Power and Impact: Examining the Role of Monarchy and Media in Shaping Attitudes Around Race and Human Rights for Sub-Saharan Migrant Populations in Morocco

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Power and Impact: Examining the Role of Monarchy and Media in Shaping Attitudes Around Race and Human Rights for Sub-Saharan Migrant Populations in Morocco

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Abstract

The purpose of this investigation is to delve into the intricate dynamics surrounding migration in Morocco, specially focusing on the Maghreb region’s treatment of sub-Saharan migrants and the complex interplay between institutions of power, media narratives and societal attitudes towards race and identity. Drawing on Morocco’s historical relationship with slavery and its present handling of Africanness, the analysis unveils a culture of denial that deeply impacts the integration of migrants and the perpetuating of discriminatory practices. The narrative shifts towards the role of rhetoric and media, emphasizing its pivotal importance in shaping societal perspectives, particularly regarding non-Moroccans. The examination extends to the Moroccan media’s relationship with the monarchy, revealing how institutional influence and censorship significantly manipulate and drive public discourse. This study also touches on a variety of geopolitical and foreign policies and strategies questioning the efficacy of these strategies as genuine catalysts for social change. Furthermore, it scrutinizes the contradictions between theory and practice surrounding the integration of migrants within the maghreb. Throughout, the research methodically addresses key questions regarding institutional influence, the manipulation of power and population, Moroccan identity, and the lived experiences of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco.

Keywords: identity, nuance, migration, race, power, culture, influence
Acknowledgments

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I would additionally like to thank fellow MOR and MOM students for making the journey memorable. And finally, a special thank you to my parents for encouraging me to come to Morocco, never doubting my decisions, and being my all-time favorite journalists.

I also want to thank the journalists of the world who continuously work to give us honest, accurate, and sometimes painful realities of society and culture. As I read what could be the last words of many journalists in Gaza, I am eternally grateful for their sacrifice and that of many other journalists throughout history. I am glad there are people in the world dedicated to standing against misinformation in the media, manipulation in the news, and standing for truth. Thank you for your strength.
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I. Introduction

"Africans we are, and Africans we remain"1

The above quote was pulled from an article detailing how Morocco distinguishes itself from its continent, Africa. It is very telling of what I will convey in my research paper while also demonstrating the complex nuance associated with Moroccan identity.

In a complex interplay of historical legacies and contemporary political dynamics, my research delves into the intricate relationship between institutions of power—the monarchy, government, and news outlets—in Morocco, and their profound influence on citizen behavior and opinion regarding the treatment of race, particularly in the context of the growing sub-Saharan migrant population. By examining the historical backdrop and current political landscape, this study seeks to unravel how these institutions manipulate their influence, either contributing to the betterment of Moroccan society or perpetuating harm to the human rights of othered populations.

Upon arrival in Morocco, I was struck by the homogenous nature of the population, especially in terms of culture, identity, and race. During several of our guided tours around the country, there was a repeated sense of pride around the notion of Morocco being “98.9% Moroccan and Muslim.” Regardless if that statement is true, with it comes many assumptions, one being a lack of diversity and an inability to handle a changing racial landscape. My research paper aims to problematize this notion and analyze how Moroccan culture, like lack of diversity, is upheld by different manifestations of power and influence.

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The importance of my research lies in uncovering this reality and shedding light on how power can be manipulated against specific communities rather than solely for the betterment of culture and society. It is essential to talk about racially charged issues in any context, but most importantly, in situations where the bounds of human rights are being pushed.

This paper will examine a series of scholarly and news sources on race, sub-Saharan migrants, Moroccan identity, and a monarchical controlled culture. Firstly, I will aim to place Morocco within its historical relationship with slavery and subordination, followed by how this history impacted the creation of a “Moroccan identity.” This analysis will help color present-day migration within the Maghreb, particularly regarding sub-Saharan migrants arriving in North Africa. Furthermore, by looking at the treatment of said migrants, I will aim to exemplify Morocco’s culture of denial and its relationship to the image and reputation of the monarchy and the media.

Moreover, the second half of the paper relies on a series of case studies investigating different moments in recent history that have contributed to the current understanding of race, migration, politics, and exclusivity. These case studies help put the literary sources into practice, demonstrating how the aforementioned elements serve to create a specific narrative about Morocco and sub-Saharan migrants within the Maghreb.

My aim is not to admonish the institutions of power within Morocco but to shed light on and critique how influence can enhance social cohesion and economic development while, conversely, further ostracizing a growing population. More so, because of the visibility of these institutions of power in Moroccan culture, it is much easier for them to
attempt to maintain stability by controlling the narrative regarding the sub-Saharan population through selective human rights enforcement.

In general, historical and contemporary political dynamics in Morocco suggest that institutions of power, in their efforts to manage and control sub-Saharan migrant populations, have occasionally prioritized national interests and societal cohesion over the acceptance of these marginalized communities.

I hope to respond to the following questions: How do institutions of power—the monarchy, the government, and news outlets—influence citizen behavior and opinion surrounding the treatment of race regarding the growth of the sub-Saharan migrant population in Morocco? How do institutions of power manipulate and utilize their influence for the betterment of Moroccan society and/or the harm of othered populations’ human rights? What is Moroccan identity, and does it include sub-Saharan migrants? What does it mean to be a sub-Saharan migrant in Morocco?
II. Literature Review

Morocco’s Historical Context and its Impact on Moroccan Identity

Nestled at the crossroads of civilization, Morocco’s rich history has a unique narrative that profoundly shapes the contemporary Moroccan identity. With roots tracing back through centuries of Amazigh, Arab, and Andalusian influences, the country’s historical context serves as a dynamic display, illustrating the synthesis of cultural, religious, and geopolitical forces. From the medieval Amazigh dynasties to the Arab-Islamic expansion and later interactions with European powers, Morocco’s historical journey has left an indelible mark on its people and their sense of self. Through the following sources, I aim to explore the interchange between Morocco’s historical narrative and the construction of its modern identity, shedding light on the intricate threads that bind the past to the present.

Morocco has a complex history when it comes to attitudes toward black people, influenced by a variety of factors, including historical, cultural, and socioeconomic dynamics. However, I recognize that attitudes can differ depending on region, population, and culture. Before the colonial era, Morocco was home to various ethnic groups, including the indigenous Amazigh, Arab, and sub-Saharan African groups who were part of the trans-Saharan trade routes. There was a degree of intermingling and coexistence among these groups. However, since the early 18th century, Morocco has been firmly rooted in the “European imagination.” Therefore, during the colonial period in the early 20th century, particularly under French and Spanish rule, attitudes toward Black people were

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significantly influenced by these European outlooks. These colonial powers often promoted a hierarchy that favored certain groups over others, which impacted social attitudes.

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According to Maha Marouan in *Incomplete Forgetting: Race and Slavery in Morocco*, published in the Islamic Africa Journal in 2016, talking about slavery in Morocco has always been taboo. Furthermore, it is not included in the majority of educational curricula despite the undeniable ways it shapes current narratives about race. In her understanding of Moroccan history, the difficulty of talking about Morocco’s affiliation with slavery lies in its strong identity as a Muslim nation that could not have possibly enslaved other Muslim nations. Morocco is not the only country that struggles with accepting slavery as a part of its narrative. For example, the United States continuously tries to deny the long-lasting impacts of slavery and how it has determined the current treatment of Black communities. The colonial administration in the 20th century evidently had a strong role in shaping Morocco’s geography, communities, and multiethnic social fabric. But the historical evidence is just as telling as silence, and “this silence is part of a larger national discourse that does not acknowledge the magnitude of the trans-Saharan slave trade and the presence of a marginalized population whose stories have not been told.”

In every context, owning slaves signaled prestige “and of those who owned slaves were high officials in the colonial government.” Officials and those in positions of authority often lead by example, meaning if they were active participants in slavery and the

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5 Salime, “Morocco,” 77.
6 Marouan, 269.
7 Marouan, 269.
subordination of black bodies, evidently, the populations under them absorbed the notion that being Black meant being in a subservient role. Even in later history, social stratification was still present. Those with wealth gained prestige, and those working in the labor markets were associated with the lower class. I highlight Morocco’s relationship with the slave trade to reveal the lack of agency Moroccans today have when it comes to discussing this unfortunate era of their history. Marouan states, "this memory dance of remembering and forgetting is part of our collective subconscious. Although the slave system disappeared forever, what remains are the secrets, the shame, and the inexplicable genealogies.”

It is a slippery slope, forgetting one’s own history because it eliminates all the possible reasons why Morocco is the way it is today. By distancing from slavery, Morocco effectively distances itself from blackness, carefully constructing an ethnic and cultural identity that excludes “the thousands of sub-Saharan Africans brought to the trans-Saharan slave trade” and the thousands of sub-Saharan African migrants arriving in Morocco today. Black Africa should not be and is not a separate entity from Morocco. Still, as we will see in the next couple of sources, Morocco has cultivated an identity that distinguishes itself from “Africanness.”

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Despite its historical ties to Africa and the deep imprint of slavery within its past, Morocco has grappled with a complex relationship with its Africanness, at times exhibiting a tendency to separate itself from the continent. The echoes of slavery, while acknowledged in historical narratives, have not always translated into a cohesive recognition of Morocco’s

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8 Salime, “Morocco,” 77.
10 Marouan, 271.
African identity. This nuanced disconnect has implications for contemporary racial dynamics domestically and on the broader African stage. Morocco’s rejection of its Africanness, even in the face of a shared history marked by slavery, intersects with modern-day manifestations of racism. This dynamic plays a role not only in shaping internal attitudes towards racial and ethnic diversity but also in influencing Morocco’s interactions within the African continent, where the legacy of historical relations and the current dynamics of pan-Africanism and cooperation unfold against a backdrop of a complex historical narrative. Understanding the intricacies of this rejection and its resonance in present-day racial discourse is crucial for comprehending Morocco’s evolving stance on its identity within the larger African context.

In Anti-Black Racism: Debating Racial Prejudices and the Legacies of Slavery in Morocco by Laura Menin, current racism against sub-Saharan migrants is characterized “as a living remnant of the Moroccan history of slavery and its 17th-century racialization.” Moroccans do not necessarily define themselves as African because of historical tensions and racialized worldviews. As I previously mentioned, in the majority of the world, whiteness is associated with superiority, whereas blackness is linked to inferiority. To many historians, this anti-Black sentiment that is present in Morocco is linked to “forced conscription of haratine in Sultan Moulay Ismail’s 17th-century black army–the Abid El Bukhari–[which] contributed to the ideological foundation of a society divided by color.” This initial incident is well explained in Chouki el Hamel’s piece Black Morocco, which is a highly respected and referenced piece of literature that better frames current formations of

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anti-blackness. This single event has led to a series of unfortunate ramifications, as demonstrated by this study.

Initially, I explained how colonial thought shaped Moroccan identity. In the post-colonial world, Arabization is better suited to demonstrate current culture. There was a desperate need for Morocco to form a national identity, but unfortunately, stereotypical visions of Black people as slaves or servants also became elements of this identity. Menin contends “that historically rooted anti-black prejudices are deeply entangled with and shaped by current media and political discourses, transnational geopolitics delegating border control to North African states and Morocco’s position in the international political arena.” It is evident that history does impact the present, especially as racial issues continue to emerge in modern society. Moreover, it is vital to recognize how, even if Moroccan authorities do not want to admit it, colonial and slave history influence essential aspects of what it means to be Moroccan, mainly when that identity competes with African identity.

Menin also notes that anti-Black prejudice is not relegated solely to sub-Saharan migrants but also to Black Moroccans, demonstrating the vitality of identity politics in a country that boasts homogeneity. According to her, the “linear connection between historical slavery and current racism works as a powerful narrative to give visibility to the difficult situation of sub-Saharan migrants” but “this narrative risks obscuring the complexity of ‘blackness’ in Morocco.” Obscuring the Black identity does not eliminate or lessen its presence. Despite Morocco’s desire to feel superior and be synonymous with European

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14 Menin, 5.
15 Menin, 10.
16 Menin, 13.
countries, they remain African and a part of the black diaspora.

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Racial identity in Morocco is highly nuanced and debated, weaving between historical, cultural, and social threads. While some may emphasize Arab or Amazigh heritage, others may find resonance in their African roots. Recognizing and embracing one's African heritage signifies acknowledging historical realities and marks vital steps toward fostering inclusivity and understanding within Moroccan society. It serves as a reminder that the richness of Morocco's identity lies in the harmonious coexistence and celebration of its diverse cultural strands, underscoring the importance of recognizing and honoring the African roots that contributed to the nation's unique mosaic of identities. The following two pieces will explore how an African Morocco identity is problematized, especially as the number of sub-Saharan migrants grows.

There is an understanding within Morocco that the population itself is culturally more Arab than they are African. Still, this dichotomy often pits ethnic groups against one another rather than encouraging simultaneity. According to Jean-Pierre Bodjoko, in his article “Sub-Saharan Africa and the Maghreb: Identity Crisis, Racism, and Conflict,” he outlines a very particular problem, one that is not limited to Morocco. The problem stems from both international and national arenas in terms of "how to live with each group's cultural differences under the shadow of globalization, [...] [which] rather than removing the barriers erected by different groups, leads them to close in on themselves in an attempt
to ‘deny’ the existence of others.” As we have seen with Moroccan denial of its slave history, another denial is taking place: a denial of a particular type of body, the Black body.

He claims that racial discrimination is simply an inherent part of the experience of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco. This is evidenced by more overt acts of racism but also by migrants being regulated and how their human rights are abused. Furthermore, he bridges the upholding and proliferation of Moroccan identity and the rise in anti-Black sentiment. The increase in arrests of migrants and refugees in addition to the transportation of migrants to remote desert locations or the rise in brutal physical attacks against migrants highlights his point. Therefore, Bodjoko heavily urges Morocco to implement a plan to eliminate discrimination and achieve racial equality because, in his eyes, “Moroccan society is sadly divided along lines of color and race.” Many features of Morocco’s identity reject their affiliation with Africanness, primarily through the physical representation of Black migrants coming into Morocco. To conclude this section, I will finally demonstrate how silence can lead to violence and how ideological and obsessive complexes can result in the adverse treatment of fellow African populations.

For centuries, Black people have been perceived as the out-group, subject to discrimination, racism, subjectivity, and ignorance. In “Racisme Anti-Noir: «Comment le Maghreb en est-il venu à rejeter son africanité?»” by Salah Trabelsi, she establishes that

18 Bodjoko, “Sub-Saharan African and the Maghreb.”
19 Bodjoko.
20 Bodjoko.
“unlike the rest of the population, [Black people] are the only ones perceived as the embodiment of an exogenous group, identifiable by presumed distinct ethnic and sociocultural characteristics.” Because Black people are frequently ostracized, they become easy targets and are often the subjects of paradoxical hierarchy and categorization. Like Menin, Trabelsi also recognizes that these issues are not solely limited to migrants coming into Morocco but also include Black Moroccans.

She asks us, “How did the Maghreb states come to zealously and eagerly claim this putative kinship with Arabness and to forcefully reject their Africanness?” This question not only colors the issues I aim to address in this initial part of the literature review but highlights that there are clear indications that Morocco is actively denying their African identity. She holds that the treatment of Amazigh Arabs is akin to the treatment of migrants, demonstrating a singular desire to abandon an Afro-centric identity. By reflecting on past acts of discrimination, she believes that we can see the correlation between Arabness and self-negation. Later, I will address the nature of denial and what it signifies in the greater context of Moroccan identity. However, Trabelsi believes that this denial is a type of “Doctrinal Negrophobia and self-hatred,” which is representative of both historical incidences of racialized ostracization and modern separation between Morocco and Africa. Most importantly, through her work, it becomes evident that these issues go beyond sub-Saharan migrants, stretching back into the past and most likely into the future.

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22 Trabelsi, “Racisme Anti-Noir.”
23 Trabelsi, “Racisme Anti-Noir.”
24 Trabelsi, “Racisme Anti-Noir.”
25 Trabelsi, “Racisme Anti-Noir.”
26 Trabelsi, “Racisme Anti-Noir.”
This first set of provided texts analyzes Morocco's complex relationship with race, tracing historical influences and examining contemporary manifestations of racism. Morocco's identity is explored in the context of the nation's historical journey from medieval dynasties to interactions with European powers. The narrative underscores the nuanced nature of racial identity in Morocco, with a particular focus on the country's historical ties to slavery and its subsequent denial within national discourse. The discussion delves into the impact of colonialism on Moroccan attitudes toward black populations, emphasizing the enduring influence of historical events on present-day racial dynamics.

Marouan's text draws attention to the consequences of this silence, noting the persistence of anti-Black sentiment and its implications for contemporary racial issues. Menin's insights on the racialization of sub-Saharan migrants and the entanglement of historical prejudices with current media and political discourses add depth to the exploration. Moreover, Bodjoko's perspective on the inherent challenges faced by this population in Morocco highlights the pervasive nature of racism. The rejection of Africanness is emphasized, with the text suggesting that Morocco's desire to distance itself from its African identity contributes to the perpetuation of discrimination. Finally, Trabelsi's work discusses the paradoxical hierarchy and categorization faced by Black people in the Maghreb region. The denial of an Afro-centric identity is linked to historical incidents of racialized ostracization, forming a broader context for understanding Morocco's complex relationship with race.
The content presented in this first literature analysis unravels Morocco’s historical and contemporary relationship with race and holds broader implications for understanding migration within the Maghreb region. As we examine migration within the Maghreb, it’s essential to recognize that the rejection of Africanness within Morocco and the persistence of historical prejudices contribute to the complex migration landscape, both within the nation and across the broader region. By delving into these interconnected themes, we can gain deeper insights into the factors influencing migration patterns, the treatment of migrant populations, and the broader socio-political implications within the Maghreb.

Sub-Saharan Migrants in Morocco and Migration Within the Maghreb

Morocco has a long history of emigration and migration, like many countries in the Maghreb. More recently, Morocco has transformed into a “country of transit” wherein it has become a destination for irregular migrants from sub-Saharan Africa. The majority of migrants come to Morocco with the goal of reaching Europe; however, with tightening border controls and the rise in the cost of migration, these migrants have taken up a more permanent residence in North Africa. Evidently, as more migrants come to Morocco with no means of transitioning to Europe, their presence becomes more known, and thus their ill-treatment is more apparent. This literature review section aims to understand the correlation between migration and integration.

Many scholars believe that migration in Morocco is driven by many different push and pull factors that affect the connections between Moroccans and migrants, in addition to the resulting inequalities migrants face. In an article written by Aida Alami named “My


Name Is Not Negro,” she begins by addressing how Morocco has struggled to integrate migrants, especially when it comes to balancing these push and pull factors. She outlines a variety of campaigns that migrants generated in an attempt to shed light on the difficulties of being outsiders in Morocco. The campaign Massmytich Azzi or “My Name is Not Negro” came after the Moroccan government launched an operation to document migrants.29 Unfortunately, it led to an increase in discrimination against migrants and increased difficulty with the actual integration of these newly arrived migrants. Members of the pro-migrant campaign stated that “our campaign isn’t just a campaign against racism, but also a campaign to remind the Moroccan government of its commitment to the rights of migrants.”30 Evidently, there is a paradox wherein there is an attempt on the Moroccan government’s part to integrate migrants but no practical way of implementing these desires, a common thread throughout this paper.

As the migration “problem” increases, hardline policies against migrants approaching Morocco also seem to increase, resulting in continuing and growing police violence against sub-Saharan in a variety of areas in North Africa. Alami believes that the government’s campaign is disingenuous and is rather an effort to polish the monarchy’s international image.31 Image and reputation are vital aspects of geopolitics and foreign policy that may influence how the monarchy and government act within the country. Furthermore, based on several interviews with migrants in and around Morocco, Alami establishes that the treatment of migrants does not coincide at all with Morocco’s new

30 Alami, “My Name is Not Negro.”
31 Alami.
immigration policies, which reveals that there is a significant disconnect between theory and reality.\textsuperscript{32}

Surprisingly, journalists are not the only ones recognizing a pattern of mistreatment of migrants despite the creation of migration policy. The mistreatment of migrants is further emphasized by the Human Rights Watch, an organization tasked with investigating and reporting on abuses happening around the world. In the 2014 report, “Abused and Expelled: Ill-Treatment of Sub-Saharan African Migrants in Morocco,” they outline a multiplicity of reasons migrants would leave their home countries, such as “poverty, family, social problems, political upheaval, civil conflict and fear of persecution.”\textsuperscript{33} Moreso, the majority of migrants believe that they can “uniformly” create better lives in Europe.\textsuperscript{34} To get to Europe, many migrants come to Morocco and are forced to settle temporarily before finding a means of traveling to countries like Spain. Unfortunately, migrants find themselves living in camps with bare necessities on the outskirts of Morocco with no natural way of connecting with Moroccan culture and people.\textsuperscript{35}

But this problem has been occurring for many, many years. In the 1990s, Morocco started to become a famous transit country for sub-Saharan Africans, which generated the first round of security measures in collaboration with the EU to curb the number of migrants reaching European shores from North Africa.\textsuperscript{36} Following the literature review, I will further analyze regularization policies in Morocco and how they impact the lives of

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{32} Alami, “My Name is Not Negro.”
\textsuperscript{34} Salmi, “Abused and Expelled.”
\textsuperscript{35} Salmi.
\textsuperscript{36} Salmi, “Abused and Expelled.”
\end{flushright}
migrants. The report does an adequate job of assessing the scale of issues associated with migrants in Morocco. Still, it is impossible to assess the magnitude of migrants and their individual problems because of the fluctuations in arrivals and departures, both legally and illegally. However, there exists a plethora of content on border control and regularization, meaning we can explore which factors enable migrants to transition out of Morocco and the factors that force migrants to remain in North Africa for longer than expected.

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On the occasion that migrants have to remain in Morocco, one of the hardest avenues of integration is employment. Furthermore, “research has highlighted the extreme economic insecurity of many migrants, rooted in a lack of sustainable or salaried opportunities.” This means that many migrants will be victims of highly exploitative job markets wherein they are paid below the minimum wage and are forced to work in highly dangerous or unfortunate conditions. According to Zahra Rahmouni in “Undocumented Black, Migrant Workers Are Caught in a Vicious Cycle of Racism in North Africa,” many countries prioritize their citizens for employment opportunities rather than outsiders. With a lack of avenues to integrate socially and culturally, migrants become even more vulnerable within the labor market, and “as a result, undocumented migrant workers find themselves trapped in a spiral of legal uncertainty,” exploitation and struggle. Without proper access to job opportunities, migrants then struggle with housing, healthcare, and other basic human needs, subjecting them to disenfranchisement and potentially illegal means of obtaining resources and money in the informal employment sector. Though more

39 Rahmouni, “Undocumented Black Migrant Workers Are Caught in a Vicious Cycle of Racism.”
and more migrants are settling in Morocco, it is rarely by choice, both because it has become increasingly difficult to leave Morocco and also because they are not given the proper support they need to either create lives in North Africa or to leave. Much of the treatment of migrants and the subsequent existence of migrants within the Maghreb is the result of the migration regularization policies implemented in Morocco, which I will explore further during the case study analysis.

This second section of the literature review explores the complex relationship between migration and integration in Morocco, emphasizing the nation’s transformation into a transit country for sub-Saharan migrants. The texts aim to shed light on the disconnect between governmental efforts for integration and the challenges migrants face in Morocco. Alami’s article, in addition to the HRW report, underscores the mistreatment of migrants with policies that may contribute to the growing abuse of migrants. The focus then shifts to the economic challenges faced by migrants, particularly in the realm of employment. Rahmouni’s work highlights the extreme economic insecurity rooted in a lack of sustainable job opportunities, exacerbating migrants' vulnerability within exploitative labor markets. Together in conversation, these texts offer nuanced examinations of the challenges and the complexities surrounding migration in Morocco, providing the foundation for understanding the impact of integration, ill-treatment, and the overarching policies shaping the lives of those in the Maghreb region. Reflecting on both the ill-management of migration in Morocco and the contextual framework of slavery and its relationship to present-day identity, I transition to the type of culture this creates within the country and how it impacts the representation of the media and the monarchy.
Culture of Denial: Influence and Image of Media and Monarchy

A notable and intricate facet of Morocco’s identity is a culture of denial. This phenomenon permeates discussions surrounding homogeneity and diversity and how it profoundly influences both media representations and the outward perception of the monarchy. Rooted in historical narratives of slavery, colonialism, and migration, this culture of denial often obscures uncomfortable truths, leading to a selective construction of the nation’s identity and influencing who can and cannot participate. In navigating this cultural terrain, the media and the monarchy become instruments in shaping and perpetuating certain narratives, steering public perceptions, and sometimes actively participating in the suppression of certain aspects of Morocco’s rich and diverse history while spreading hate toward the out-group. This section of the literature review aims to unravel the layers of denial within Moroccan culture and its relationship to discrimination and racism in the hopes of shedding light on its impact on identity discourse, media narratives, and the image projected by the monarchy onto the global stage.

The resources in this section aim to examine the dynamics of discourse surrounding the media, denial, and the socio-political landscape of Morocco. Through the lens of denial, I will delve into the ways specific discourse shapes and perpetuates the ignorance of racism, providing insight into broader societal narratives around race. Complementarily, I will bring in a contemporary perspective, exploring the influence of media, particularly in the digital realm, on public perceptions and attitudes. Then, moving back to the Moroccan context, I will contextualize the role of media in the country, highlighting the shifting landscape and impact on news consumption patterns. Lastly, I will address the critical issue of racism in Morocco, providing insights into how societal denial and media narratives
intersect with the acknowledgment and combating of racism. Together, these sources create a comprehensive framework for exploring the interplay between discourse, media, and societal attitudes within the unique cultural and political context of race in Morocco.

Discourse and Denial by Teun A. van Dijk gives a comprehensive analysis of the denial of racism and how that may look both in the press and in politics. For Dijk, research into denial demonstrates that “ethnic and racial prejudices are prominently acquired and shared within the dominant group through everyday conversation and institutional text and talk.” I chose to highlight this text because of its relevance to institutions' influence, especially about denying identity and the prevalence of certain racial attitudes. The denial and discussion of minorities, immigrants, refugees, people of color, and Third World nations have always had broader societal, political, and cultural functions, especially in countries like Morocco, where diversity is lacking. Dijk believes that micro-levels of denial, like day-to-day ignorance of discrimination against migrants, contribute to more macro-levels of denial, like Moroccan media boasting about migration policies that do not actually protect the livelihoods of migrants. He states that “political, media, academic, corporate and other elites play an important role in the reproduction of racism,” meaning the denial of the problem is more harmful in the long run to the out-group.

According to Dijk, there are many different types of denials with their own unique roles and results. He emphasizes that racism, even in its most blatant form, routinely

42 Dijk, 88.
features denials or at least mitigations of racism. The most common denial when it comes to racism is that the aggressor has “nothing against black [people]” and, therefore, cannot actually be racist. But disclaimers like this reveal a deeper negative opinion that warrants some type of excuse. Unfortunately, denial of racism is highly evident in Morocco and does reveal an underlying dislike or distrust of migrants coming into the country. Anti-black racism is pronounced and widespread in Morocco and, unsurprisingly, largely denied by non-Blacks despite Morocco’s history with the trans-Saharan slave trade and “the socio-economic marginalization of the country’s Black minority until the present day.” As I said before, silence is violence, but denial manifests itself as a more profound, more ingrained violence. Many institutions and authorities, “when pressed about racism and racial discrimination [...] assert that activists are inventing problems and promoting fitna (national disunity).” Evidently, national identity is fundamental to Morocco, and denial enables the country to maintain a certain balance and image of strong, unified, and Moroccan (not African or Black) identity.

Denial manifests itself differently according to the situation. There is act-denial, control-denial, intention-denial, and goal-denial. Considering that I am focusing on the influence of the media and the monarchy, we shall focus on intention-denial and goal-denial, which are both strategic displacements of blame and responsibility when it comes to racism. These types of denials, “if used at all in public discourse, for instance in the media, [racist acts or forms of discrimination,] will typically be enclosed by quotes or

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43 Dijk, “Discourse and the Denial of Racism,” 89.
44 Dijk, 90.
45 Dijk, 90.
accompanied by doubt or distance markers such as ‘alleged,’ signaling that [the reaction or outrage] is possibly unwarranted if not a preposterous accusation, e.g., by minorities themselves or by other anti-racists.”

This is particularly evident in much of the media surrounding the ill-treatment of migrants in Morocco and demonstrates why migrants are often not taken seriously when it comes to reporting acts of discrimination because it is seen as an anomaly or not representative of the reality of life in Morocco.

Moreso, Dijk, like Alami and Rahmouni, draws attention to the lack of initiative to integrate the out-group because of these denials and how this inaction generates blame toward minority groups because they failed to “learn the language,” “find a job,” and be apart of the culture. These denial factors contribute to the greater conception of Moroccan identity and the reputation of the monarchy regarding the treatment of migrants. Dijk states that

We see that the denial of racism is not only part of a strategy of personal institutional or social impression management and ideological self-defense, it is also a form of sociopolitical management. It helps control resistance. and at the same time, makes political problems of an ethnically or racially pluralist society more manageable.

Denial is a way to manage narratives and control public perception of problems. To maintain positive self-presentation, institutions must actively contribute to the negative other-presentation of migrants. As I will highlight in my findings, it is easy to use the media as a tool against migrants, depicting them as criminals or violent, making it easy to villainize them in daily interactions. Furthermore, many news publications in Morocco and elsewhere in the world utilize subtle denials to build certain opinions for or against certain

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49 Dijk, 94.
50 Dijk, 97.
groups, actively perpetuating the creation of in-groups and out-groups. The following text will demonstrate the importance of language and rhetoric within the media and how denial and media influence contribute to the ostracization of some groups versus others.

Rhetoric holds exceptional significance in discussions about race as it serves as a conduit for shaping perceptions, dismantling stereotypes, and advocating for social change. Language can either reinforce ingrained biases and systemic inequalities or challenge them by fostering an environment of understanding and empathy. Effective rhetoric allows individuals to articulate the nuances of racial experiences, shedding light on the complexities of systemic injustices and discrimination. It plays a pivotal role in navigating difficult conversations about race, providing a platform for sharing diverse perspectives and fostering constructive dialogue. In essence, rhetoric is a transformative force, enabling individuals to challenge and reshape narratives.

In *When Homo Rhetoricus Meets the Media: The Field and Scope of Media Rhetoric* by Samuel Mateus, he opens by telling the reader that “rhetoric can be used for ethical and unethical means. Rhetoric can be true while [also] manipulating the audience.”51 This piece explores the intricacies of rhetoric through the lens of persuasive communication and how it is used to influence how we collectively think, express ourselves, argue, and feel. More importantly, Mateus investigates how the media has integrated rhetorical speech, creating inevitable rhetorical bubbles. As we know, modes of persuasion and different means of communicating rhetoric change daily, from print news media to online journals to social

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media. However, the author acknowledges the importance of distinguishing between live and media audiences because “media audiences, in turn, are constrained by the technical temporal limitations of communication technologies. Therefore, rhetorical messages tend to be much more concise and appealing.”

Considering how present rhetorical messages are in our lives, no wonder we all subliminally absorb particular storylines that may negatively color our vision of certain individuals like migrants.

We are perpetually integrating rhetoric into our daily lives and our professional/social routines, “extrapolating rhetorical presence in our lives by integrating rhetoric mechanisms in their everyday functioning.” Although the media may be giving visibility to these existing rhetorical discourses, we are the ones that appropriate and assimilate rhetoric into our lives, psyches, and treatment of others. Similar to the variety in denials, there is a variety in media rhetoric: there are rhetorical performances that are disseminated through the media, such as a presidential address to the nation, and there are media that are used as agents of rhetorical discourse, meaning it is under the influence of rhetoric and finally, there is the persuasive rhetorical potential of the media, otherwise known as the “rhetorical square” which is the relationship between speaker, media, message, and audience. It is important to note that these various types are all central tenets of persuasion “due to their capacity to change the efficacy of messages and their ability to alter the scope of persuasion, influencing their potential to make pathos a much more important canon.”

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53 Mateus, 4.
54 Mateus, 4.
55 Mateus, “When Homo Rhetoricus Meets the Media,” 5.
In most cases, it is crucial and necessary for rhetoric and verbal language to have power; it is a significant privilege that we often take for granted. Unfortunately, it can also be manipulated against those who cannot control their own narratives. As rhetoric adapts, especially as more language becomes more inclusive and politically correct, it is vital to recognize the power and influence of rhetoric in changing minds and creating specific conceptual images of populations. Mateus states, “as rhetoric has adapted to media society, and as media imposes new constraints and opportunities in rhetoric, the task that lies ahead is to generate fresh theoretical and empirical insights about the radically new, current phase in the development of rhetoric” especially as it is applied to race and migration. It is our responsibility as informed citizens to recognize the vitality of rhetoric, and it is Morocco’s media and monarchy’s onus to acknowledge the influence of the rhetoric they use when addressing or critiquing sub-Saharan Africans migrating to North Africa. Finally, Mateus bestows one last warning to his reader: “by ignoring how media base their efficacy on rhetorical discourse, we are condemned to misunderstand the role of rhetoric in today's media societies,” which is why it is vital to call attention to harmful rhetoric and how it causes violence to out-groups like migrants. I will now draw on two sources that draw more on Moroccan media and its lasting effects on non-Moroccans.

In Morocco, the conversation between media, monarchy, and the nation’s perspectives on race forms a dynamic and multifaceted relationship that significantly influences the sociopolitical landscape. Rooted in a historical context where the monarchy has traditionally held a central role, the media plays a crucial part in shaping narratives.

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56 Mateus, 8.
57 Mateus, 8.
around race, reflecting and sometimes challenging prevailing societal attitudes. Morocco’s unique cultural fabric, influenced by diverse ethnicities and historical complexities, introduces a layer of nuance to the media’s portrayal of race. As a critical disseminator of information, the media is subject to complicated dynamics influenced by governmental regulations, the monarchy’s image management strategies, and societal perspectives on race. Understanding how the media navigates and contributes to the discourse on race within the broader context of the monarchy’s influence is essential for a comprehensive grasp of contemporary Morocco’s socio-political currents.

Growing up in the United States creates false expectations of what freedom of the press looks like; we assume that those responsible for disseminating information and news are always free to do so and aim to provide unbiased opinions on important issues. Unfortunately, that is not the case in Morocco, wherein there are a lot of “red lines” that journalists do not cross and media sources funded by the monarchy. “How Morocco Weakened Its Press, Pushing Readers to Social Media for News” by Jackie Spinner highlights how the news is in Morocco and what it means for readers to distinguish reality from propaganda and manipulation. Spiner begins by stating that the Ministry of Communication in Morocco is in charge of issuing press cards; therefore, not only is an institutional authority responsible for allowing journalists to work in Morocco, but they can just as easily expel or ban them from working within the country depending on the issues and stories they pursue.58 Similar to the contradictions of the implementation of migration policies, in 2017, Morocco overhauled its speech and press laws in hopes of moving towards a free press; however, “the judiciary hands out prison sentences for

reporting what it deems harmful to Islam, the King, or the country, which doesn't leave much room for critical coverage of the most influential issues in Morocco.”

These unspoken but undeniable rules surrounding the press create an atmosphere of self-censorship wherein most journalists carefully navigate these red lines, fearing the consequences and the government's or monarchy's retribution. Self-censorship and the misrepresentation of a “freer press” had caused “traditional press readership [to dwindle] because the new outlets are simply not seen as credible sources of information.”

Moreso, issues concerning migration have also moved to the public space in an attempt to create space for more perspectives and more authentic representations of the lived experiences of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco. Still, the Ministry of Communication can still seek to discredit journalists who publish unfavorable or allegedly disagreeable content, which has been done in the past by leaking damaging information about the journalist.

Briefly, in 1999, during the transition between the late King Hassan II and the current King Mohammed VI, there was more semblance of a free press, “but it didn’t last.” The article interviewed several journalists who used to cover issues in Morocco, including Aboubkar Jamaï, the co-founder of Le Journal, which closed in 2010. He believes that “what is happening in Morocco is that they [(the Ministry and other authoritative figures)] are pushing any kind of critical reporting and discussion to social media.”

Thankfully, social media is less under the control of the Ministry, but as Moroccan citizens saw during the February 20th movement, social media cannot always be trusted. Finally, the article highlights the problem of media funding and how money can control content. Many businesses with ties to the monarchy

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60 Spinner.
61 Spinner.
62 Spinner.
control the advertising dollars that can fund news outlets, so whenever news outlets publish content that is considered “unfavorable or critical of the government,” these businesses and advertisers can easily pull out, leaving these news outlets with no choice but to publish favorable content or not to publish at all.\textsuperscript{64} The royal family is the leading media owner in Morocco and has a lot of influence and power over the content its citizens absorb. Media in Morocco is a financial game and, therefore, can be used as a powerful tool for reputation and identity management or for controlling the narrative against the rising migrant population.

The culture of denial in Morocco, deeply ingrained in historical narratives of slavery, colonialism, and migration, has a profound impact on media representations and the monarchy’s outward image. This denial manifests in selective constructions of the nation’s identity, influencing who is included or excluded. This literature review section systematically explores the layers of denial within Moroccan culture and its connection to discrimination and racism. It critically examines the interplay between discourse, media narratives, and the monarchy’s role in shaping public perceptions. Through the lens of denial, the literature addresses the ways specific discourse perpetuates ignorance of racism, with a focus on the dynamics analyzed by Dijk, who emphasizes the role of elites in reproducing racism. The section also delves into the persuasive power of rhetoric, as discussed by Mateus, highlighting how media rhetoric can subtly shape societal attitudes, especially concerning migrants. The examination of media dynamics in Morocco, presented in Spiner’s analysis, adds a contextual layer by revealing the challenges journalists face, emphasizing self-censorship, and exposing the intricate ties between media funding, monarchy, and content control. The overarching aim is to unravel the complexities of denial,

\textsuperscript{64} Spinner.
media influence, and their impact on identity discourse, fostering a comprehensive understanding of race in Morocco's unique cultural and political context.

The literature review serves as the basis for my investigation into my research questions. I wanted to investigate how institutions of power can influence society and culture, and, in Morocco, the evidence is overwhelming. Like many countries, Morocco grapples with issues of racism and discrimination, with black populations facing systemic barriers in education, employment, and access to resources. Despite a clear relationship between the modern day treatment of sub-Saharan migrants and Morocco’s slave/colonial ties, there is still denial of the impact the past can have on the present. Moreso, the power of the monarchy and the government hold significant roles in controlling Moroccan culture. The King and his policies are rarely criticized by the media and the population alike out of fear of retribution. Royal decrees and opinion, in addition to policy tend to be absorbed by the population as their own, creating a sense of homogeneity, collectivism, and conformity but as is highlighted in the literature review, there is a discontent between the prevalence of these policies and their implementation. Furthermore, Morocco does not fully accept its ties to Africa and in many ways, Africa has ceased being exclusive to Africans. “She experienced the yoke of colonization, and when she broke free from the snares of domination, she did not break the nets of exploitation,” which is evidenced by racial attitudes toward sub-Saharan migrants especially those forced to settle in Morocco.65 The next sections will aim to better conceptualize the initial research questions and set them in more current representations of the outlooks towards Moroccan identity and whether or not it includes sub-Saharan Africans.

65 L’Afrique ne serait-elle pas aux Africains? Par Hassan Aourid (2023)
III. Methodology

The research for this essay employs a multidimensional methodology to explore the complex dynamics surrounding the treatment of race, particularly in relation to the expanding sub-Saharan migrant population in Morocco, with a focus on the influence exerted by key institutions of power. I wanted to trace current manifestations of race and identity to the past, therefore, I began by assessing historical and archival manifestations of racism and homogeneity. The more I read and learned about the historical implications of race within Morocco, the more the variety of narratives and explanations regarding current treatment of sub-Saharan migrants became clear. From there, I was able to narrow the avenue I wanted to pursue: the power of media and monarchy in controlling perceptions both in regard to the internal treatment of migrants and the external image projected to the rest of the world. The literature review draws on a variety of sources to demonstrate the complex and nuanced factors that contribute to Morocco’s identity, relationship to the rest of Africa and the political/media presence in the lives of Moroccans. Then, I began to investigate current case studies that represent the elements presented in the literature review which differs from my original research plan.

Initially, I was planning on interviewing two distinct populations: sub-Saharan migrants in Tangier and Rabat and local Moroccans in Rabat. I wanted to learn more about what it means to be a migrant in Morocco and how local Moroccans understand the migration narrative especially when there is so much negative content about sub-Saharan. However, the more I researched what it means to interview vulnerable populations, I noticed that there are many unethical practices that I would have to engage with in order to write my research paper which I didn’t feel comfortable pursuing. So, I decided to shift
away from one-on-one interviews to singular incidents that I could investigate through source research. I felt that this was a good shift because I wanted to investigate the influence of the media anyways and I now can focus more deeply on this aspect of my paper.

I did struggle with choosing my different case studies just because of the magnitude of content currently available on migration and sub-Saharan migrants in the Maghreb. However, I chose elements that hopefully express a range of issues migrants face while also demonstrating Morocco’s role in either perpetuating or creating harmful stereotypes. The methodology prioritizes the investigation of how these institutions of power manipulate their influence to enhance the betterment of Moroccan society or ostracize already othered populations. The next section involves an examination of historical narratives, media representations, and government policies to unravel the complexities of national unity when faced with a new and growing population like sub-Saharan Africans. Furthermore, the research seeks to provide an understanding of the lived experiences of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco, investigating the challenges they face, the socio-economic dynamics, and the implication of migration policies. The methodology aims to contribute a nuanced and comprehensive analysis of the interconnected themes of race, institutional power and identity in the Moroccan context.
IV. Case Studies

**Reputation and Appearance of Monarchy and Race**

The image and reputation of the Moroccan monarchy and government are of paramount importance due to their complex role in both domestic and international spheres. On the domestic front, maintaining a positive image is crucial for fostering national unity and stability. The monarchy, in particular, has historically been a symbol of continuity and tradition, serving as a unifying force in a country with diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. A positive image reinforces the monarchy's legitimacy and support from the Moroccan population, contributing to social cohesion. Internationally, a favorable reputation is vital for diplomatic relations, foreign investments, and geopolitical influence. Morocco, as a player on the global stage, relies on a positive image to attract partnerships, tourism, and foreign aid. The monarchy and government are aware that their actions and policies, especially in sensitive areas such as migration, race relations, and human rights, can significantly impact how they are perceived both at home and abroad. Therefore, the maintenance of a positive image and reputation serves as a strategic tool for consolidating power domestically and asserting influence internationally.

Morocco's decision to rejoin the African Union after a 33-year absence is intrinsically tied to the nation's image and reputation on the continental stage. The re-entry into the African Union in 2017, signifies a strategic move by the Moroccan monarchy and government to reshape and bolster the country's standing in the international community, particularly within the African context. By rejoining the AU, Morocco aims to present itself as a responsible and engaged member of the African community, emphasizing its commitment to regional cooperation, economic development, and political stability. “By
wooing a new breed of moderate and pragmatic African leaders with promises of win-win economic and security benefits; and leveraging its rising economic weight to expand political support for its claim over the Western Sahara,” Morocco positions itself in a better light.66 This move serves as a diplomatic tool to foster positive relations with other African nations and align itself with the AU's broader goals.

In the context of the questions surrounding the treatment of race and the presence of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco, this decision might be viewed as a step towards projecting a more inclusive and cooperative image. However, it also raises questions about Morocco's motivations and policies concerning race, migration, and human rights, considering the country's historical challenges in integrating sub-Saharan migrants. Especially considering the “irony of this diplomatic show of force” because “although Morocco enjoys the majority of support within the AU, [it] has in recent years become a major thorn in the country’s side.” As Morocco navigates its reintegration into the AU, the impact on its image, reputation, and treatment of racial and migrant issues will likely be under increased scrutiny both domestically and internationally. Morocco's rejoining of the AU sheds light on how institutions of power can manipulate their external image to convince viewers that they are supportive of certain ideals that don't coincide with their past policies. Moreso, it demonstrates how politics can be used to influence diplomatic and economic interests in favor of a macro-plan of reducing dependence on European markets and not micro-level issues like deepening divides between Moroccan identity and the rest of the continent.67

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67Boukhars, “Morocco and the African Union.”
Speaking of micro-level issues within Morocco, a study was conducted regarding the “problem” of anti-black racism and whether or not Moroccans actually believe it to be a problem. Considering Morocco rejoined the African Union, one might assume that they are in tune with their African identity, but does this new show of African unity eliminate the presence of racism and discrimination? “In a survey of almost 23,000 participants from October 2021 to July 2022 across 10 countries in the MENA region, [...] the Arab Barometer unveiled ‘unprecedented insight into everyday lives of Arab citizens.’” According to the data collected, there is once again a disconnect between how Morocco presents itself and how it treats its black population. Almost a third of those interviewed state they have been targets of racist comments and unfortunately there were very few instances wherein this anti-black racism or discrimination was reported to any authority.

Moreso, this data contradicts a lot of media that paints Morocco as a welcoming and open environment for migrants attempting to transition to Europe. There has always been an awareness within Moroccan society that racism is prevalent, especially discriminatory acts, but to the outside world, Morocco presents a different narrative. The study even revealed that although many countries in the Maghreb reported that racial discrimination was a problem, Morocco still stood out with reports of anti-black sentiment as well. These facts coincide with Morocco’s culture of denial and silence when it comes to issues that paint Morocco in a negative light or that accuse the monarchy of upholding negative stereotypes about sub-Saharan Africans. To further demonstrate contradictions between

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69 Hooper, “Arab Barometer.”
70 Hooper.
image and reality, I will briefly redirect focus to the February 20th movement and its impact on government policy.

**Social Change and 2011 Constitution Reform: Political Smokescreen?**

The events surrounding the February 20th movement and the subsequent 2011 Constitution Reform in Morocco raise questions about the nature and extent of social change within the country’s political landscape. While these developments were initially seen as significant steps towards democratization and addressing public grievances, they have been critiqued as a potential political smokescreen that did not bring about substantial change. Similarly, Morocco has been critiqued for its migration regularization policies that inadvertently created more disdain and violence against sub-Saharan migrants. The February 20th movement, characterized by widespread protests calling for political and social reforms, initially pressured the government to respond. In response, King Mohammed VI announced constitutional amendments in 2011, presenting an image of a progressive and responsive monarchy. “The regime promptly responded to these changing dynamics by offering generous socio-economic measures and political concessions in the classic reformist tradition of the Moroccan monarchy.” However, closer examination reveals that these changes might have fallen short of genuine democratization.

Critics argue that the reforms maintained the monarchy’s central role in governance, and political power remained concentrated within key institutions, limiting the impact of these changes on addressing systemic issues. The discrepancy between the initial promise of social change and the realization of these reforms underscores the complexities of

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political transformation and the challenges associated with balancing tradition and the aspirations of a changing society, “one of the questions that must be answer is whether new constitutions respond to popular aspirations and to the specific demands expressed by the people” or if they are used to suit the interests of the institutions of power.  

2011 was a time a great political and social turmoil driven largely in part by the younger Moroccan generation pushing for actionable and real change in their country. However, the “entire constitutional reform process was driven [more] by the king’s agenda” and less by the actual action items like transparency and accountability that the protestors were urging for. Many of the political parties failed to engage in any debates about the key aspects of the new constitution and by the end of the “reforms,” the constitution was “validated” by most political parties and the royal cabinet “despite their lack of substantive input.” The lack of actual debate and effort to create a constitution that represented what the Moroccan people wanted and although new human rights were indoctrinated into the political sphere, many of the rights and freedoms are evidently contradictory. The constitution doesn’t serve the Moroccan people in a way that gives them agency over their government and over the monarchy and constitutional reforms have to be put to the tes in terms of their effective implementation and institutionalization.

The movement successfully called for greater social equality, access to social welfare services in health, education and housing but what really united the movement was that these grievances have been plaguing the Moroccan political system since its inception and

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74 Madani, Maghraoui and Zerhouni, 6.
enough was enough. A main throughline of the movement was a new desire for the king, wanting “a king who reigns” but does not rule. More so, there was a desire to overhaul the relationship between institutions of power and the population by increasing transparency and accountability. Because of the increasing stamina of the movement, the monarchy decided to move ahead with the constitutional reforms but in the end, the new constitution was only supported by groups that have demonstrated domestication to the monarchy. Furthermore, the Constitutional Reform Advisory Commission, which was established by the monarchy to draft the new constitution, lacked real legitimacy and did not respect the principle of popular sovereignty and the final constitutional text was promoted by state-run media rather than effectively debated; resulting in a constitution that doesn’t resemble the actual desires of the people.

This is significant because it demonstrates how the monarchy was able to play a skillful and disingenuous game with the agency and supposed power of the Moroccan people. Initially, Morocco’s management of its protests seemed reasonable. However, “refusing to gun down demonstrators hardly makes a government democratic, but the media—perhaps eager for something different from the usual ‘autocratic Arab regimes behaving badly’ stories—was nonetheless willing to run with the ‘Arab world’s shining democratic exception’ narrative.” Clearly, there is a disconnect between how the Arab world understands protest and how it is viewed from the global perspective on the political stage. By allowing the majority of the demonstrations to go unchallenged, the monarchy

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76 Madani, Maghraoui and Zerhouni, 10.
77 Madani, Maghraoui and Zerhouni, 12.
created space to rush the vote, something that “was obviously meant to take full advantage of the monarchy’s new momentum” which left dissenting opinions no room to organize.79
Those involved with the reformation of the constitution were mostly just mouthpieces for the monarchy and “to veteran observers of Moroccan politics, the lopsided official results announced came as no surprise.”80

At first glance, the 2011 constitution made major concessions, the king curtailed some of his powers and Moroccan authority was now subject to broader standards of human rights and democracy but “nothing is quite like it seems.”81 In the past, the late King Hassan II was more concerned with his image and the control he had over Morocco, “to that end, the country’s key institutions and laws (ove all its constitution) were carefully engineered to give the appearance of relative openness while remaining flawed enough in substance to leave plenty of room for corruption and autocratic dirigisme.”82 Since time, the monarchy has had a lot of experience in marketing itself in a certain way meaning that although the 2011 constitution may look liberal it maintains and even strengthens the forces of absolutism and oligarchy.83 An expression that surfaced many times during my research of the constitution was “a tongue has no bone,” meaning that you can twist it as much as you want so words can be used with little regard for their real implications.84 Many television appearances were made by King Mohammed and lip-service was used as a marketing tool to brand the new constitution in a certain way. “Well aware of the

80 Benchemsi, 59.
81 Benchemsi, 59.
82 Benchemsi, 60.
83 Benchemsi, 60.
84 Benchemsi, 61.
discontent, and eager to cleanse Morocco’s image, the framers of the new constitution took pains” to implement certain concessions but with them came many embedded loopholes.85

From afar, the 2011 constitution looks democratic and compares favorably to others around the Arab world but “those who take a closer look can see that behind the elaborate democratic veneer lies an archaic and corrupt absolute monarchy” that manipulates its citizens into believing they are in control.86 The appearance of the Moroccan government and monarchy in the global political landscape is more important than the sentiments of the population, once again the result is a prioritization of appearance and image over the livelihood of Moroccans. By laying out an elaborate constitutional smokescreen, the monarchy has been able to keep its dissenters at bay but “a strong wind will disperse any smokescreen.”87

The consideration of the misrepresentation of change, particularly in the context of the Moroccan constitution of 2011, is crucial for understanding the complexities and nuances of political developments. The announcement of constitutional reforms often carries significant symbolic weight, shaping public perceptions and international narratives. However, the importance of scrutinizing the actual impact of these reforms lies in the potential for misrepresentation. While on the surface, the 2011 constitutional amendments were presented as a response to popular demands for democratization, a closer examination reveals the need to question whether the changes were substantive or merely cosmetic. Misrepresentation can occur when the narrative of reform is utilized to create an illusion of progress while maintaining the status quo. In the case of Morocco,

86 Benchemsi, 66.
87 Benchemsi, 69.
understanding the potential misrepresentation of change in the 2011 constitution is essential for grasping the true dynamics of power, the role of the monarchy, and the extent to which these reforms addressed or perpetuated existing political structures. This scrutiny helps foster a more informed and nuanced perspective on the evolution of governance and political systems in Morocco.

**Migration Regularization for Borders**

The 2014 Moroccan regularization policy marked a significant moment in the nation's approach to immigration, aiming to address the status of undocumented migrants and provide a legal framework for their residence. While the policy was lauded for its intention to humanize the treatment of migrants, it also bore the hallmarks of misrepresentation. "Historically identified as an Arab and Muslim country, Morocco now wishes to be recognized as an African power, in both its identity and its area of influence." It begs the question if the creation of the regularization project coincides with Morocco’s desire to expand their economic prospects in other African countries and their campaign to rejoin the African Union.

On the surface, the regularization policy signified a positive step towards acknowledging the presence of migrants and incorporating them into the formal system. As more and more migrants arrive in Morocco, the focus shifts from the management of the African diaspora to the regularization of migrants. However, closer scrutiny reveals that the achievements of the policy were accompanied by persistent challenges and shortcomings.

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“This new geo-migratory situation worries many in Europe for whom the issues of migration have become a political obsession and an object of electoral manipulation,” evidently there is some correlation between this shift in migratory discourse to account for a greater geopolitical agenda.89 The gap between policy rhetoric and the lived experiences of migrants highlights a form of misrepresentation, where the official narrative of inclusivity and protection diverged from the reality of inadequate implementation, limited access to opportunities, and continued societal challenges. Acknowledging this misalignment is crucial for a comprehensive understanding of the complexities surrounding migration policies, shedding light on the persistent struggles faced by migrants despite the veneer of inclusiveness presented by such initiatives.

Between 2013, and 2015, the Moroccan Ministry enacted the implementation of massive regularization policies in record time with the hopes of developing a discursive framework and promoting positive attitude on migration within Morocco. However, it was made clear in a variety of speeches that the regularization project also served as an opportunity to develop a new Moroccan-African identity which would bolster Morocco’s claim to their seat within the African Union. More so, despite the implementation of said policies, negative stigmatization of migration in the media continued which was not evident at face value. Countless articles cite Morocco as being “cooperative,” as “showing the way under the King’s leadership,” as more “humane,” as the “land of welcome” and the “champion of migration.”90 But alas, many of these articles serve as marketing campaigns and do not reflect the realities of what migrants endure in Morocco. Allegedly, more

sub-Saharan migrants are coming to Morocco because they are attracted to its efforts to manage migration humanely and facilitate access to health, education, and housing.⁹¹ But, the deeper I dug, the more content I found that went against this vision of Moroccan migration policy.

Contradiction permeates throughout many elements of Moroccan society, identity and policy. Despite repeated ploys to paint Moroccan migration as humane and innately positive, poor treatment of migrants continues despite these efforts.⁹² Additionally, the creation of the new migration policies only “came after a host of negative, international media coverage about Morocco’s treatment of sub-Saharan migrants, as well as a series of disturbing reports documenting widespread human rights abuses perpetrated against this population.”⁹³ Therefore, it is clear that these initiatives are put in place more so for the image of Morocco and less for the protection and stability of migrants. This reveals an incoherence in the migration policy because despite these implemented standards, migrants are still harshly treated by police, arrested en masse, raided and detained. In more ways than one, the reality on the ground is different than in practice when it comes to migration reform.

The regularization campaigns of 2014 and 2017 provided around 50,000 irregular migrants with residency permits but raids of commonly known areas where migrants were continued. Moreso, there was no passage of any actual legislation and the “policy remains procedural” and “it needs a legal framework to give it teeth and ensure more widespread

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⁹³ Jacobs, “Morocco’s Migration Policy.”
access to essential resources including education and the ability to obtain work permits.”

And even with residency permits, sub-Saharan migrants still face racism, discrimination, repression and most importantly persecution. Unfortunately, in a way, these migration policies like the 2011 constitution can be seen as political smokescreens to push a hidden agenda that serves Morocco’s national interests. There is a bigger picture at play, an aim to seek international legitimacy as the country is newly given the opportunity to rejoin the African Union.

This program helped open the door to conversations about reintegration into the AU, economic cooperation, and the free movement of people between Morocco and Western African countries. Yet, these positive steps were overshadowed by continued police raids, the poor treatment of sub-Saharan migrants across the country, and poor living conditions experienced by many migrants and refugees.  

What is even more sinister is that following the first regularization program in 2016, the King traveled to several African countries like Nigeria, Senegal, the Ivory Coast and so on to try to gather support for rejoining the AU by offering sizable investments in business deals while migrants arriving from these same countries are not even given the opportunity to participate in the labor market let alone Moroccan culture.  

Morocco agreed to partner with 46 other African countries and provide humanitarian assistance and health services, aid that is rarely fully provided to migrants in-country.  

Of course the hope is that migration policies genuinely assists migrants in creating better lives for themselves but hoping is not always synonymous with

94 Jacobs, “Morocco’s Migration Policy.”  
95 Jacobs.  
96 Jacobs.  
97 Wilson Center, “Migration in Africa.”
reality especially in a country that has historically denied its affiliation with the rest of Africa. It unfortunately creates an environment wherein it is difficult to believe that government and monarchical policies are for the good of the nation as a whole, including migrations rather than the good of Morocco’s public image. Foreign policy and geopolitics are obviously very complicated issues especially when scrutinized on the international stage but it is also important to recognize that sometimes things are not as they seem and it is important to not take everything at face value especially when there is a history of contradictory practices.

**Anti-Migrant Sentiment in the Maghreb**

Anti-migrant sentiment within the Maghreb, including Morocco, carries profound implications for the growing migrant population in the region. As migration patterns intensify, fueled by economic, political, and social factors, the rise of anti-migrant sentiment poses substantial challenges to the integration and well-being of migrants. Negative perceptions and discriminatory attitudes towards migrants contribute to an environment of hostility, making it difficult for these populations to find acceptance and establish meaningful connections within their host societies. “The contempt for black continent, which is limitless, is so old that it has integrated even the smallest norms of daily life.”

This sentiment is often exacerbated by factors such as economic insecurities, cultural differences, and a lack of effective policies for migrant integration. The consequence is a precarious situation for migrants, where they not only face the inherent challenges of relocation but also grapple with the added burden of societal hostility and negative

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opinions of institutions of power. Addressing anti-migrant sentiment is essential for fostering inclusive societies within the Maghreb, ensuring that the region effectively navigates the complexities of diverse populations and facilitates the integration of migrants in a manner that benefits both the newcomers and the host communities.

Moreover, the impact of anti-migrant sentiment externed to their portrayal in the media and by institutions of power. Media narratives, influenced by prevailing societal attitudes, can contribute to the reinforcement of negative stereotypes and biases against migrants. Institutions of power can either challenge or perpetuate these sentiments through their policies, public statements, and actions. As highlighted in the literature review, the media plays a significant role in shaping public opinion and the stance of powerful authority figures like the King and other political players can significantly influence how migrants are seen in North Africa.

False representations in the media are always possible, especially when society is already so quick to judge certain populations. This was the case in 2022 when an alleged kidnapping in Casablanca, prompted a wave of hateful remarks toward migrants. 13-year-old Fatima Zahra had had a fight with her parents and ran away from home before meeting up with a friend who tried to convince her to return home.99 However, the friend claimed that “a gang of sub-Saharan migrants armed with knives attacked the two teenagers and took Fatima Zahara to an abandoned cemetery located in Hay El Farah, a neighborhood known as ‘the forgotten graveyard,’ a known home to many sub-Saharan migrants.”100 The

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100 Zouiten, “Minor Girl Abducted by Sub-Saharan Migrants in Casablanca.”
police extensively combed the area but found no evidence of the teenage girl nor her supposed abductors. She was later found, alone, near a bus station.

Despite no actionable evidence other than the word of Fatima Zahra’s friend, the “incident caused a huge uproar among Moroccan internet users, with many resorting to hateful and racist comments towards sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco.”101 This hatred was exacerbated by the multitude of news websites that reported on the story despite the lack of corroborating materials and therefore, many internet users quickly took advantage of the opportunity to spread messages of racism and discrimination directed at all sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco.102 Worst of all, this incident revealed how easy it is for people to resort to animosity. Many of the citizens who commented on the migrants and kidnapping “resorted to the stereotypical notion of black men as criminals, claiming that sub-Saharan migrants are used to robbing, kidnapping, raping, and killing people;” all elements which are highly untrue and highly disruptive.103 Moreso, this incident, once again, demonstrates the contradictory nature of Moroccan policy because even though Morocco is highly diverse, migrants still face racism and even though King Mohammed VI embraces African diplomacy and has “reconciled” with Africa, migrants are still seen as the other and Moroccans are quick to other them.104

These incidents of blatant racism against migrants are not limited to Morocco, nor are they limited to media; there have been a number of unfortunate events across the Maghreb that have further harmed sub-Saharan migrants who are already in very

102 Zouiten, “Case of ’Kidnapped’ Girl Reveals Remnants of Anti-Black Racism in Morocco.”
103 Zouiten, “Case of ’Kidnapped’ Girl Reveals Remnants of Anti-Black Racism in Morocco.”
104 Zouiten.
vulnerable and precarious situations. Algeria has been seen pushing migrants to the outskirts of the large cities with no access to legal aid or job opportunities. The Algerian Prime Minister was quoted saying that migrants are “a source of crime, drugs and several other scourges… [they are] a threat to the security of the country.” A year later, over 1,000 migrants were “returned” to their home countries wherein they were simply released across the border in the desert with no means of actually returning to their countries.

At the same time, four elected officials in Tiznit were demanding the expulsion of sub-Saharan migrants and Syrian refugees. “In a written request addressed to the president of the municipality of Tiznit, the four councilors belonging to the RNI group protest against the ‘social disasters’ which ‘invade’ the main arteries of their city.” The article even highlights that demands such as these are not rare and are being increasingly frequent. Furthermore, slavery in Mauritania wasn’t banned until 1981 and worse, was only enshrined in the constitution in 2012. And as we have seen, the legacies of slavery have lasting impacts on modern conceptions of race and migration. Most notably, in February 2023, the Tunisian President Kais Saied made remarks against migrants that sparked a wave of violence against migrants. What many authority figures often forget is that their words and actions have power, they can and do influence their citizens especially when they’re related to race and migration, both hot button topics.

“Hordes of irregular migrants from sub-Saharan Africa [came to Tunisia] with all the violence, crime, and unacceptable practices that entails, [which has created an] unnatural

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107 Bozonnet.
108 Bozonnet.
109 Bozonnet.
[criminal plan designed to] change the demographic make-up [of Tunisia and to turn it into] just another African country that doesn't belong to the Arab and Islamic nations any more.”110 According to the President, African migrants were trying to “Africanize” Tunisia, stripping it of its Arab identity which would burst the Arab bubble many Maghrebi countries have created. President Saied's discriminatory remarks encourage violent attacks on many migrant communities. Mobs armed with batons and knives took to the streets and attacked or raided the house of many sub-Saharan Africans, even causing serious injury to many. The aggressors were not solely citizens, police officers also took initiative to abuse and berate migrants in the streets, sometimes detaining them for hours on end. Evidently, we see that words hold serious power regardless of how ill-intentioned they are.

These incidents highlight that anti-migrant sentiment in the Maghreb, notably in Morocco, holds profound implications for the growing migrant population. Fueled by economic, political, and social factors, this sentiment creates a hostile environment, challenging the integration and well-being of migrants. This precarious situation not only burdens migrants with inherent relocation challenges but also subjects them to societal hostility and negative opinions from institutions of power. The powerful influence of authority figures' words and actions on citizens, especially concerning race and migration, highlights the urgency of addressing these issues. Anti-migrant sentiment not only harms the migrants but also contributes to the perpetuation of harmful stereotypes, discrimination, and violence within Maghrebi societies. This underscores the need for

comprehensive efforts to combat racism, promote inclusive societies, and foster better understanding between host communities and migrants in the Maghreb.

**Media Campaigns For and Against Migrants in Morocco**

In the dynamic landscape of migration in Morocco, the role of media campaigns stands out as a powerful force shaping public perceptions and influencing societal attitudes towards migrants. Media representations and the experiences of migrants underscore the significance of taking hold of one's narrative. Media campaigns, whether advocating for or against migrants, hold the power. This exploration delves into the multifaceted nature of media campaigns surrounding migration in Morocco, examining their impact on both the collective consciousness and individual narratives. In a realm where the stories of migrants often face distortion or oversimplification, the ability to control and narrate one's own story emerges as a crucial tool for empowerment, resilience, and fostering a more understanding environment within the Maghreb.

Firstly, I will show the overarching power of the media through negative campaigns that aim to represent sub-Saharan migrants as the outgroup. Accordingly, “Pandora’s box has been opened, and evil has found fertile ground on Moroccan Internet: groups and pages with overtly racist content, xenophobic campaigns, and calls for boycotts targeting sub-Saharan migrants have filled social networks.”  

There have been a variety of campaigns, all directed towards sub-Saharan migrants and their interactions with Morocco. For example: Moroccans against the settlement of sub-Saharan migrants, Moroccans against Afrocentrism and Defenders of the purity of the Moroccan race. These are just a few

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examples of the damaging initiatives created to bar sub-Saharan Initatives from establishing themselves in Morocco.

Although these campaigns don’t define all Moroccans, it does represent a large selection of North African citizens and interestingly enough, this media has done “what politics has failed to do: unite a cross section of Maghreb peoples” against a common enemy, the migrant. Many of these sites use rhetoric similar to the European far right and furthermore are plagued and unfortunately driven by delusions, unfounded fears, fake news and conspiracy theories about race and migration. There is a commonly held assumption, as demonstrated by President Saied, that sub-Saharan are migrating to North Africa to “make it a black-majority zone” which only further encourages these dangerous campaigns. Moreso, it is impossible to pinpoint the source of many of these sites because users often “hide under false avatars” and promote the outward expression of discrimination against migrants like forbidding entry into businesses. Evidently, because migrants’ presence is relatively new and highly visible, tone and attitude towards them has shifted significantly. Additionally, the presence of growing virtual racism can also be explained by Morocco’s own economic and social crises like rising prices, inflation and unemployment. All issues that are somewhat exacerbated by growing demand as more migrants arrive in Morocco. The hope is that if news sources, media and social media can be used to the detriment of migrants, it can also be used to uplift their voices and shine a more positive light and honesty on the migrant experience.

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112 El Gamrani, “Virtual Racism Against Migrants Surges in the Maghreb.”
113 El Gamrani.
114 El Gamrani.
115 El Gamrani.
My Name is Not Negro was a campaign launched across social media in order to shed light on the lived experiences of migrants in Morocco. This 3-month long initiative included cultural activities in a variety of North African cities with the aim of “combatting all forms of racial discrimination in the Maghrebian [public] space, between nationals, but especially towards migrants and refugees from sub-Saharan Africa.”116 More so, the campaign was aimed at the institutions of power that sometimes perpetuate these issues, hoping to put some pressure on governments to adopt legislation that would actually “criminalize all forms of racial discrimination” in order to increase accountability within the Maghreb.117 Accordingly, Morocco has demonstrated the most initiative in making these changes as exemplified by 2014 and 2017 migration policies but they don’t alleviate the burden to maintain civility between migrants and the local population.

Finally, since Morocco started becoming a permanent host destination rather than merely a transition country on the way to Europe, there has been a rising Afrocentric discourse.118 This course fortunately provides an ideological framework for migrants subjected to discrimination and helps them to better understand decades of mistreat by Europeans and North Africans. Many migrants have “found refuge in a new Afrocentric discourse to justify their right to exist and stay in Maghreb [despite] facing racism.”119 It helps to reposition blackness on political agendas and recenter the African identity in everyday interactions. Furthermore, Afrocentrism aligns with the Moroccan monarchy has

117 Aidi, “Morocco: ‘Neither Slave, Nor Negro.”
119 Zaaimi, “Afrocentrism is Trending in the Maghreb.”
newly begun to claim and hopefully will hold these institutions of power to their word. This movement has also capitalized on the Black Lives Matter Movement which helped to create a buzz globally and bring to light a variety of other issues between authority figures and black people, specifically migrants. These campaigns exemplify how the media can also be used positively and in favor of migrants without aggravating social and historical tensions.
IV. Conclusion

Analysis
The study has dissected the intricacies of migration narratives, revealing a stark dissonance between official policies and the on-the-ground reality experienced by sub-Saharan migrants. The culture of denial within Moroccan society and institutions serves as a barrier to effective integration, perpetuating discriminatory practices against migrants. One central theme that emerges is the influential role of media and rhetoric in shaping public opinion and influencing the treatment of migrants. The power of denial, whether manifested in official statements or media portrayals, contributes to the marginalization of sub-Saharan migrants.

The study underscores the importance of acknowledging and challenging these narratives to foster a more inclusive and empathetic societal perspective. Furthermore, the study prompts a critical reflection on the gaps between policy intentions and outcomes, emphasizing the necessity for more effective implementation and a reevaluation of the cultural factors that hinder integration. The implications of this study extend beyond academic discourse, reaching into the realms of policymaking, social advocacy, and public awareness. By unraveling the layers of denial, discrimination, and systemic challenges faced by sub-Saharan migrants, this research lays the groundwork for fostering positive change.

It calls for a reevaluation of migration policies, an open dialogue about cultural narratives, and a concerted effort to bridge the gap between rhetoric and reality. It prompts us to reconsider not only how we perceive sub-Saharan migrants but also how we construct and communicate narratives about migration especially if we are solely relying on the guidance of institutions of power. In doing so, the study contributes to the ongoing
discourse on human rights, cultural diversity, and the collective responsibility to create a more inclusive and equitable society in the Maghreb and beyond.

**Implications**

The findings of this study carry significant implications for our understanding of the treatment of sub-Saharan migrants and race in Morocco and the broader Maghreb region. Firstly, the study contributes to the existing body of knowledge by shedding light on the relationship between migration policies, societal attitudes, and the role of media and institutions of power. The examination of Morocco’s policies and practices regarding sub-Saharan migrants provides valuable insights into the challenges faced by this population, offering a nuanced understanding of the complexities surrounding their integration.

As I pointed out in the introduction, homogeneity and nationality are big parts of Moroccan society and culture and although there is diversity, it is not recognized and celebrated in the same way it is in the United States. This study is important because it problematizes Morocco’s identity and calls institutions of power and racial attitudes into conversation. I wanted to shed light on how easily institutions of power can manipulate citizens especially when it comes to reaffirming social hierarchies and dynamics. Racial issues have always and will always have a place in academia and I wanted to give anti-migrant and anti-black sentiment space to be explored in a context other than the West.

Moreso, the study underscores the gap between migration and governmental policies on paper and their implementation in reality, emphasizing the need for a critical evaluation of the disconnect between theory and practice. The exploration of denial as a
cultural phenomenon within Morocco adds a layer of understanding to the dynamics of discrimination and challenges the assumptions about the inclusivity of national identity.

Furthermore, the study raises important questions about the influence of media and institutional rhetoric on public opinion and policy making. It highlights the potential for rhetoric, whether denying racism or perpetuating negative stereotypes, to shape societal attitudes and impact the treatment of migrants. The role of the monarchy and government in managing the narrative surrounding migration policies and the consequences of such narratives on sub-Saharan migrants’ lives pose questions about accountability and ethical governance.

In essence, this study also serves as a stepping stone for future research endeavors that aim to address the gaps in our knowledge, foster a more inclusive discourse, and contribute to informed policymaking that respects the rights and dignity of sub-Saharan migrants in the Maghreb.

Limitations of Study and Recommendations for Further Research

While this exploration provides valuable insights into the treatment of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco and the broader Maghreb region, there are certain limitations to consider. Firstly, the study primarily relies on existing literature and media sources up to this year, and the dynamic nature of the issue may signify changing narratives and trends surrounding migration and Moroccan attitudes towards race. Additionally, the information is predominantly gathered from English-language sources, potentially overlooking perspectives presented in local languages, which could offer a more nuanced
understanding. More so, by drawing conclusions from such a large time-span, I may be overlooking many other sources that could provide different perspectives. 

Furthermore, the study primarily focuses on Morocco, and a more comprehensive picture would require an expanded examination of neighboring Maghreb countries. Although I briefly touch upon Algeria and Tunisia, it is important to remember that Morocco is not the only country in North Africa experiencing a surge in migrants. Each nation has its unique historical, political, and social contexts that shape their approach to migration but collectively, sources on multiple countries in the Maghreb could present a more clear picture as a pattern can be drawn. A comparative analysis would provide a more holistic view of the regional dynamics and varying impacts of migration policies.

Another avenue for future exploration lies in qualitative research, including interviews, surveys, and testimonials from migrants themselves. As I mentioned in the methodologies portion of the project, I didn’t feel comfortable conducting interviews within the given time frame. Additionally, my background centers on history and not journalism and despite exhaustive research on the interview process especially with vulnerable populations, I still did not feel equipped to include interviews in my study. Direct engagement with the affected population could yield deeper insights into their experiences, challenges, and perceptions, ensuring a more authentic representation of their narratives. Moreover, it would authenticate a lot of the information I gathered from literature and news sources.

Moreover, an in-depth analysis of the economic implications of migration policies in Morocco could be conducted. I don’t have a solid grasp on the political dynamics involved with monarchies nor do I fully understand the importances of foreign policy and
geopolitics. Understanding the economic and economic forces that drive migration, as well as the economic contributions and challenges faced by migrants, would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the issue. Additionally, getting a better grasp of the importance of politics and the monarchy to the Moroccan people will also help to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the issues I bring up in this study.

Lastly, investigating the role of international actors, such as the European Union, in shaping Maghreb migration policies and their impact on the treatment of migrants would enhance the study's global perspective. This would involve analyzing diplomatic relations, cooperation agreements, and the influence of external factors on regional policies. There is so much content available on the aforementioned topics but there is simply not enough time to comb through all these sources which is why these are simply recommendations for further study. Incorporating these elements into future research endeavors would contribute to a more thorough and diverse understanding of the complexities surrounding migration and race in the Maghreb region.
Bibliography


