the organization does also feel accountable toward the government and the international community.

President Badou of Azetta Amazigh verbalized how accountability extends within and externally in all layers of the organization. As "a part of the community, not apart from the community" verbalizes, the layout of the structure, composed of members of the local community, keep the organization on track. Furthermore, although the President and elected officials are accountable for certain components of the organization, checks and balances throughout, even extending to the twenty-eight independent branches that form this coalition, are essential to Azetta Amazigh's strength. Across the board, this accountability, both logistical and moral, help maintain the autonomy of local organizations, especially those who act as bridges between their local communities and the international ones. Especially regarding the AMDH and Azetta Amazigh, the basic structure of the organization, imbued with democratic ideals, and the continuous contributions of the local community in mobilization creates a strong base to which these organizations must remain accountable. And as President Badou declares, with the privilege they have in choosing to cut funders who are not aligned with their goals, if they no

longer are serving the community and defending its ideology, on any level, they might as well move to something else; serving this community is the ends which must match the means. This emphasis of accountability helps organizations maintain their foundational goals and missions, yet funding through the international aid system still offers many causes for concern. As explored by Anderson et al., “international aid agencies develop partnerships with local groups with the intent of helping to strengthen civil society.” However, this still maintains the “delivery system” structure of international aid, often delivering a model based more on the donor countries rather than the realities of the recipient countries.<sup>73</sup> The avoidance of this is determined by the context and power dynamics with the donors themselves, as well as any underlying ideology at play. Therefore, as verbalized by the AMDH and Azetta, it is essential to remain vigilant, especially as one forges partnerships.

The power dynamics of relationships with funders are an important component. If unequal, local NGOs become “defined as only agents of aid and assistance rather than independent civil society actors,” this will create dependency and “mirror the international aid agencies that ‘developed’ them.” (time to listen, 91) Ensuring that the civil society actors are addressing local issues with local communities is key to preventing this continuation of hegemonic power structures such as neocolonialism; therefore, the AMDH and Azetta organizational structures and internal accountability processes through their national congresses and committees are a valuable safeguard.

A common theme touched on was the importance of maintaining boundaries, especially in terms of agenda, as maintaining independence is “very difficult [...] in this game,” as President Badou noted. Being cognizant of these power dynamics and the incentives and ideologies of funders is what the organizations referred to as their primary strategies. As Khadija

Abenaou of the AMDH noted, blindly taking funds, regardless of the source can shift ownership of the program away from the community to the donor, thereby reinforce hegemonic systems like neocolonialism. After addressing the large-scale, structural impacts of foreign aid as a whole, she touches on the need to cementing ones' beliefs regardless of the donor.

If the underlying incentive for funding is one in opposition to their goals, they will not take the funds. For this reason, the AMDH does not partner with the French, as they “sweep out the resources of the Moroccan people and dry out the goods,” clearly maintaining neocolonial power structures with their “aid.” Blindly taking funds, especially from the French and the Spanish, could further the historical legacy of colonialism through the mechanisms of neocolonialism. However, both representatives of the AMDH designated the greatest threat through aid to their organization and Moroccan society as the globalizing imperialism spearheaded by the United States, rather than neocolonialism at the hands of the French or the Spanish. While the AMDH does partner with Spanish NGOs for funding and does not take funding from the French due to ideological reasoning, the AMDH refuses to work with American funds of any kind.

This is due to the U.S. practice of interfering with countries and acting against their best interests. As many American NGOs are funded by the state, these are also denied partnership. As Said Tbel verbalized, “in the ranking of imperialism and overreach, it is: American, Britain, Europe.” He described Europe as imperialist, but with a generally gentler stance and more thought. Khadija Abenaou also touched on the concept of American imperialism as the larger foe of their work. Citing human rights violations in Iraq and Palestine, she placed America at “the head” of these violating countries. Reiterating the AMDH’s commitment to self-determination of nations, when asked about legacies of colonialism with Spanish NGOs, she declared, “We can’t

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<sup>73</sup> Anderson et al., (2012), 57, 91-2.



compare Spain to the violence of the American state, No one can reach the level of violations of the Americans.”

These observations can be grounded in the post-development scholarship of F.J.

Schuurman in *Critical Development Theory: moving out of the twilight zone*.

“The dynamics in the globalised power hierarchy are based upon changing characteristics of the capitalist mode of production which, however, are still leading to imperialist, exploitative relations between North and South and increasing worldwide inequality between and within countries. Imperialism by necessity was and still is closely attached to the survival strategy of the capitalist mode of production. These imperialist relations are sustained on the one hand through an ideological legitimisation in the form of globalism and on the other hand through direct military intervention, specifically in a unilateral way by the USA.”

While international aid may be an avenue of neocolonialism of which organizations like the AMDH are wary, the AMDH emphasized that this globalizing imperialism was an essential consideration in discussions of autonomy and organizational mission. This vigilance is supported by Schuurman, who writes that radical political economists “tend to view NGOs as instruments [Trojan horses], oftentimes unwitting and unknowing, of outside interests and regard both economic development and democracy as masks for an otherwise hidden agenda: to impose the policy and institutional framework of the new world order.”<sup>74</sup> Therefore, to avoid this more pressing hegemony: global capitalistic imperialism spearheaded by the United States, use of European organizations’ funds may be considered a lesser of two evils, especially given the context of the difficulties organizations like the AMDH face at the hands of the Moroccan state.

### **Opposition by the Moroccan State**

When asked about opinions on the March 2017 decision by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation to “ask all diplomatic and consular missions, and representatives of

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<sup>74</sup>Schuurman, F. J. (2009). Critical Development Theory: moving out of the twilight zone. *Third World Quarterly*, 30(5), 845-846. doi:10.1080/01436590902959024

international organizations to inform the MAEC and consult with it before financing NGOs,” my interviewees responses were the following:

*“The Moroccan government wants to block the civil community and its independence. The government takes funding from these embassies. Why would they block the civil community from taking funds? Why are they taking funding? They don’t want the organizations to take those funds. We are both served by the foreign agenda. Why should only the state benefit from this funding? They want to stop this finance because they know it has a big impact and strengthens civil society, which they do not want. It is hard to get funding from locals. If you find some organizations that take funding, it is related to a party, and a big amount of this funding goes to that party; it is to serve them. Those political parties direct civil society to do the things that serve them, not the local community. You cannot do political action from that. Civil society does not become a partner, but becomes a tool of execution and is auxiliary and ordinary.”*

- AbdollahBadou, President of Azetta Amazigh organization

In his interview, Said Tbel of the AMDH commented on how from its creation, the AMDH has been challenging the repression and human rights violations by the Moroccan government. He describes the “particular context,” involving repression, militant presence, contestation of political rights, starting the idea that there needed to be an entity like the AMDH, which was created in 1979. In terms of this decision on funding, Said Tbel said the following:

*“I have a clear point of view: this is repression. It limits the liberty and expression of people and the union of the republic: human rights organizations were beginning to get people interested in organizations and this directly hurt those people. International organizations, projects and embassies were exploited for Moroccan benefit by NGOs to critique the Moroccan government. The state wanted to control these NGOs because of this critique.”*

Said explained that this was certainly not the first time the state curtailed the rights of Moroccans in response to protest and critiques.

*“In 2011, the state realized that there were big projects against the government and felt there were not enough laws to stop people from coming out in the streets and talking. People were too free, using their rights to protest. In 2014, the Interior Minister declared that it is forbidden for NGOs in human rights to work in the public space and organize in ministry or public office spaces for projects, as their ‘discourse goes against the discourse of the state’ and they, are ‘working for foreigners.’ From 2007 onward, Scandinavian countries did a lot of international funding for the AMDH, but after the 2017 note, many stopped the aid because the Moroccan government questioned why they would work with an organization that was ‘against their own state.’”*

- Said Tbel, volunteer member of AMDH Central Bureau

*“The government comes up with a decision every time to doubt the integrity of the funders. We give constant reports and elaborate on our resources from start to finish; the problem is in bigger and illusive organizations whose funding is opaque and anonymous. They use a huge amount of money. Since 2014, the organization has faced a suffocating pressure from the government. [The AMDH] has become and bothersome voice for the government because it brings up to the surface the violations of the nation. Ehen something happens the journalist and reporters often seek the integrity of the AMDH. The reports we do are considered a reference for the truth in outside organizations. We don’t compromise; we show the truth of the violation. The government thinks we soil the Moroccan reputation and that reports are not objective. The AMDH is a victim [of the government] but we still go on even with limitations.”*

- Khadija Abenaou, a volunteer member of the AMDH Central Bureau

*We don’t even seek the help of the National Bank, who is a primary partner in this country. They contribute to the violation of human rights. How could the bank think that the health sector and the education is drying out the financing of the government? How do they expect to raise literacy when they are calling for the rise of the private sector? We consider it to violate the instructive values of health and education; the government is raising its hand on health and human rights, so we don’t see it as a partner for us but as a partner in crime”*

- Khadija Abenaou, a volunteer member of the AMDH Central Bureau

## **Discussion**

In *Civil Society in Morocco under the New 2011 Constitution: Issues, Stakes and Challenges*, Rashid Touhtou explores the state of Moroccan civil society and its relation to the state, given the conditions of the 2011 Constitution. In his exploration, Touhtou declare that given the Moroccan regime and structure of the political system:

“The state has realized that the civic sphere should not be left for manipulation and penetration by the opposition. One of the state strategies is to sponsor, promote and build a pro-regime civic sector.”<sup>75</sup> One example is the National Bank, whom the AMDH does not work with due to its violation of human rights through the “instructive values of health and education.” the “establishment of coordination mechanisms between Bank Al-Maghrib and the Exchange Office for the control of foreign funding,” which many civil society associations view as a “strategy to

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<sup>75</sup>Touhtou, R. (2014). *Civil Society in Morocco under the New 2011 Constitution: Issues, Stakes and Challenges*(Publication). Doha, Qatar: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 8.

put [them] under control and an obstacle to the fulfillment of the role” that the new constitution designated them.<sup>76</sup> Therefore, as representatives of the AMDH assert, it is not simply neocolonial power structures that attempt to strip them of their autonomy and prevent their work. An organization like the AMDH is accused of working for a foreign agenda, and all of their efforts are reduced to a critique of neocolonialism, although most entities, including the Moroccan state, receive funds from foreign sources. This critique of neocolonialism has thus been “appropriated” in a sense by their critics, especially in regards to more controversial social issues or direct criticism of the government. Even Fondation Orient-Occident, less involved in political movements with representatives more hesitant to speak on the matter, pointed to the money as motivation for the Moroccan state to issue such declarations. President Badou of Azetta Amazigh declared, “We are both served by the foreign agenda” and pointed to the Moroccan’s desire to maintain societal control as a means for limiting the funds that the government itself profits from. Blows at these international funds seek strengthen the government’s hold on civil society and local NGOs. With this, “civil society does not become a partner, but becomes a tool of execution and is auxiliary and ordinary,” which undermines the very mission of these organizations. President Badou touches on how political parties funding can undermine autonomy: pairing with international organizations removed from the situation allows them to receive the funds necessary for them to conduct projects and advocacy fundamental to their work, while also remaining true to their mission. In fact, engaging with the international system, theoretically rife with hegemonic structures of inequality and domination, allows them to maintain their independence within the Moroccan political system.

This falls in line with Krumah’s theory on neo-colonialism; the struggle against it is rooted in preventing the exploitation of the less “developed” countries. As touched on by Anderson et al.,

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 31-32.

“What people want is an international assistance system that integrates the resources and experiences of outsiders with the assets and capacities of insiders to develop contextually appropriate strategies for pursuing positive change.”<sup>77</sup> Therefore, the contestation, political reordering and activism of Moroccan NGOs can allow them to utilize these resources to their advantage: as they determine the needs that are acted upon, set the objectives, and draft the proposals, many of these organizations assert the important of foreign aid in this process. As Banks et al. write, the “hegemony of foreign aid will and must remain, this suggestsbut it can increase its potential for promoting social and economic transformation through learning more appropriate forms of funding.”<sup>78</sup> Portraying all of aid as a failure discounts the perspectives of the individuals who know its direct impacts as recipients.<sup>79</sup> Individuals “want *not to need* international assistance” and external help. Hence, a system like international aid can offer them a means to “support indigenous processes” until the need for international aid has dissolved.<sup>80</sup>

Especially if local NGOs attempt to organize and mobilize to oppose systemic inequalities here at home or in the international community through a systemic hegemony like American capitalistic imperialism, eliminating international funding, especially given the current position of NGOs like the AMDH and Azetta Amazigh engaging in advocacy, perhaps the words of John DeWitt, in his review of Rapley’s *Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World*, are relevant, and local NGOs should prepare their lengthy instruments for use:

“The time for another paradigm may be drawing near.” As a starting point, future models for Third World development must take into account the restrictive framework of the world economy in which they must function, never forgetting the old adage that when

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<sup>77</sup> Anderson et al., (2012), 137.

<sup>78</sup> Banks et al., (2012), 32.

<sup>79</sup> Anderson et al., (2012), 3.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 135.

you dine with the devil you must use a long spoon.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>DeWitt, J. (2000). RAPLEY, JOHN. Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World [Review of the book *Understanding Development: Theory and Practice in the Third World*]. *Journal of Third World Studies*,XVII(1), 314.

### Conclusion

While much of the literature on the topic did encompass the themes mentioned by the few local organizations I was able to speak with, each brought varying perspectives and corresponding beliefs and practices to these larger overarching themes. While all were intent upon contributing to civil society in some respect, their primary goals varied greatly. While Fondation Orient-Occident falls more in the service provision camp and is generally more concerned with social factors rather than political, working for cross-cultural sensitization with Moroccans and refugees and migrants contributes to working against forms of discrimination and otherization within Moroccan civil society, which cumulatively can implicate the mindsets individuals possess as they consider human rights movements regarding migration. Thaqafat expressly focuses on social development and strengthening Moroccan civil society. Much of their emphasis falls on international volunteerism and cross-cultural exchange with those who will carry their experiences outside of Morocco; their mission also functions in a service-oriented method explored in the literature through volunteer aid as compared to the advocacy-focused groups such as the AMDH and Association Azetta.<sup>82</sup>

They have democratic concepts of representation sown into their organizational structure, which also allows for innovative strategies for advocacy, as opposed to service provision. They are selective about whom they partner with and must share the same organizational aims. Both also verbalized how the generous volunteerism of their organization members from the local communities are an essential component to them escaping the dependency on funders and being

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<sup>82</sup> I believe that my positionality is an extremely important factor to recognize here. Organizational work such as this one through the Center for Cross-Cultural Learning is what allows me to be studying here in Rabat and even conduct this research. However, I believe that it is important to recognize that along with all of the positive effects, which I myself have been a beneficiary of, this does emphasize perspectives of foreigners such as myself and what Cross-Cultural learning can offer international individuals. While the local partners of these initiatives have agency and shape these interactions, I believe that acknowledging this is component of my positionality is extremely important,

able to remain selective about whom they choose as partners, Azetta Amazigh also utilizes international actors as a means of spreading their mission of protecting and promoting Amazigh culture globally, as well as for utilizing international relations to exert pressure on the Moroccan government. Azetta Amazigh's partnerships with international actors are decided on a case-by-case basis with a straightforward attitude; no one can obligate the organization to sacrifice its mission. Maintaining independence and continuing to serve the best interests of the community, which they are a part of, is their main priority; otherwise, they should find other occupations.

The AMDH also utilizes relationships with international actors for the benefit of Moroccan society, specifically through the promotion of democracy and human rights. However, their focus is more on monetary aid and forging connections with like-minded organizations across the world. Ideological alignment is extremely important to the AMDH; partners are decided on a case-by-case basis, but the AMDH refuses to work with the U.S. or any funding by the American state, even through American NGOs. The AMDH is extremely wary of the threats of the global imperialism and violation of human rights, of which they consider the United States to be at the forefront of. They also do not work with the French due to the history of human rights violations, though they generally believe that Europe is less interventionist, less violent, and better aligned with their guiding ideologies. However, it is also the AMDH which receives the most criticism for opponents of their work, notably institutions of the government, for working for foreign powers. Their perspective is that with the extreme vetting of any funding they receive, which has also been nearly obliterated by the efforts of the Moroccan state, they are conscious of the impacts of international aid and does so very strategically considering the historical legacies and global hegemonies that they are fundamentally opposed to as an organization.

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The only organization that addressed the long-term impacts of the international aid system on Moroccan society was the AMDH. Additionally, the AMDH described how it is accused of working for a foreign agenda, and all of their efforts are reduced to a critique of neocolonialism, although most entities, including the Moroccan state, receive funds from foreign sources. This critique of neocolonialism has thus been “appropriated” in a sense by their critics, especially in regards to more controversial social issues or direct criticism of the government. This lens of foreign interference is hardly applied equally across all actors; the AMDH describes how criticism is largely rooted in the agenda of the critic, as they are transparent about their funding and transparent about their beliefs, goals, and criticisms, which certainly extend to European actors as well.

I am not qualified to make any concrete conclusions about the state of NGOs in Morocco and how these organizations do or don't contribute to or challenge underlying systems of domination in reality, or how they are progressing with the issue of development. However, I can present the perspectives of these local organizations and present them in conjunction with historical legacies with frameworks of post-development theory.

As noted in by S. Andreasson in his work on Orientalism and African Development Studies, “let us think carefully about how we approach the study of Africa and development. Let us think again about the North American and European PhD student, how she is conditioned and ‘professionalised’ to then be sent out in ‘the field’, armed with her knowledge, her theory, her method.”<sup>83</sup> This remark is pertinent to harmful tropes perpetuated in the larger structure of the international aid system, the biases within development studies, especially in non-Western countries, and within this piece of work as well. I by no means am in any position to pass

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<sup>83</sup> Andreasson, S. (2005), 983.

judgment on how effective these approaches are in the long-term for Moroccan society, neither given the scope of my work nor with the amount of time I have spent here in Rabat and my positionality as an outsider here. Considering the topic of my research and my identity as a citizen of the very nation that spearheads the perpetuation of global imperialism in today's day and age, this work does not aim to replicate this pattern of external individuals entering a new society and imposing their own belief system and conceptualizations of what is "best" for Moroccan society. I am not here to draw conclusions on what is best in human rights movements in Morocco how these organizations did or did not live up to their missions and maintain autonomy from neocolonialism. I did aim to hear the voices of some of the local organizations working through all of these multi-faceted, complex power structures of neocolonialism, international aid, human rights advocacy, etc. and conclude with a presentation of some of their perspectives and insights, which are often hidden in the literature among the vast expanses of abstract theory. My purpose with this study was to center these perspectives in the context of the theory and scholarship that currently exists, and use this to inform the theories outlined in previous work.

Future researchers could consider a more comprehensive study incorporating the voices of many more local NGOs as they advocate for human rights in Morocco. A greater variety in movement, incorporating mobilization for international, national, and local issues, would strengthen the value of the study in projecting the voices of Moroccan human rights advocates. Furthermore, a deeper look at each organization, by interviewing more personnel, grounding the conversations in historical context, or better understanding dynamics between many of these local organizations would strengthen this body of work. While the literature and scholarship offers a great deal, I believe that hearing the wide range of voices of those who navigate these

systems day in and day out would strengthen our understanding of how to combat the pervasive, insidious hegemonic forces that have evolved through the century, weakening human rights across the globe and perpetuating inequality. By grounding academic scholarship, with historical context and a theoretical framework that moves past Western-centric views, in tandem with these invaluable perspectives, I believe we can reach a greater understanding of how global and local communities alike can contribute to advocacy for universal human rights.

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## Basic Interview Guide

What is the basic structure of your organization? What do you think are the strengths and weaknesses of this structure?

What does success look like for your organization? An example of a successful moment/story

What are the primary goals of your organization? Who determines these priorities?

Who makes the primary decisions in projects and initiatives? How do you evaluate them?

What are some general strategies of your organization, especially in movements that involve the Moroccan state?

Who do you think your organization is accountable to?

What do you see as your organization's role in civic restructuring and civil society?

What do you think of the general trend of NGOs moving more toward service provision in the past few decades and away from social development?

Are NGOs responsible for social change?

Should NGOs be political? What do you see as NGOs' roles in citizen-driven movements? How should they act on these roles?

What organizations do you collaborate with? Are they local, international, or both?

How do you interact with international actors, in funding, programming or coalitions in your work? What has been your personal experience with international assistance efforts?

How do you view your relationships with international actors in efforts to advocate for your community?

What do you envision as effective, advantageous, empowering approaches relationships between local organizations and international actors in human rights movements?

What do you think could be done differently and by whom?

How do you analyze and assess the positive and negative effects of international assistance efforts in your community and Moroccan society over time? What changes would you make?

Who is your organization reliant on for funding? (local/foreign) How would you describe your relationship with your funders/donors? How does this impact your organization and your work?

How do you think foreign funding interacts with membership in your organization?

Do you think foreign aid has the potential for social and economic transformation? Why or why not?

What is your opinion on the March 2017 decision by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation to "ask all diplomatic and consular missions, and representatives of international orgs to inform the MAEC and consult with it before financing NGOs?"

What would you stop, start, and continue with international actors?

When do you think foreign funding becomes a concern?

Is there someone else that you think that I should talk to?



## Participant Consent Form: English

**Statement of Consent****Purpose of Study**

In my study, I aim to explore how neocolonial power structures impact local organizations in through their relationships with international actors. Further research questions include how the local organizations view these relationships, and what they envision as effective, empowering ones moving forward human rights movements in Morocco? Additionally, what do local organizations think of the nationalistic anti-colonialist rhetoric utilized by critics of their work, especially in more controversial social justice issues? How do they respond?

**Duration and Elements of Study**

The study will be conducted over a period of 4 weeks. It will include observations of participants as well as interviews and fieldwork.

**Risks**

The study has no foreseeable risks for participants. However, if you feel uncomfortable with the observation or interview process at any time, you are free to terminate your involvement.

**Compensation**

Participation in this study will not be compensated, financially or otherwise. However, your assistance is greatly appreciated by our research team.

**Confidentiality**

Every effort to keep your personal information confidential will be made in this project. Your names and other identifying information will be changed in the final write-up, and will only be known to the research team.

**Participation**

I, the undersigned, have read the above statements. I affirm that my participation in this study is voluntary and understand that I am free to withdraw my consent at any time without penalty.

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 Signature

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 Date

I recognize that this study involves interviews and/or observations that may be audio-recorded and transcribed.

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 Signature

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 Date
**Research Team:**

Neha Patel

[nprf2015@mymail.pomona.edu](mailto:nprf2015@mymail.pomona.edu)

06 15 26 13 25

Researchers may be contacted by e-mail or telephone for any reason.

## Participant Consent Form: French

**Déclaration de consentement****L'objectif d'étude**

Dans mon étude, je vise à explorer comment les structures de pouvoir néocolonial ont un impact sur les organisations locales à travers leurs relations avec les acteurs internationaux. D'autres questions de recherche portent sur la façon dont les organisations locales perçoivent ces relations et sur ce qu'elles considèrent comme des associations efficaces et avantageuses qui font avancer les mouvements des droits de l'homme au Maroc. De plus, que pensent les organisations locales de la rhétorique anticolonialiste nationaliste utilisée par les critiques de leur travail, en particulier dans les questions de justice sociale plus controversées ? Comment répondent-ils ?

**La durée et les éléments d'étude**

Cette étude sera dirigée pendant une période de 4 semaines. L'étude inclura les observations et les interventions des participants en incluant leur travail sur terrain.

**Les risques**

L'étude n'a aucun risque prévisible pour les participants. Cependant, si vous ne vous sentez pas confortable avec le procédé d'observation ou d'interview, vous êtes libre de terminer votre participation.

**Compensation**

La participation à cette étude ne sera pas compensée, financièrement ou autrement. Cependant, votre aide est considérablement appréciée par notre équipe de recherche.

**Confidentialité**

Tout effort de maintenir votre information personnelle confidentielle sera fait dans ce projet. Vos noms et toute autre information d'identification seront changés dans la description finale, et seulement connue à l'équipe de recherche.

**Participation**

Je soussigné, ....., confirme avoir lu les rapports ci-dessus et compris que ma participation à cette étude est volontaire tout en ayant la liberté de retirer mon consentement à tout moment sans pénalité.

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 Signature

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 Date

J'ai pris conscience que cette étude puisse comporter les entrevues et/ou les observations qui peuvent être enregistrées et transcrites.

---

 Signature

---

 Date
**Team de recherche**

Neha Patel

[nprf2015@mymail.pomona.edu](mailto:nprf2015@mymail.pomona.edu)

06 15 26 13 25

Les chercheurs peuvent être contactés par E-mail ou téléphone pour n'importe quelle raison ;