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NGOs, Religious Diversity, and Displacement in Morocco:

How NGOs in Morocco navigate religious diversity when working with
displaced populations from other countries

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Abstract

This research delves into how Christian organizations serving displaced populations and migrants from other countries in Morocco navigate religious diversity. The research explores how Christian NGOs navigate their religious identity in a predominantly Muslim society as well as how they aid migrants in being able to practice their faith. The paper examines what displacement looks like in Morocco, the complexity of how Islam is incorporated into the Moroccan constitution, and the breakdown of organizations providing services to refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants in Morocco. A hybrid case study-literature review approach is taken to highlight the ways in which two Christian organizations, CARITAS and Comite d'Entraide (CEI) play out their religious identity in working with migrants. By utilizing existing public literature about these organizations as well as conducting interviews with individuals associated with them, this project surveys the nature of the religious element in the operations, programming, and structures of the organizations.

Key terms: NGOs (non-governmental organizations), Migrants, Displacement, Religion, Religious Diversity

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Introduction

This paper focuses on themes of religious diversity and displacement in Morocco. Morocco is a predominantly Muslim country. During my short-lived time of being able to conduct ethnographic field work and record observations in Morocco, I noticed that I actually had not met a native Moroccan individual who grew up with or followed a faith other than Islam. This observation led me to explore religion and religious diversity in Morocco. Being involved in a lot of refugee advocacy work on my college campus, I was particularly interested in looking at concepts relating to displacement in Morocco. NGOs or non-governmental organizations play a tremendous role in working with displaced populations around the world. In this work I aim to explore the question: How do NGOs in Morocco navigate religious diversity when providing services to displaced people from other countries?

The research question comprises of multiple topics including religion, displacement, and NGOs serving migrants. The paper begins with a literature review looking at these themes in the context of the research question. The literature review begins by covering the differences between refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants in Morocco and breaks down the reported numbers of these populations. This section sets the scene and goes a bit into what displacement looks like in Morocco as well as the processes some migrants undergo to obtain refugee status at the UNHCR, or the UN agency office in Rabat. The literature review then continues with giving a brief summary of Islam in the ways in which it is embedded into the constitution and government. This section goes into the concept of freedom of religion and the experiences of those in Morocco practicing minority religions. In addition, this section does address migrant communities that practice Christianity and the legality of the ways these organizations or associations are registered with the government. The next part is followed by a review of existing

ethnographic work that covers the dynamics of religious church communities particularly referencing Inka Stock's ethnographic work in a Nigerian Pentecostal church community as well as the King of Christ Church in Casablanca. The majority of these communities compose of Sub-Saharan African migrants. The literature review concludes with an analysis of a former students' work on Syrian Refugees' experiences in Morocco. This section includes relevant quotes from the students' interviews that demonstrate perceptions and experiences pertaining to religion and religious diversity in Morocco.

The paper further goes into the methodology of how I conducted my research, interviews, and obtained my findings. The methodology section begins with mentioning the case study-literature review approach to complete this report. This portion goes into the breakdown of NGOs in Morocco and the ones that I decided to focus on as well as the justification for choosing specific organizations to concentrate on. The section then delves into the two subject groups I formed, the questions I asked, along with the ethical guidelines I implemented and followed in the interviewing process. The methodology then dives into the limitations of my research including those of the approach taken. The section concludes with my positionality in this type of work and the biases and assumptions that potentially brings.

The last bulk of the paper before the concluding remarks consists of the findings and analysis. The findings of the data indicate that Christian values are integrated into the services and practices of the organizations studied and that many foreign Christians have available communities to be able to practice their religion with support from other community members. These communal spaces and churches are many times connected with NGOs providing aid to migrants. Therefore, these findings provide answers to the ways in which the aspects of religion

and religious diversity are present and maneuvered in the actions and practices of CARITAS and Comite d'Entraide (CEI), two Christian organizations working with migrants.

Literature Review

Migrants, Refugees & Displacement

This research specifically focuses on displaced people from other countries in Morocco. The categories of displaced people from outside of Morocco can generally be broken down into refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants who do not fall under the grouping of refugees or asylum seekers. Refugees are those who have fled their home due to fear of persecution on the basis of political opinion, being part of a specific social group, race, religion, and nationality (UNHCR). Recently the UN ruled that climate related issues are also valid reasons for fleeing and so climate refugees cannot be forced to go back to their homes (Lyons 2020). Asylum seekers are those who have already arrived to their potential host country waiting to eventually be recognized and protected under the status of a refugee; however, there is no guarantee this will happen (Amnesty International 2019). In Morocco there is also a number of migrants who do not fall under these categories for a number of reasons including that they may have not filed a claim or the UNHCR or government have not recognized them as fit under one of these categories (Pulitzercenter, 2019). From much of the research I have done from literature reviews, online videos, and exposure to NGOs in Morocco, various migrant communities are concentrated in a couple of major cities in Morocco including Rabat, Tangier, and Casablanca. Many migrants who are seeking refugee status in Morocco will often immediately go to the UNHCR whose office is located in Rabat (Pulitzercenter, 2019). The UNHCR will take their information, interview them, and then decide whether they may be qualified as refugees. If UNHCR deems them as fit, their claims are sent to Morocco's Bureau of Refugees and Stateless People who can then officially

grant them refugee status (Pulitzercenter, 2019). The push factors of migration are often not clear cut and may not neatly fit into one category which is important to remember when doing any case study of migrants. According to the latest data from UNHCR in Morocco there are over 8,000 refugees and asylum seekers (UNHCR 2019). The majority of this statistic, over 6,000 people are refugees (UNHCR 2019). These individuals come from a number of countries including Syria, the Ivory Coast, Yemen, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Guinea, and more (UNHCR 2019). It is important to note that in some of these countries such as Syria there is more religious diversity relative to Morocco. In some countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the majority religion is Christianity. Thus, many migrants in Morocco may not practice Sunni Islam which is the majority religion in the country. Migrants in Morocco are diverse as they come from different cultural and religious backgrounds.

Islam and the Law

The religious component in Morocco is a bit complex. The constitution in Morocco states that Islam and the state are tied (US State Dept 2018). Additionally, the King is considered “Commander of the Faithful”, “The Protector of Islam” and “Guarantor of the freedom to practice religious affairs” (US State Dept 2018). In legal terms criticizing Islam especially in the public sphere (public statements, the internet, etc.) is not allowed (US State Dept 2018). The Moroccan Association of Human Rights in their 2017-18 report states that only Jewish and Sunni Muslim individuals have the privilege to be able to openly practice their faith (US State Dept 2018). Some Christian leaders say that there are around 30,000 migrants from various countries including Sub-Saharan African countries (newly arrived migrants and those that have been in the country for generations) who practice some branch of Christianity (US State Dept 2018). The Morocco 2018 International Religious Freedom Report cites that there have been multiple

incidents where the government has interrogated and delegitimized Christian and Shiite Muslim individuals' beliefs (US State Dept 2018). One of the factors some migrant communities group themselves in, is on the basis of religion especially in the form of church groups. Therefore, it is imperative to understand the legal framework of organizations that are not Jewish or Sunni Muslim. Non-Jewish and Sunni Muslim religious organizations have to register with the Moroccan government as associations (US State Dept 2018). This needed registration is mostly for the group to be able to conduct any necessary action pertaining to finances (US State Dept 2018). It is significant to note that several church associations in Morocco have different statuses of legality as some are considered international associations via embassies of other countries (US State Dept 2018). These associations are able to conduct religious worship but they may not according to the law do anything that can potentially criticize or delegitimize Islam (US State Dept 2018).

Some Existing Literature on Church Communities in Morocco

As noted by Inka Stock in their book, "Time, Migration, and Forced Immobility", there is not a whole lot of ethnographic work pertaining to religious communities among migrants in Morocco (Stock 2019 p.110). Stock's research highlights religious migrant communities in Morocco and specifically a Pentecostal Nigerian Church community. This community is Anglophone as the majority of the participants are of course from Nigeria. Stock's ethnographic work in this community focuses on hierarchical structures, guidelines, and social norms of the community. Stock essentially demonstrates the different perceptions amongst migrants regarding these social hierarchies and gender dynamics that play out in the community, along with the activities such as church service programs and organized soccer games. It is also crucial to note that many church communities in Morocco tend to be mostly populated by individuals from the

same country. Similar to the Pentecostal Nigerian Church there are for example church communities in Morocco that are predominantly Cameroonian and Congolese as well (Stock 2019 p. 112-117). Stock draws multiple conclusions in their work such as how often times religious communities exhibit the power to give many migrants responsibilities and thus, a sense of purpose which is a very human desire. It provides an outlet of support for them as well. At the same time this type of structure poses its limits as it creates a space of inequality (Stock 2019 p. 126). This dynamic is important to consider and understand when navigating the ways in which religious groups provide for migrants. The ways these groups navigate religion and the structure that the religious associations may provide being a minority religion in an Islamic country can ultimately play a large role in not only the ways in which migrants carry out their day to day lives in Morocco, but also if these dynamics push them to stay in Morocco for longer or go on to other countries, mostly European ones.

Additionally, there is a notable documentary titled “Catholics in the Muslim World” that specifically focuses on Morocco and features Christ the King Church in Casablanca. This church provides a community for some Christians in Morocco, majority of which are from countries in Sub Saharan Africa (Catholic News Service 2015). In the video Father Claudio Ghilardi, the chaplain of the church at the time says “Some women nuns allow friendly Moroccan institutions which are tolerant and sympathetic to Christianity to organize literacy courses for women in convent.” (Catholic News Service 2015 10:11) Thus, the church can provide a safe and protected space for Christians to be able to obtain the services they may seek. The fact that some women nuns scope out institutions in the Muslim world that are open to Christianity and spaces where some women in convent may find to be comfortable in, demonstrates the way this church community heavily comprised of migrants have support from the institution. The church

institution not only acts as a place where people who practice the same faith can meet each other and be around those who share similar values, but also a place where they can obtain assistance for needs that take into account their religious and spiritual identity.

In Morocco, there are also non-Sub-Saharan African migrants who identify with faiths other than Sunni Islam. Hannah Chenok is an alum of the SIT multiculturalism and human rights program. Her research focuses on Syrian refugees' experiences in Morocco. While data can be difficult to obtain pertaining to religious demographic break-downs, multiple sources write that around 10% of Syrians are Christian (Fact Rover). Therefore, it makes sense that some of the individuals fleeing the country may identify with Christianity. In Chenok's work, they were able to interview a number of Syrian refugees to illustrate a portrait of the different experiences this group has had in Morocco. I want to include a couple of quotes from the refugees Chenok interviewed:

"I'm not Muslim...here it's difficult because when you go to church people will look at you."

– Houmam (Chenok 2017 p.23)

"It's very good because the Moroccan people love any people. Different cultures, Muslim or not Muslim, it is good here. No problems here in Morocco." - Khadija (Chenok 2017 p. 28)

"Here in Morocco, all of the people are the same. There is monotone. I miss those days where there is someone who is Christian and someone who is Muslim...I feel like...the thinking of

people is so limited. When you talk about something nobody understands you. If you talk about Christmas they say “ah in the television” ...and when you want to talk about religions, about traditions, about cultures, I see that here is very limited because here there is one religion one tradition...There is difference here, but I’m talking about...ideas. More than things that we see just from the outside.” - Haneen (Chenok 2017 p. 24)

All three of these quotes from three different Syrian refugees living in Morocco demonstrate how the perception of other religions and people who practice other religions can heavily vary. It displays how Syrian refugees residing in Morocco have had vastly different experiences pertaining to the ways others perceive those who follow a different faith. The individual who said the first quote is a 25-year-old cook who works in a restaurant in Rabat, the second quote was said by a 35-year-old woman who works as a waitress, and the third quote was said by a 20-year-old university student studying medicine (Chenok 20). The first quote was said by someone from Aleppo and the second and third quotes were said by people from Damascus (Chenok 20). The different backgrounds pertaining to occupation, where they are from, and age may play a role in their experiences and views pertaining to religion in Morocco; however, other unknown factors including who may run in their social circles and where they are spending their free time potentially are even larger factors. It is however safe to conclude that there are displaced people living in Morocco who do face discomfort when practicing their religion if they do not practice Sunni Islam, and like the third speaker described, it can be hard for some individuals in certain contexts to speak to others about different religions and traditions. These quotes paired next to each other illustrate the varying notions Syrians have of Moroccan society which ultimately affect the way they may practice their own beliefs in the country.

Methodology

Approach & Breakdown

The methodology for this assignment changed over time. Originally this research was going to be primarily a case study where I focused on two specific NGOs in Morocco. It for the most part still is a case study but heavily draws on existing literature. My adviser broke down the NGOs serving displaced communities in Morocco into two categories for the sake of my research topic. There are NGOs that do not have any religious affiliation in Morocco that provide services to migrants and there are NGOs that are Christian. To focus on the element of religion and practicing one's faith in a predominantly Muslim country I decided to concentrate my research on the NGOs that were Christian. There are two organizations that fall under this category, Caritas and CEI (Comite d'Entraide). My initial goal was to speak with workers at these NGOs and ask them questions pertaining to how religion and religious diversity play a role in the services they offer. I also intended to ask migrants who are participants of the NGOs questions pertaining to how they feel the organizations have responded to any of their religious or spiritual needs. By talking to these two subject groups I hoped to determine and discover challenges the NGOs face in serving their clients and the ways these two particular organizations and its participants navigate them holding minority religious affiliations in Morocco. I also hoped that input from migrants utilizing the services of the NGOs would help develop an understanding of the NGOs' affairs pertaining to religion as well as the migrants' general practices relating to their spirituality in Morocco. I still proceeded with this method; however, due to the circumstance of covid-19 and it also being Ramadan, getting responses to email inquiries have been challenging. Nonetheless I posed the following questions to the NGO workers that can be found in appendix A.

Ethics

Regarding the ethics of this methodology, I only asked interview questions to the NGO workers and migrants my adviser put me in touch with, whom he notified about me saying that I will reach out to them. Additionally, I sent each individual I interviewed a short form for digital consent if they were comfortable answering the questions and having their responses in this paper via email. I also clarified that at any point during or prior to the interview, the participants have the option to opt out of the interview. If the interviewee decides that they do not want their responses in my research even after the interview, I made clear they were free to let me know. Additionally, I wrote to the participants saying that if they feel uncomfortable answering any of the questions, they can let me know and I would be more than willing to work with them to take out and/or modify any of the questions as necessary. Appendix B demonstrates the format in which I conveyed this important information.

Limitations

My adviser compiled a list of individuals who have a medium-high level working English knowledge. That being said, I still faced a language barrier as most of the NGO workers and migrants were francophone. I used Google Translate to translate my questions into French when emailing most of the participants and I translated most of the responses I received from French to English. Therefore, there is definitely an element where some ideas may get lost in translation since I heavily relied on Google Translate. As a result, language barrier definitely posed a challenge. When I put the responses into Google Translate, most of it seemed to make sense to the questions and ideas I intended to pose.

In addition, I primarily only spoke with migrants from Sub Saharan Africa even though there are migrants from other parts of the world who may not practice Sunni Islam such as some

Syrians. My analysis is based on a mixture of the interviews and responses I received from those associated with the NGOs as well as public literature about the organizations or individuals associated with the organizations. Additionally, this case study type of approach poses its limitations as I am examining two specific organizations in Morocco, those they serve, and the ways in which they operate. Considering that I have limited data on these organizations, it is easy to distort information to fit a certain narrative. I tried to alleviate this possibility by doing adequate prior research and enough of a literature review to understand the dynamics of religion and minority religious migrants and migrant communities to develop a more accurate picture of how the NGOs are realistically navigating the religious element. Nonetheless, examining specific organizations still poses limits in terms of the information I am looking at.

Positionality, Biases, & Assumptions

Entering this research, I also have my own biases and assumptions. Regarding positionality, I am an American student and have been involved in a lot of refugee advocacy and interfaith work on and off my college campus. I recognize that coming into this research having previously worked with refugee assistance organizations such as the International Rescue Committee and UNHCR as well as smaller NGOs such as the Asylum Seeker Assistance Project, I have my own assumptions. The larger organizations I have worked with sometimes possess a bureaucratic nature and so offering certain services or implementing new projects and programs can take a lot of time. Most of the individuals I have worked with at these NGOs have been very genuine and go the extra step to help out their clients. Thus, my initial assumption is that the people working at the following NGOs utilize the resources they have or know about to the best

of their abilities to be able to help clients live a more comfortable life, which could include being able to fulfill any religious or spiritual needs that may arise.

Findings and Analysis

Due to the limitations of my research, it is of course difficult to sometimes make strong conclusions to the question I posed. From surveying the people associated with the NGOs from both a primary (one-on-one interviews) and secondary (from public literature and previous interviews conducted with those working for the organization) I have developed a greater understanding of the ways these organizations work and the nature of them that ultimately brings nuance to the general themes of religious diversity among migrant communities and particularly, Christian migrant communities in a predominantly Muslim society.

Christian values are embedded into the operations of the organization

A portion of the question “How do NGOs navigate religious diversity when serving displaced people from other countries?” pertains to how Caritas and CEI navigate their Christian identity in a Muslim majority country when providing services to migrants. When I talked to individuals associated with these organizations, multiple individuals had made it a point to say that religion or one’s religious affiliation does not affect their ability to obtain most of the services from the organization. While these organizations are Christian, they provide for individuals regardless of those individuals’ religious identity. Comite d’entraide only has one initiative that helps raise funds for those in need who are members of the Evangelical Protestant Church in Morocco (Comite d’Entraide 2019).

I found that these Christian organizations heavily navigate their Christian identity, or rather, practice their Christian values through the services they provide and the work that they do. In a short documentary by Catholic News Service in 2015 there was an interview with Director of Caritas at the time, Vincent Sibout. In the documentary, Sibout says “Morocco is a welcoming country with a tolerant form of Islam. Working together in service to society also makes things easier. When we work hand in hand to help people or associations or social work, that can be easier than an intellectual discussion.” (Catholic News Service 2015 7:05). It makes sense that sometimes-having discussions based on religion that are philosophical or intellectual may take on a more complicated form especially given the nature of how Islam is incorporated into the constitution as described previously. When Christian values such as service and empathy (which are common values across different philosophies) are incorporated into the work of an organization, navigating the religious element can in some ways be simpler than creating platforms of discussion.

Additionally, Caritas is known for their work being interfaith as they actively take the initiative to be inclusive. The Director of Caritas at the time of the video also says, “Many people discover that Christians are in solidarity with them without any hope of gain. For example, we helped 350 families obtain surgery for children with heart malformation. Many were astonished that Christians were helping them have access to hospitals and paying for the operations. This is really very important now, in a time of worldwide interreligious tensions and severe economic divisions.” (Catholic News Service 2015 12:05). The video also reports that many of the workers at Caritas are actually Muslim. Thus, Caritas navigates the element of religion and religious diversity by laying most emphasis on universal values of servitude, and incorporating interfaith

practices that aim to be inclusive to work together for providing a sense of community and basic needs for migrants.

CEI provides a number of services to migrants that incorporate similar Christian values of service and giving back such as providing programs to assist unaccompanied minors; however, the element of Christianity is not explicitly present in the services and work they provide besides the program that directly offers funds for members of the church (Comite d'Entraide 2019). Those Christian values of compassion and service are however integrated into the nature in which the organization operates.

At Caritas the Pope delivered a speech in March 2019 in which King Mohammed VI actually welcomed him (Dardar & Train Journey, 2019). The speech pertained to the humanitarian efforts and the need to continue working with migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers to collectively build a better future in which vulnerable populations have the safety and security they deserve (Francis 2019). In the speech, Pope Francis of course explicitly references Christian values by concluding “You know well from experience that for Christians, “it is not just about migrants”, for it is Christ himself who knocks on our doors.” (Francis 2019). Essentially a Christian NGO serving migrants provided the space for Pope Francis to come to Morocco and speak about qualities that are Catholic, and how the importance of what organizations serving migrants like CARITAS and CEI are doing are ultimately values of Christ. It is crucial to understand that by an NGO ultimately providing a platform for this expression, it is practicing and promoting values of inclusivity. Even if interfaith dialogue is not explicitly taking place, there is an interreligious component of the Pope, a major figure in the Catholic world, sharing religious values when it comes to serving migrants in Rabat.

Therefore, religion is not heavily taken into account in many of the specific services of the organizations; however, Christian values are many times embedded into the organization's programming. The indirect nature of this dynamic can make carrying out the organizations' operations easier in some ways.

Many foreign Christians have spaces to be able to worship and practice their religion

A major component of the research question pertains to the challenges that may possibly arise for migrants wanting to practice their faith especially if it is a minority religion in Morocco and what the NGOs may do to help alleviate those obstacles. This finding that many Christians do have the spaces to be able to worship comfortably may seem like a vague generalization to make. Much of my findings however do point to the fact that there are several communities and associations that provide a sense of community with a religious affiliation that major NGOs such as CARITAS and CEI are aware about or connected to. My research does of course pose limitations as the people I was interviewing in the spaces I was examining mostly came from countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Going back to my literature review, when I reviewed Inka Stock's work, they mentioned that they were conducting ethnographic work in a Nigerian Pentecostal church community and it was often the case that those from the same country preferred going to church or worshipping together. Additionally, Hannah Chenok's responses from some Syrian refugees demonstrate that there are individuals from the Syrian refugee community that find discomfort when attending church.

From the information I was able to gather from news sources as well as interviews, I found that many Sub-Saharan African migrants are able to be connected with associations and communities for support that may be formally or informally connected with the NGOs.

Therefore, when examining the research question, it seems that many NGOs do not explicitly provide spiritual or religious support to its clients; however, they do seem to aid individuals in finding a sense of community where often a religious element comes into play. One of the migrants I interviewed who is Christian and from Cameroon said that he has not had much difficulty in practicing his faith since Morocco is a tolerant society welcoming of different people and religions. He also answered that CEI and CARITAS had actually supported him while going through an illness and while he underwent baptism and the process of becoming a part of the Catholic church. Therefore, Caritas nor CEI as found above do not explicitly state or have a religious component in many of the services they provide, but the organizations at least for this migrant has helped provide the individual a sense of communal support in his religious choices. The video by Catholic News Service also made it a point to address that foreign Christians often are able to more easily practice their faith as opposed to native Moroccans (Catholic News Service 2015). The video being titled “Catholics in the Muslim World” for a large portion of the video portrays church communities that are mostly composed of people from outside of Morocco who are in the country temporarily and how the pastor says goodbye to some and welcomes a new group of foreigners every year (Catholic News Service 2015 2:58).

Additionally, as stated in a brochure of CEI, “CEI is the diaconal arm of the Evangelical Church in Morocco (EEAM).” (Comite d’Entraide 2019). Thus, this organization is associated with and essentially part of an established church that offers a space where migrants are able to worship. While this service is obvious, noting that the presence, space, and support an affiliated church provides migrants is crucial to understanding how it plays a role in terms of how these Christian organizations aid migrants in being able to embrace their religious identity in a Muslim majority country. Even if, as interviewees and the video noted, Morocco is tolerant and open to

religious diversity among foreigners, the communal aspect aid organizations provide can be crucial to some individuals' spiritual needs.

As CEI is connected with the Evangelical Church in Morocco, the church is also often doing work that includes migrants. For example, Global Ministries annually facilitates a Women-to-Women Worldwide project and in fall 2019, the women who left various countries to find safety in Morocco shared their stories at the Evangelical Protestant church and contributed to the service work of the institution (Global Ministries). This is one example of the type of program that the church CEI is connected with carries out. Therefore, these women migrants, some of which who may practice Christianity, are offered a role and a sense of community under this church by being able to connect with those who may share the same faith.

Altogether, many Christians that belong to sub-Saharan African migrant communities in Morocco do not experience the same types of challenges in practicing their religion as some native Moroccan converts do. This phenomenon is not solely due to Moroccan law, but also the sense of community that organizations such as CEI and CARITAS provide as well as the churches they are connected with that heavily comprise of foreigners, many of which share the same countries of origin. This composition and community that organizations like CARITAS and CEI are linked with, can make practicing one's faith more do-able in a predominantly Muslim society.

Conclusion

After reviewing the migrant breakdown in Morocco, relevant information pertaining to Islam in the law, existing literature on church communities, and interview responses from individuals associated with Christian organizations serving displaced communities in Morocco,

there are some common findings. This research as described earlier definitely poses its limits but from studying mostly Sub-Saharan Christian African migrant communities in Morocco that are connected with particular churches and NGOs, I found that Christian values are many times incorporated into the practices and services of the NGOs. This integration manifests in various ways through the drive behind the services they provide, their connections to particular churches, and inclusive interfaith practices.

I also found that many foreign Christians have communities that provide an outlet of support. As Inka Stock discovered in their work, it is important to note that church communities can also pose dynamics of inequality and may not always have a completely positive affect on individuals. At the same time, these types of church communities can offer spaces for migrants to be able to worship with those who share the same religion and the same values. Additionally, this type of outlet of support (as also seen in the Church of Christ the King in Casablanca), can aid migrants in being able to seek out other services and opportunities in spaces where they will be comfortable in not having to hide their religious identity. This finding answers the question of how do NGOs navigate religious diversity in the sense that many times NGOs are connected with these church communities and that their clients are a part of them, which build on the network available for migrants. Ultimately the ways in which NGOs, particularly Christian organizations that work with migrants, navigate the element of religion is heavily based on the organizations' structure, associated church communities, and inclusive programs and initiatives.

Appendix A.

Interview Questions (All of the following questions were translated into French when sent to the NGO workers and migrants.)

Questions I asked the NGO workers:

- 1.) What is your role at {organization name} and can you talk a little bit about what you do at the organization?
- 2.) How has {organization name} navigated its Christian identity in the Moroccan legal context? What has been the experience of registering as a Christian organization and practicing Christian values?
- 3.) How do you see religion play out in the services the organization provides to its beneficiaries?
- 4.) Is there anything in particular and if so, what does Caritas do to help migrants be able to safely and comfortably practice their religion?

I asked the following questions to the migrants:

- 1.) Do you identify with a particular religion or faith?
- 2.) Where are you from?
- 3.) How do you practice your religion and faith in Morocco and where?
- 4.) Have there been any challenges you have experienced in practicing your faith?
- 5.) Have NGOs in Morocco, CARITAS or CEI, provided you with any assistance or resources to help you more comfortably practice your faith? If so, can you elaborate on them?

Appendix B.

Consent

If you are okay with being interviewed, for formality, please give me your consent in response to this email. If you wish to opt out of interviewing at any point or decide afterwards you don't want

your answers to be in my research feel free to let me know. I also want to make clear that this research may potentially be made public permanently.

You can copy and paste: I, ____ (Name) _____ give my consent in answering questions pertaining to my experiences. I acknowledge that these responses will be utilized and placed in the research project and may be made public permanently to anyone.

[Insert questions as appropriate]

Those are all of the questions I have. Do not hesitate to let me know if you would be uncomfortable answering some of the questions, as I would be more than willing to work with you to modify or change them if necessary.

Appendix C

Interview Responses (Start of Bibliography)

Google Translate is used, as the interview responses I received over email are in French.

“I am Muslim and practicing and being and I practice my faith in a fairly discreet manner, my religion does not often interfere with my way of life so I find it difficult to identify myself with my religion, and with regard to NGOs accompanying migrants there is no project to help x or y religion in their organizations so I will not say that I am discriminated against by what I am Moslem that I do not know how it goes when you are Christian or of a other religion.”

-Annas from Ghana

“1.) Do you identify with a particular religion or faith?

R.- {Yes I answer a liver of Christianity and Catholic}

2.) Where are you from?

A.- I am Cameroonian in origin, and residing in the Cherifian kingdom of Morocco.

3.) How do you practice your religion and your faith in Morocco and where?

A.- I practice my religion in the precincts of the Catholic Church and at home.

4.) Have you had any difficulty practicing your faith?

A.- Not at all, since the kingdom of Morocco is truly open to different religious cultures.

5.) Have NGOs in Morocco, CARITAS or CEI, provided you with assistance or resources to help you practice your faith more comfortably? If yes, can you tell us more?

A.- yes of course, before I wrote a book called, {the biggest and very rich business in the world Catholic church} which I never finished and after I wrote another book which I entitled {you know} who speaks that Jesus is not God, nor even the son of God and the announcement of the prophet Mohammed in the Holy Scripture the bible.

After that I was really confused between religions and religious beliefs and with the help of the CEI and Caritas who supported me during a very long illness in Morocco at the same time. And I could become a member of the catholic church and I baptized myself, Communes and confirm to the catholic church in Morocco.

{But until then, I always have an indifference of reflection on the Christian liver, like Islam, having seen myself Islamized in the past.

And until today I can say that I believe in God, I believe in religion {something that remains to be defined until now.”

- Hermann from Cameroon

Appendix D

Comite d'Entraide Brochure

Qui sommes-nous ?

Le Comité d'entraide Internationale (CEI) est le bras diaconal de l'Eglise Evangélique Au Maroc (EEAM). Ce service travaille aussi bien auprès des plus fragiles de ses paroisses locales qu'auprès des migrants et réfugiés subsahariens qui sont établis au Maroc ou le traversent en direction d'autres horizons. Au niveau international, l'EEAM unit ses forces à celles des églises d'autres pays et, sur le plan local, le CEI partage ce travail avec des ONG tant marocaines qu'internationales de la place.

Dans son organisation, le CEI a deux niveaux. Un bureau national définit la stratégie et gère certains programmes, tandis que les équipes locales composées de bénévoles travaillent sur le terrain ou assurent des paiements ou sont accueillis les bénéficiaires. Nos bénévoles représentent toute la diversité de l'EEAM et sont accompagnés pour leur bien-être holistique.



Où sommes-nous ?

Nous avons neuf bureaux locaux au Maroc. Ils se trouvent dans la plupart des grandes villes : Agadir, Casablanca, Fès, Marrakech, Meknès, Oujda, Rabat, Tanger et Tétouan.



Pour nous contacter :
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Le Comité d'Entraide Internationale




Pour les dons :
SOCIETE GENERALE
Eglise Evangélique au Maroc
N° de compte bancaire :
022 780 00000 200 123 39 95 174
SWIFT: SGMBMAMC

EEAM 2019

Que faisons-nous ?

Aide d'urgence

L'aide d'urgence a pour objectif de répondre aux besoins les plus fondamentaux. Il s'agit ici d'aide en termes de colis alimentaires, de vêtements, d'accompagnement médical, entre autres.

Cas lourds

Les cas lourds concernent les situations, généralement liées à des problèmes de santé graves, qui dépassent les capacités ou moyens de l'équipe locale. C'est alors le bureau national qui prend en charge les procédures médicales nécessaires.

Accueil de l'enfant

Ce programme a pour objectifs principaux de faciliter aux enfants l'accès aux différents services qui les permettront de grandir dans la sécurité vers l'épanouissement intellectuel, psychologique et spirituel et de les intégrer dans des crèches ou des milieux scolaires, afin que leurs mères soient disponibles pour travailler.

Aide au retour

Il arrive que le CEI, lorsqu'il a le financement correspondant, contribue ponctuellement à une aide au retour. Il s'occupe surtout des cas urgents qui ne relèvent pas d'autres programmes de retour, comme ceux de l'OIM par exemple.

Mineurs non-accompagnés

Ce programme est en faveur des mineurs non accompagnés. L'objectif est d'une part, de les mettre à l'abri dès leur arrivée sur le territoire marocain, dans l'espoir de les faire échapper à l'influence des réseaux actifs à la frontière et en particulier à Oujda. D'autre part, un autre objectif est de leur permettre de prendre une pause, favorisant la réflexion en lien avec les dangers de poursuivre leur voyage, en espérant qu'ils décident de se fixer au Maroc ou de retourner dans leur pays d'origine pour les plus jeunes.



Bourse

Le programme de bourse est une spécificité de l'aide apportée par le CEI. Le CEI accorde des bourses aux étudiants subsahariens en situation de vulnérabilité financière, pour éviter qu'ils ne tombent dans une situation de précarité qui pourrait les faire basculer dans l'illégalité. Pour ceux qui ont terminé leurs études mais qui n'ont pas de moyens pour rentrer dans leur pays d'origine, le CEI offre aussi une bourse pour payer des frais scolaires et poursuivre leurs études et parfois pour acheter un billet de retour.

Formation professionnelle

Les formations professionnelles sont destinées aux personnes qui veulent être formés pour trouver du travail et devenir autonomes. Les stagiaires sont placés chez un formateur qui les encadre pendant une période de trois mois. Les métiers sont variés (ex : soudure, peinture, pâtisserie et coiffure).



Microprojets

Le CEI fournit une solution viable à ceux qui veulent gagner leur autonomie financière. Ces microprojets consistent à les aider à créer une activité génératrice de fonds, en leur fournissant un financement pour l'acquisition de matériel ou le démarrage de l'activité choisie. Ils sont ensuite suivis par un membre du CEI pour que leur activité devienne génératrice de revenus.

Matching funds

Ce service est spécifiquement destiné aux membres des paroisses de l'EEAM qui se trouvent en difficulté. La paroisse est appelée à récolter une somme, que le bureau national du CEI abonde d'un montant égal, doublant ainsi la somme collectée.

Appendix E

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