

ALTERNATIVE REPORT TO THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Review of the combined 19th to 21st periodic reports of

MOROCCO

Submitted jointly by

Minority Rights Group International

La Voix de la Femme Amazighe

and

Tamaynut

111th Session of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Geneva

20 November – 8 December 2023

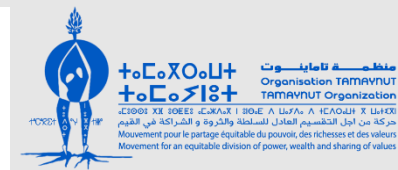
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Minority Rights Group International (MRG) is a non-governmental organization (NGO) working to secure the rights of ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities and indigenous peoples worldwide, and to promote cooperation and understanding between communities. Our activities are focused on international advocacy, training, publishing, and outreach. We are guided by the needs expressed by our worldwide partner network of organizations, which represent minority and indigenous peoples. MRG works with almost 300 organizations in 60 countries. MRG has consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), and observer status with the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR).

La Voix de La Femme Amazighe is the first association for the rights of Amazigh women in Morocco, created in 2009, at the initiative of a group of women activists, aware of the need to recognise the specificities of Amazigh women who suffer from double discrimination (gender and identity-based). It works to promote the rights of Amazigh women through three main areas of intervention: capacity building; advocacy and social mobilisation; associative and community media.

Tamaynut is an Amazigh NGO. Since its creation in 1978, it has participated in the constitution of a modern and democratic civil society in Morocco. Its purpose is to defend and promote the inherent rights of the Amazighs, in order to develop a strong citizenship in a democratic, federal and united Morocco within its pluralism.

I. Introduction

1. Morocco is a multi-ethnic and multicultural society. The Preamble of its 2011 Constitution proclaims the Kingdom's commitment "to preserve, in its plenitude and its diversity, its one and indivisible national identity".ⁱ This new Constitution admittedly marked a significant advancement in the state's commitment to protect and promote human rights.ⁱⁱ However, despite a number of legislative reforms undertaken since 2011 to strengthen Morocco's institutional and legal human rights frameworks, racial discrimination continues to pervade the country's social fabric, particularly targeting the indigenous Amazigh, Black Moroccans and Black sub-Saharan African migrants and refugees.
2. The report submitted by the Government of Morocco focuses on positive steps concerning migrants, Amazigh and issues related to women's rights. No information is included about the situation of black Moroccan citizens, indicating the complete invisibilisation faced by this community and a total denial of the existence of racism against this community. This submission focuses on issues of anti-black racism concerning both black citizens and migrants, as well as language and land rights affecting the indigenous Amazigh people in general, and women in particular.

A. Anti-Black Racism

3. (*Policy and Measures to Eliminate Racial Discrimination - Article 2(1)(c),(d) of the Convention*): Notwithstanding article 23 of the Constitution which prohibits "all incitement to racism, hatred and violence"; article 30 which protects the rights of non-citizens; articles 431-1 to 431-5 and 308-5 of the Penal Code which together define and prohibit certain manifestations of racial discrimination,ⁱⁱⁱ Black Moroccans as well as Black sub-Saharan African migrants and refugees continue to suffer from discriminatory treatment and abuse on the basis of their skin colour, national origin, nationality, or lack thereof, or immigration status, as a result of systemic and structural racism pervading Moroccan society and institutions.^{iv}
4. Morocco lacks a specific anti-discrimination law, and particularly one criminalising racial discrimination. The State report does not specify the number of cases that were dealt with using the above-mentioned articles of the Penal Code to punish discrimination. It mentions number of complaints dealt with by the Office of the Ombudsman (p.9), however it does not provide information about what type of cases and discrimination they dealt with. The report also cites the

existence of national bodies such as the Equality and Anti-Discrimination Authority (p.7), however it is not clear to what extent these bodies actively work to eradicate racial discrimination.

5. Indigenous Black Moroccans mostly live in the southern part of the country.^v Owing to the general lack of official statistical data disaggregated by race or ethnicity (confirmed by the State report which only includes data on the languages spoken in the country),^{vi} their exact number is unknown, but estimates indicate that they could represent 10% of the country's total population.^{vii} No information is provided by the State report on the political participation of this considerable section of the population, nor on their socio-economic rights.
6. (*Condemning and prohibiting racial propaganda, hatred and discrimination – Article 4 of the Convention*): Black people in Morocco face discrimination in access to services, education, employment, housing,^{viii} and are commonly targeted with physical violence^{ix}. These conditions are fueled by a pervasive environment of hate speech and stereotyping that goes uncurbed by powerholders and officials. Black people in Morocco are often subjected to racial slurs in the society like “*Abd*” (slave), “*Khadam*” (servant), “*Hratin*” (‘slave descendant’ to address specifically black Moroccans) and other hateful terms, and suffer from social stigma and marginalisation from civic, political and economic life.^x Similarly, the perpetuation of racist and xenophobic stereotyping in Moroccan society and media^{xi} casts Black sub-Saharan African migrants as slaves, or dangerous criminals,^{xii} prostitutes, drug dealers, and disease-ridden^{xiii} — the latter particularly echoing Covid-19 narratives.^{xiv} Anti-migrant messages have been spreading online and a number of campaigns on social media are calling for the prohibition of interracial marriages between Moroccans and sub-Saharan migrants to protect the social makeup of the population.^{xv} Yet, the absence of a specific organic law prohibiting all forms of racial discrimination and establishing oversight bodies and positive anti-racism measures in Morocco implies that complaints by Black individuals or communities are rarely investigated.^{xvi} The Moroccan government does not promote any initiative to actively counter or eradicate hate speech and social stigmatisation of Black people in society and no official institutional statement has been released in response to such campaigns.
7. (*The right to form associations, participate in political civic, and economic life – Articles 5 (c), (d)(viii), (ix), (e)(i) of the Convention*): Under the guise of an egalitarian society, the discrimination against Black Moroccans remains largely taboo in Morocco.^{xvii} Tellingly, in 2012 authorities reportedly denied an application to form an association to combat anti-Black racism, on the ground that race was deemed irrelevant to the Moroccan context.^{xviii} In addition to the common stigmatisation in the media mentioned above, black Moroccans generally face barriers when it comes to occupying posts that involve public visibility (politicians, ambassadors, etc.). While the Government of Morocco commonly refers to the principle of equality enshrined in the Kingdom's Constitution to deny the

existence and prevalence of racial discrimination in the country,^{xxix} MRG recalls the words of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, that “[e]quality in law alone does not ensure equality in fact.”^{xxx}

8. Furthermore, the interaction of gender with other forms of discrimination renders Black sub-Saharan migrant women and girls, especially undocumented migrants, highly vulnerable to discriminatory treatment, stigmatisation, abuse and exploitation.^{xxxi} A report co-signed by 13 civil society organisations in Morocco in 2018 notably mentions difficulties in registering the birth of their children, or issuance of birth certificates made conditional upon payment of hospitalisation fees (*Article 5(d)(iii) of the Convention*),^{xxxii} but also schools refusing to enroll Black migrant children (*Article 5(e)(v) of the Convention*).^{xxxiii}
9. (*The right to equality before the law and freedom of movement – Articles 5 (a), (d)(i) of the Convention*): Sub-Saharan migrants, including children and refugees, have often been subjected to arbitrary arrests as well as forced relocation to certain areas of the country. In January 2021-December 2022, the Moroccan association GADEM reported documenting 420 arbitrary arrests only in Rabat.^{xxxiv}
10. In addition to the existence of a national strategy for asylum and migration,^{xxxv} the State report mentions a draft asylum bill that will apply the principles enshrined in the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (p.14 of the state report), however at the time of writing this law has yet to be approved in Parliament.
11. Law No. 02-03 of 11 November 2003 (the Migration Act) remains the principal piece of legislation governing the entry and stay of foreign nationals, emigration, and undocumented migration despite concerns raised by several national and international actors. The capacities of migrant workers to work freely (*Article 5(e)(i) of the Convention*) are limited by certain articles of the law governing the right to association (Art.36 of Dahir no.1-58-376), and so is their capacity to form associations (*Article 5(e)(ii) of the Convention*).

12. Accordingly, MRG urges Moroccan authorities to:

- **Adopt a comprehensive anti-discrimination law prohibiting racial discrimination and including proactive measures to eradicate racial discrimination from all sectors of society, while taking into consideration the specific challenges faced by Black migrants.**
- **Revise article 431-1 of the Penal Code to bring the definition and prohibition of discrimination contained therein in full compliance with Morocco’s**

international obligations under article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD).

- Investigate all allegations of racially motivated acts of discrimination and violence, against nationals and non-nationals alike, systematically prosecute and punish perpetrators so as to guarantee racial equality and the right of all persons to be free from racial discrimination and racist violence.^{xxvi}
- Disaggregate data by ethnicity and ensure that black citizens are positively visible in Moroccan society, by promoting campaigns to fight stigmatisation and hate speech.
- Ensure that civil society associations aiming at fighting against all forms of racial discrimination (for and by black Moroccans and migrants alike) can register and freely operate.

B. Amazigh Peoples

Language Rights (Eliminating barriers between races and measures to ensure development and protection of certain groups - Articles 2.1(e) and 2.2 of the Convention; General Recommendation no.23 on Indigenous Peoples)

13. The statistics presented in the State report in terms of languages spoken conflate issues of language and ethnicity and do not reflect the economic and social situation of the country. The State report estimated that, “in all, 26.7 per cent of the population speak the Amazigh language (15 per cent Tachelhit, 7.6 per cent Tamazight and 4.1 per cent Tarifit)”.^{xxvixxxviiixxxix} Moreover, it is not clear whether this figure refers to those speaking only Tamazight, without considering that most Amazigh citizens also speak *derija* (Moroccan Arabic). Following internal migration and massive urbanization, discrimination and marginalization, many Amazighs have lost their mother tongue. Just as an example, if 99.1% of the inhabitants of the Greater Casablanca-Settat region speak *derija* that does not automatically mean that they are no longer Amazigh or no longer speak Tamazight.
14. Article 5 of the 2011 Constitution recognises Tamazight as ‘an’ official language of the State, alongside Arabic, which remains ‘the’ official language of the State.^{xxx} Article 5 further stipulates that “an organic law defines the process of implementation of [the] official character [of Tamazight], as well as the modalities of its integration in education and in the priority domains of public life”. Adopted in 2019, organic law 26-16 provides for the integration of Tamazight in the

education system, in legislation, in parliamentary and local authorities' work,^{xxxii} media and communication, culture and art, administration and public services, in the public space, and in the justice system.^{xxxiii} Although the adoption of law 26-16 implements several recommendations previously made to Morocco by UN human rights bodies in this regard,^{xxxiiii} serious shortcomings in the law remain.^{xxxv} Most notably, article 31 provides for delays of 5 to 15 years before the coming into force of the law's provisions, from the date of its promulgation.^{xxxvi} Moreover, this law provided that each ministry should have issued a note to detail the practical implementation in every aspect of public life but this has yet to happen.

15. While Article 21 of the organic law 26-16 provides that Tamazight must be incorporated in official documents, alongside Arabic, several civil society organisations have denounced the absence of any mention of Tamazight and its Tifinagh alphabet^{xxxvii} in the draft law 04-20 on the Electronic National Identity Card (CINE), adopted in July 2020.^{xxxviii} This was yet another missed opportunity for the Government to uphold its political commitment to ending the marginalisation of Tamazight.^{xxxix}
16. (*The right to equality before the law - Article 5 of the Convention*): While art.30 of law 26-16 foresees for the provision of Tamazight interpreters for legal proceedings, Amazigh activists lament that this treatment is not really equitable as interpretation is usually granted to foreigners and does not reflect the official character of Amazigh language. This is confirmed by art.14 of law 38-15 where “The Arabic language remains the language of judgments, pleadings and the writing of judgments before the courts, with the implementation of the official character of the Amazigh language in accordance with the provisions of article 30 of organic law 26.16”.
17. Furthermore, Law 04-16, adopted in February 2020, provides for the creation of the National Council for Languages and Moroccan Culture (CNLCM).^{xl} This new institution is mandated to protect and develop the two official languages, Arabic and Tamazight, as well as the Hassaniya language and the diverse Moroccan cultural and linguistic expressions.^{xli} Concerns have been raised especially by Amazigh rights activists about the future dissolution of the Royal Institute for Amazigh Culture (IRCAM), established in 2001 specifically to promote the Amazigh language and culture^{xlii} and the “absorption” of its mandate and resources by the CNLCM.^{xliii} Despite slow progress, the Royal Institute played a key role over the years on issues of language planning, standardization and education and the CNLCM could potentially mark a significant setback for the protection and promotion of Tamazight-speakers' language rights.^{xliiii}
18. (*The right to education and measures to promote understanding and tolerance - Article 5(e)(v) and Article 7 of the Convention*): Indeed, first introduced into the education system in 2003,^{xliv} Tamazight teaching continues to be largely marginalised, inadequate as well as still optional across primary schools in

Morocco,^{xlv} although its status of official language prescribes that it should be guaranteed as language of instruction on an equal footing with Arabic. In 2018, only 498 specialised teachers were providing Tamazight classes to more than 600,000 pupils, or just over 13% of the 4.5 million students enrolled in primary schools in Morocco (a figure confirmed by the State report, p.27).^{xlvi} While estimates indicate that 100,000 teachers would be required to cover these needs,^{xlvii} the Minister of Education announced in 2021 an increase of 400 trained teachers per year,^{xlviii} raising serious questions about the government's political will to uphold its constitutional commitment. MRG sources reported that by 2022 the number of students studying Tamazight dropped to around 350,000. Moreover, a change in policy in 2022 obliges Tamazight teachers to also pass exams in Arabic and French as well as sciences and mathematics. Yet those teaching Arabic and French are not obliged to learn Tamazight, creating an implied but evident language hierarchy. This policy also resulted in some teachers qualifying after only 45 days of training in Tamazight, raising concerns about the quality of instruction.^{xlix} Published in 2023 by the Ministry of Education, Memorandum number 28-23 provides for the generalization of the teaching of the Amazigh language at the primary level by 2030, while it ignores the generalization of its teaching at the secondary level, foreseen by organic law 26-16.

19. Recommendations:

- **Intensify efforts to implement the provisions of organic law 26-16 without delays, notably by ensuring that necessary funding is allocated through the Yearly State Budget ('Loi de Finances')ⁱ for the training and hiring of a sufficient number of Tamazight teachers to guarantee the teaching *in* Tamazight to all primary school pupils, as well as to secondary and university students.ⁱⁱ Pending effective application of the law's provisions, take interim measures to prevent and mitigate all forms of linguistic and cultural discrimination of Amazigh in all spheres.**
- **Revise law 04-20 to include Tamazight in its Tifinagh characters on the Electronic National Identity Card as warranted by the official status of Tamazight.**
- **Guarantee, through concrete measures, that Amazighs can use their language without complications or obstacles in all administrations and**

sectors of public and private life. This includes training programs for state civil servants, including judges, in the Amazigh language and culture.

Amazigh Women

20. Amazigh women in the rural regions of Morocco are confronted with a significant surge in unemployment and poverty, a direct consequence of policies that isolate and exclude them from governmental processes. This exclusion extends to their limited representation in public forums and administrative bodies (*Article 5(c) of the Convention*). The government budget for 2022/2023, similar to previous budgets, fails to recognize the significant social, linguistic, cultural, and economic roles played by Amazigh women due to the big difference in budget allocation between urban and rural areas, the latter being marginalized and regularly receiving less investments in terms of job sector, education and healthcare. Moreover, it omits any mention of the need for a human rights approach tailored to the specific circumstances of Amazigh women, including the duty to implement positive measures in their favor (*Article 4 of the Convention*). Access to information in the Amazigh language regarding existing laws and avenues for Amazigh women to assert their rights is insufficient, for instance through culturally appropriate means of communication, such as community radio which could be used for awareness raising. Amazigh women remain vulnerable to discrimination by businesses and enterprises (*Article e(i) of the Convention*) due to the lack of laws that specifically criminalize these acts and to the lack of access to information in Amazigh language on existing laws.

21. According to a 2019 report from the Haut Commissariat au Plan, the estimated population of rural women was 6.5 million, representing almost half of the rural population (49.2%), most of whom are Amazigh. They hold significant human potential, with 59.4% of them being of working age (15-59 years), while 29.6% are under 15 years old and 11% are 60 years and older. Regarding education, rural girls face significant challenges, with a high dropout rate, especially at the middle school level (*Article 5(e)(v) of the Convention*). The dropout rate for rural girls in primary school is 6.9%, compared to 4.7% for urban girls, 1.7% nationally, and 5.4% for rural boys. At the middle school level, this rate is four times higher than that of urban girls and twice as high as that of girls nationally (16.8% compared to 4.8% and 8% respectively).^{liii} The 2023 report from the Haut Commissariat au Plan indicates that, in 2022 at the secondary school level, the net enrollment rate for rural girls (most of whom are Amazigh) was 47.6%, in stark contrast to 96.1% for their urban counterparts, 75.7% for girls nationwide, and 56.4% for rural boys.^{liiii} These figures serve as a

testament to the shortcomings of public policies in the aforementioned areas, resulting in the denial of women's entry into vocational training institutions, and their access to formal education.

22. In terms of economic activity, the increase in the employment of women in rural areas is notable in the sectors of agriculture, forestry, and fishing, with rates of 35.4% and 22% respectively. However, this remains highly underappreciated, with over 90% of employed rural women in this sector having no formal education and risks of precarity and informality. While the majority of female employment being in agriculture (93.6%), in urban areas, women primarily work in the service sector (70.4%). Additionally, 60.3% of employed rural women are family aides, and their work is generally unpaid, as nearly 70.5% of them receive no compensation for their efforts. HCP notes that rural women bear a substantial workload in terms of hours allocated to domestic tasks.

23. As for the right to health (*Article 5(e)(iv) of the Convention*), there is a lack of effective implementation of Article 31 of the July 31, 2011 constitution. As it happens Amazigh women still do not have equitable access to the various establishments in the health sector. Moreover, these establishments often fall short of meeting the necessary health and safety standards, contributing to elevated rates of child and female mortality. This constitutes an infringement of Amazigh women's rights to information, life, and health in the native Amazigh language.

24. Recommendations:

- **The implementation of the provisions of paragraphs 3 and 4 of article 5 of the constitution through a participatory approach by taking into consideration the intersectional discrimination from which Amazigh women suffer. This involves the revision of public policies developed by the State for the respect of the political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights of Amazigh women and girls, including their right to health, employment and education.**
- **The adoption of new policies for the eradication of poverty, unemployment and illiteracy from which Amazigh women suffer in villages and countryside and in Morocco in general, and the facilitation of services and measures to this effect in their mother-tongue.**

Land rights and property (Article 5 (d)(v) of the Convention)

25. The question of land rights is central to the rights of indigenous Amazigh, who were dispossessed of their lands during the French Protectorate period by virtue of colonial laws (Laws of 1916 and 1919) neither repealed nor substantively amended since independence.^{liv} These laws allow the Moroccan Government to perpetuate illegal land grabbing in total disregard for the rights of indigenous peoples and the principle of free, prior and informed consent.^{lv}

26. Of further concern are three laws adopted in 2019.^{lvi} They grant full power to the Ministry of Interior to demarcate collective lands (also known as Soulaliyate), without consultation or cooperation with the Amazigh peoples,^{lvii} and to sell, transfer or lease millions of hectares of Amazigh land to foreign or national investors, individuals as well as private and public extractive companies, provided signature of a so-called community representative ('Nouab') actually appointed by local authorities, at the expense of indigenous peoples' socio-economic rights and interests.^{lviii}

27. The Amazigh identity is indissociable from the cultural and spiritual relationship binding Amazigh peoples to their land, which constitutes the backbone of their existence, resistance and survival.^{lix} Unfortunately, notwithstanding the Government's commitment to protect Morocco's biodiversity^{lx} and reduce inequalities,^{lxi} the dispossession and intensive exploitation of Amazigh's ancestral lands and natural resources, for profit purposes, causes irreparable short and long-term ecological harms, as well as poverty and destitution, resulting in the forced displacement of indigenous Amazigh.^{lxii} Illegally dispossessed, deprived of their collective and individual rights, Amazigh are left with few recourses other than relocation to urban centers or onward migration, including on the dangerous Mediterranean route to Europe.^{lxiii}

28. The sale of collective land to public or private real estate agencies since 2007, when a process of intense commodification and privatization of land in Morocco was launched, had severe repercussions on Amazigh women, and particularly Soulaliyate women who were unmarried, widowed, divorced, or married to men from outside the community. According to Moroccan law, the right to utilize land is restricted to men who serve as heads of households and have a patrilineal connection to the community. While women indirectly benefited from collective land through male relatives, their access was contingent on the benevolence of their male family members. As a result, Soulaliyate were forcibly displaced and denied compensation, unlike the men from the villages who received either land or money, and were often compelled to relocate to urban slums, where they struggled to make ends meet under dire poverty. There are ongoing advocacy efforts on this issue, e.g. from 2009 to 2012, the Ministry of Interior issued three administrative circulars,

urging local representatives to include women as beneficiaries of collective land. However, these circulars do not hold the weight of law, and can be rescinded or face opposition from local representatives. Consequently, Soulaliyate women are now pushing for a law that will institutionally ensure the enforcement of these circulars.^{lxiv}

29. Recommendations:

- **Repeal all legislation that permit expropriation and exploitation of Amazigh lands, territories and natural resources, and constitutionally recognise and protect the inalienable rights of the Amazigh to their ancestral lands, territories and natural resources, including the right to natural resources of the soil and subsoil.**
- **Take administrative and legislative measures to ensure the effective consultation and participation of the Amazigh peoples, through their own representative institutions, and include Soulaliyate women, at all levels of decision-making in all areas that affect them, including land, territories and natural resources, upholding the principle of free, prior and informed consent.**
- **Restitute confiscated lands or, when this is not possible, agree on just, fair and equitable (land or monetary) compensation for the prejudice caused.**
- **Ensure effective access to judicial or legal recourse for Amazigh affected by exploitation of their lands, including avenues for justice or legal remedy for women.**

ⁱ Royaume du Maroc, Secrétariat Général du Gouvernement, 'La Constitution : édition 2011', Preamble, available at http://www.sgg.gov.ma/Portals/0/constitution/constitution_2011_Fr.pdf.

ⁱⁱ UN Doc A/HRC/41/54/Add.1, Human Rights Council, 'Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance' (28 May 2019), para 14, available at https://ap.ohchr.org/documents/dpage_e.aspx?si=A/HRC/41/54/Add.1.

ⁱⁱⁱ Code Pénal, Version consolidée en date du 2 Septembre 2021, available at <https://adala.justice.gov.ma/production/legislation/fr/nouveautes/code%20penal.pdf>; See also UN Doc A/HRC/41/54/Add.1, Human Rights Council, 'Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance' (28 May 2019), paras 14, 16, available at https://ap.ohchr.org/documents/dpage_e.aspx?si=A/HRC/41/54/Add.1; and UN Doc CERD/C/MAR/19-21, Comité pour l'élimination de la discrimination raciale, 'Rapport valant dix-neuvième à vingt et unième rapports périodiques soumis par le Maroc en application de l'article 9 de la Convention, attendu en 2014' (16 December 2021), paras 73-77, 84, available at

https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=CERD%2FC%2FMAR%2F19-21&Lang=en.

^{iv} Charlotte Bozonnet, 'Au Maghreb, le racisme anti-Noirs persiste' (23 November 2017) *Le Monde*, available at https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2017/11/23/au-maghreb-la-persistance-d-un-racisme-anti-noirs_5219175_3212.html; See also Amira Géhane Khalfallah, 'Maroc : Le racisme anti-noir se nourrit des nouvelles migrations' (24 January 2021) *Fild*, available at <https://fildmedia.com/article/maroc-le-racisme-anti-noir-se-nourrit-des-nouvelles-migrations>; and See also Samia Errazzouki, 'Complicity and Indifference: Racism in Morocco' (1 August 2013) *Jadaliyya*, available at <https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/29222>.

^v Stephen J. King, 'Ending Denial: Anti-Black Racism in Morocco' (28 August 2020), *Arab Reform Initiative*, pp.3, 7, available at <https://www.arab-reform.net/publication/ending-denial-anti-black-racism-in-morocco/>; See also Samia Errazzouki, 'Complicity and Indifference: Racism in Morocco' (1 August 2013) *Jadaliyya*, available at <https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/29222>.

^{vi} Stephen J. King, 'Ending Denial: Anti-Black Racism in Morocco' (28 August 2020), *Arab Reform Initiative*, p.4, available at <https://www.arab-reform.net/publication/ending-denial-anti-black-racism-in-morocco/>; UN Doc A/HRC/41/54/Add.1, Human Rights Council, 'Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance' (28 May 2019), para 7, available at https://ap.ohchr.org/documents/dpage_e.aspx?si=A/HRC/41/54/Add.1/.

^{vii} Deutsche Welle, 'Le racisme au Maroc' (16 July 2020), (4'35), available at <https://www.dw.com/fr/le-racisme-au-maroc-un-journal-%C3%A9mancipateur-pour-les-r%C3%A9fugi%C3%A9s-au-kenya/av-53959533>.

^{viii} UN Doc A/HRC/41/54/Add.1, Human Rights Council, 'Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance' (28 May 2019), paras 48-49, available at https://ap.ohchr.org/documents/dpage_e.aspx?si=A/HRC/41/54/Add.1.

^{ix} UN Doc A/HRC/41/54/Add.1, Human Rights Council, 'Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance' (28 May 2019), paras 51, 55, available at https://ap.ohchr.org/documents/dpage_e.aspx?si=A/HRC/41/54/Add.1; See also HEM Événements Grand Public, 'Conférence-Débat HEM: Les Marocains sont-ils racistes ?' (2 December 2016), available at <https://hem.ac.ma/fr/conferences-grand-public/marocains-sont-ils-racistes>; and Alessandra Bajec, 'As Tunisia makes racism illegal, where are Morocco and Algeria?' (29 October 2018) *TRT World*, available at <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/as-tunisia-makes-racism-illegal-where-are-morocco-and-algeria-21157>.

^x Chouki El Hamel, 'Racisme anti-Noirs au Maroc : «Le Coran ne soutient pas la pratique de l'esclavage mais son abolition»' (23 November 2017) *Le Monde*, available at https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2019/07/28/racisme-anti-noirs-au-maroc-le-coran-ne-soutient-pas-la-pratique-de-l-esclavage-mais-son-abolition_5494395_3212.html; See also Samia Errazzouki, 'Complicity and Indifference: Racism in Morocco' (1 August 2013) *Jadaliyya*, available at <https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/29222>.

GADEM, Wach 3adi? [video] (22 December 2022) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GXq4MVj9ShI>

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^{lxi} La Commission Spéciale sur le Modèle de Développement, ‘The New Development Model’: Releasing energies and regaining trust⁽¹⁾ to accelerate the march of progress and prosperity for all, General report’ (April 2021), p. 119, available at https://www.csmd.ma/documents/CSMD_Report_EN.pdf.

^{lxii} UN Doc A/HRC/41/54/Add.1, Human Rights Council, ‘Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance’ (28 May 2019), para 38, available at https://ap.ohchr.org/documents/dpage_e.aspx?si=A/HRC/41/54/Add.1.

^{lxiii} Amina Amharech and Mohamed Mahdi, ‘MEDPA: Droits à la terre, territoire et ressources naturelles Amazigh du Maroc’ (January 2020), p.7, available at <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Issues/IPeoples/EMRIP/RightToLand/AMHARECHMAHDIMaroc.pdf>.

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^{lxiv} Coline REAL "The Impact of the Soulaliyate Women's Protest Movement on the Implementation of Equitable Land Policies in Morocco" (April 2021), Gender in Geopolitics Institute, available at <https://igg-geo.org/?p=3705&lang=en>;
Catherine Moughalian "The Soulaliyate Women's Land-Use Rights Movement, Morocco" (January 2017) Environmental Justice Atlas, available at <https://ejatlas.org/conflict/the-soulaliyyate-movement-morocco>. Zakia Salime "Women and the Right to Land in Morocco: The Sulaliyyates Movement" (March 11, 2016) Project on Middle East Political Science, available at <https://pomeps.org/women-and-the-right-to-land-in-morocco-the-sulaliyyates-movement>