Comparative Insights into Moroccan and American Higher Education Systems: History, Legacy, and Contemporary Realities

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Abstract

In this comparative study, the author juxtaposed two distinct higher education systems, namely those of Morocco and the United States. The investigation involved a historical exploration of the development of these systems, with a specific focus on the colonial influences that have shaped their evolution. Furthermore, the author scrutinized the initiatives aimed at internationalizing higher education within the United States and Morocco. Lastly, the study delved into the methodological complexities inherent in comparing divergent educational systems.

Keywords: history of Moroccan higher education, history of U.S. higher education, colonial legacy on higher education, internationalization of higher education, comparative study methodology challenges

1. Introduction

A comparative study of the education systems of two different countries is a multifaceted task because it can create a fertile soil for comparative studies of not only national systems, but sub-systems as well. It could be undertaken at the regional, national, institutional or even disciplinary level (Hauptman Komotar, 2021). In fact, using countries' higher education systems as unit of analysis is not as simple as it may seem but it can be instructive however general or specific it might be. Thus, "comparative international education distinguishes itself within education scholarship through its internationally inclusive approach to educational issues and its respect for different national values, practices, histories, and systems" (Takayama et al., 2017, p. S2). Therefore, to conduct a comparative study, a researcher should possess relevant knowledge of both countries/systems at hand to successfully present a valid comparison.

The justification for this comparative study include the author's personal experience with both systems, the growing influence of English language study, and anticipated institutional partnerships between the US and Morocco in the future, as French influence wanes. Firstly, the author's personal experiences within both systems of higher education in Morocco and the United States, having served as an instructor and a student, underscore the deliberate selection of these units of analysis. Secondly, the author's proficiency in the primary spoken languages in both countries, encompassing Arabic and French in Morocco, and English in the United States, further enriches the study's comprehensiveness. Thirdly, the author aptly recognizes that both countries possess entirely distinct higher education systems, each intricately shaped by historical and geopolitical forces, thus contributing to their present configurations. This acknowledgment underscores the significance of the comparative approach. Fourthly, the study acknowledges that certain cultural and linguistic components in one country may lack direct equivalents in the other country under consideration (De Gayardon, 2022). The author's professional background as a translator has equipped her with techniques to navigate and mitigate such disparities, thus elucidating the cultural and linguistic nuances unique to each country. This expertise was instrumental in facilitating the comparative study, as the author effectively bridged gaps in understanding and interpretation, much as she does in her work as a translator.

One example why this comparison is intricate is that it is inappropriate to imply that the US has a unified education system (Bray & Jiang 2014) when attempting to embark on this comparative study. In this regard, Bray and Jiang (2014) noted that:

One major reason for studying systems might be to *avoid* the notion of "one country, one system"…. Thus, focus on systems may in some circumstances reduce the dangers of over-generalization and oversimplification, and help to show dynamic patterns of change (p. 144).

In other words, the nuanced differences in intra-national or cross-national higher education necessitate careful definition, examination, and analysis of the systems under investigation. It is true that there is lack of consensus on what it means to do comparative research in higher education and the unique aspects of this type of study. Also, as long as methodological concerns are not actively and regularly discussed, plus the absence of codified knowledge base, makes it challenging for researchers to conduct comparative projects which results in lack of rigor in applied comparative research in higher education (De Gayardon, 2022).

In this investigation, the author acknowledges that educational systems are intricately entwined with their historical milieu and the pivotal events that have molded them into their present form. Therefore, this study does not only discuss the historical evolution of each educational system but also scrutinizes the colonial legacies in each system and the internationalization endeavors undertaken in both respective countries.

2. Morocco's Higher Education System: An Overview of History and Colonial Legacy

Rury (2020) noted that education brings about social change and educational institutions mirror their social context and respond to the changing circumstances. Therefore, it is legitimate to trace the historical development of the Moroccan higher education system to understand how various events and factors coalesced into shaping this system today. In doing so, the author planned to be sensitive to issues of context, more particularly, social and historical contexts specific to this country.

Morocco's history with higher education dates to Al Quaraouiyine University, which is considered one of the oldest universities in the world. It was founded in 859 by a woman, Fatima al-Fihriya. The premodern higher learning focus was primarily religious. However, Moroccan higher education also included other disciplines, such as mathematics, philosophy, law, medicine, and the humanities (Assad & Ali, 2019).

It is important to note that Morocco and a number of North African countries were influenced by the French colonization. The French did not support higher education in their protectorates such as Morocco, and Tunisia, as well as in the settler colony of Algeria. In fact, the modern universities, with the exception of a few Afro-Islamic institutions from precolonial times, were founded after independence (Assié-Lumumba, 2020). As far as the modern Moroccan Higher education system is concerned, it has witnessed a remarkable transformation after obtaining its independence from the French colonization in 1956 (Joffe, 1985).

Modern public universities in independent Morocco emerged in 1957. Expansion of higher education institutions began to take place to cater to the country's growing needs; universities were created in response to the pressing and urgent needs for executive officers, particularly in public administration and education (Lazrak & Yechouti, 2017). The first modern University was established in Rabat with only two schools: College of Arts and a law school. Other institutions were founded later in the early sixties (Meziani, 1999).

Post-independence Morocco needed to develop its own educational system and invest in its Moroccan human assets. It made various changes that would serve as a foundation for a higher education system with a Moroccan identity. The primary objective of higher education in Morocco at the time was to produce citizens with specialized skills. Initially, this labor force was intended to take the place of French administrators and teachers as well as to supply skilled labor for the various agricultural and industrial regions. In order to increase the graduates with specialized skills at all levels, which was a major planning priority, the government formed the Sous-Secretariat d'Etat pour l'Enseignement Technique, la Formation Professionnelle et la Formation des Cadres in 1964. In the late 1980s Morocco designated the Ministre de l'Enseignement Supérieur de la Formation des Cadres et de la Recherche Scientifique as the entity that oversees post-secondary education and scientific research (Meziani, 1999).

Generally, Morocco set forth four goals for its education system: (1) Arabizing the educational and administrative sectors; (2) Moroccanizing the workforce, particularly in the fields of teaching and public administration (Kesbi, 2012); (3) Unifying the educational systems; and (4) Massification of education to all students of school age (Meziani, 1999). However, influenced by European higher education, Moroccan higher education followed the Bologna process and adopted the LMD model which stands for License, Master, and Doctorate (see tables 1 & 2) for students once they graduate high school (referred to as "Baccalauréat" or " Bac" in Morocco). The Bologna process was a set of guidelines agreed upon by twenty-nine European countries (Bray & Jiang 2014) in order "to promote the European system of higher education" (Bologna, 2013).

Table 1.

Qualification	Workload
License	Six semesters (six modules each semester)
Master	Four semesters
Doctorate	Three to six years

Source: The African Continental Qualifications Framework (ACQF), 2020.

Table 2.

Level of Education	Diplomas
Bac + 2	• Diplôme d'Études Universitaires Générales (DEUG) • Diplôme d'Études Universitaires Professionnelles (DEUP)
Bac + 3	• Licence d'Études Fondamentales (LF) • Licence Professionnelle (LP)
Bac + 5	• Master (M) • Master Spécialisé (MS)
Bac + 8	• Doctorat (D)

Source: The African Continental Qualifications Framework (ACQF), 2020.

Independent Morocco did not escape the French colonial entanglement (Takayama, et al, 2017). Morocco like several other countries previously colonized by France replicated Western educational policies. The geographical proximity between Morocco and Europe and the close ties Morocco has with France contributed to establishing a westernized Moroccan higher education model. Inheriting the LMD model, the administrative environment, and importing policy from the West are few examples of the French postcolonial agenda in higher education of Morocco and several other francophone developing countries previously colonized by France (Altbach & Kelly, 1978; Mudimbe, 1994; White, 1969). Moreover, although waves of Arabization that the Moroccan primary and secondary educational system has undergone, bilingual teaching has been taking place (i.e. Arabic and French). In fact, following the example set by the French Protectorate, Moroccan elites have ensured that a French education is a prerequisite for assuming leadership roles after independence, which is an example of how much education was of paramount importance to the French colonial administration to expand control over its former colonies in Africa. As a consequence, mastery of the French language and the attainment of French credentials created a linguistic, cultural, and educational divide between the elite classes in Morocco and the rest of society. The fact that the government implemented complete Arabization in public schools; however, in universities, only the fields of humanities and social sciences underwent full Arabization, while scientific and technical disciplines remained unaffected proved that the incomplete Arabization policy created a devastatingly inegalitarian system. The current scenario in which modern Morocco has established its education system is indeed characterized by a seeming openness to all social classes, yet it is deeply unequal, featuring obstacles nearly as formidable as those encountered during the era of the French Protectorate. (Viguier, 2020).

It is important to note that there are various types of higher education institutions in Morocco. Public and private higher education are the most prominent ones. However, as mentioned earlier, public higher education institutions started to develop after the independence. These institutions were in charge of developing new curricula and new ways of assessment, training staff, and replacing the corps of teaching expatriates. The Ministry of National Education, Professional Training, Higher Education and Scientific Research ensures quality standards are met in higher education institutions. More specifically, the Agence Nationale d'Evaluation et d'Assurance Qualité de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique (ANEAQ) oversees quality assurance. In fact, the ministry oversees all aspects of evaluation concerning curricula, training programs, and institutions. The Moroccan High Council of Education, and Training and Scientific Research assesses the educational system as well. Furthermore, Universities conduct a self-evaluation of their programs every 4 years in order to maintain accreditation (Ghadouna, 2022).

Currently, there are twelve public universities, these universities include 145 schools of which 61 open-access and 84 limited-access institutions (Ghadouna, 2022). As for the private sector, there are 207 private higher education institutions (Mediterranean Network of National Information Centres on the Recognition of Qualifications, 2019). With a free public higher education policy, Morocco has implemented cost-sharing, primarily for living and related expenses. In other words, students are expected to cover their living expenses while they are in college. A need-based stipend is dispensed though to students from financially disadvantaged backgrounds. However, stipends are frozen, they seldom increase regardless of inflation (Sabr 2009).

In addition to the cost-sharing approach adopted in Moroccan higher education, it is essential to investigate the country's public funding of higher education to determine if the fund's allocation to higher education is adequate. El-Araby (2011) conducted a comparative assessment of funding in six countries including Morocco. He reported that Morocco spent 0.99% of its GDP on higher education. It also spent 16.77% of its education budget on higher education. As for expenditure per student as a percentage of per capita GDP, Morocco has spent 89.7%. Plus, current expenditure as a percentage of total spending on higher education is 92.2 %. Regarding the expenditure on higher education per student relative to per capita income (in PPP), Morocco spent 90 percent, far exceeding other counties in his study. El-Araby (2011) concluded that households in Morocco only allocate a small share of their expenditures to higher education since the public sector is the primary provider of higher education.

In summary, higher education has evolved post-independence and the system underwent substantial transformations. Embracing the Bologna process and the LMD model, alongside efforts to Arabize and Moroccanize public education, the persistent influence of France has fostered a linguistic and cultural divide, particularly noticeable in the contrasting experiences of the elite and the broader populace. Also, despite the proliferation of universities to meet the nation's expanding needs, persistent challenges of inequality are evident in the intricate dynamics of cost-sharing and financial support for students, further accentuating power imbalances within Moroccan society. Viguier (2020) highlighted the steadfast commitment of the ruling class to uphold French education in Morocco. I would like to emphasize that one of the motivations behind this commitment is the concern that a transition to the Anglo-American system could diminish the influence of individuals educated in the French tradition. Such a shift might lead to a reduction in their authority in the English-speaking and Anglo-American spheres, which are known for employing attraction and global influence strategies rather than relying on oppressive mechanisms.

3. U.S. Higher Education System: An Overview of History and Colonial Legacy

The American higher education system has undergone a transformative journey, shaped by historical inequalities and discrimination that persisted over the years. Its roots trace back to the colonial era when the General Court of Massachusetts established the first college in 1636. During this period, higher education primarily served the elite class, with institutions emerging to prepare them for leadership roles in the colonies. This early philosophy, as highlighted by Levine & Nidiffer (1997), reflected the societal structure of the time, where the sons of the colonial elite were the main beneficiaries of higher education. However, Wilder (2013) illuminated a darker side, noting that the early purpose of U.S. higher education included protecting colonial interests at the expense of the demise of the Native American civilizations and the expansion of Enslaved Africans trade. Wilder further underscored the unsettling reality that former slave dealers and owners became college founders and trustees in the British colonies. Thelin (2019) added depth to this historical context, emphasizing that the guiding philosophy of the colonial era was "to identify and ratify a colonial life" (p. 25).

The early development of U.S. higher education was intricately linked to colonial interests and elite privilege, setting the stage for a system that would evolve through time, overcoming challenges and gradually embracing greater accessibility and inclusivity. The U.S. higher education system shifted from being elitist, producing colony leaders, to the founding of agricultural and technical colleges to keep pace with the industrial revolution, to establishing more accessible liberal arts colleges as groundwork for producing well-rounded citizens who upheld democracy in the community. This being said, the enactment of the 1863 Morrill Act for example allowed land grants to erect buildings for higher education. Plus, the GI bill had a significant role in expanding higher education accessibility by integrating returning solders from World War II and offsetting the cost of higher education for this population of students (Thelin, 2019).

More changes were fundamentally reflected in the curriculum as well. It has expanded to include the German model at some point and an English model as well. Also, since "the curriculum of the early American college was strongly influenced by the medieval English university, which trained the Calvinist ministers who immigrated to the new continent in the seventeenth century" (Bastedo, 2005, p. 465). The curriculum changed its focus from theology, home economics, to secularization of the curriculum (Thelin, 2019). In other words, religious teaching has shifted to

secular science and the prescribed curriculum that has been circumscribed to classic study has been revamped to include curricular pluralism. One aspect of these changes was the introduction of electives to be added to a prescribed program of general education. The implementation of the electives' system was negotiated in colleges across the country during the 1880s and 1890s allowing wide latitude for students to choose courses and paving the way for more modern disciplines to emerge and be incorporated into the curriculum (Bastedo, 2005). These curriculum revisions led to a differentiated higher education system. i.e., the foundation of the American undergraduate curriculum is a differential structure at the system, institution, and program levels which called for continual assessment of a differentiated higher education system on students' intellectual, social, and personal development (Ratcliff, 1997).

In fact, the changes mentioned above led to more diversified courses and degrees. Diverse students demanded curricula corresponding to their needs. For example, Black students, inspired by the civil rights movement in the sixties, required the inclusion of Black studies in the curriculum. Also, financially supported by the Ford Foundation, Black faculty worked with the students to expand scholarship in the emerging field and establish these study programs across colleges and universities. Besides, women's studies programs followed suit in the early 1970s. Influenced by the feminist movement, women sought to integrate women's issues and women studies into the curriculum. Such movements encouraged other identity-based movements to establish identity-based studies today such as Asian American studies, Queer studies, Chicano studies, etc. and prompted faculty to work toward offering increasingly specialized courses. (Bastedo, 2005).

It is also important to note that US higher education system displays remarkable diversity, encompassing both public and private institutions, varying greatly in size, with a mix of secular and religious affiliations, situated in urban, suburban, and rural settings. This broad range of options ensures that there is an appropriate institution for every eligible student (United State Department of States, 2022). Public higher education institutions are funded by their respective states (Bess & Dee, 2008; Christakis, 2009). In other words, students have their tuition subsidized by the state allocations (Baum, Kurose, & McPherson, 2013). Typically, college degrees fall into four main categories (See figure 1): associate degree, bachelor's degree, graduate degree, and doctorate or professional degree. An associate degree, which is a two-year credential, is commonly available at community colleges, technical colleges, and career colleges. However, certain four-year universities also provide this type of degree. Bachelor's degrees necessitate students to fulfill four- or five-year programs focused on a particular academic discipline. Graduate degrees typically require approximately two years for completion, although the duration may vary depending on the specific degree program. Finally, doctorate and professional degrees represent the highest levels of education attainable, symbolizing mastery of a subject and often granting individuals the esteemed title of "doctor." (BigFuture, 2023). The United States has a wide array of higher education institutions, resulting in a notably higher expenditure on higher education compared to Morocco. In 2020, the total spending in the U.S. reached 2.5% of its GDP, distributed as 0.9% in the public sector and 1.6% in the private sector. The expenditure on higher education per student was $19,973 (Dyvik, 2023). Furthermore, the breakdown of expenditures for the academic year 2020–2021 reveals a substantial investment, with $450 billion allocated to public institutions, $239 billion to private nonprofit institutions, and $14 billion to private for-profit institutions (National Center for Education Statistics, 2023).

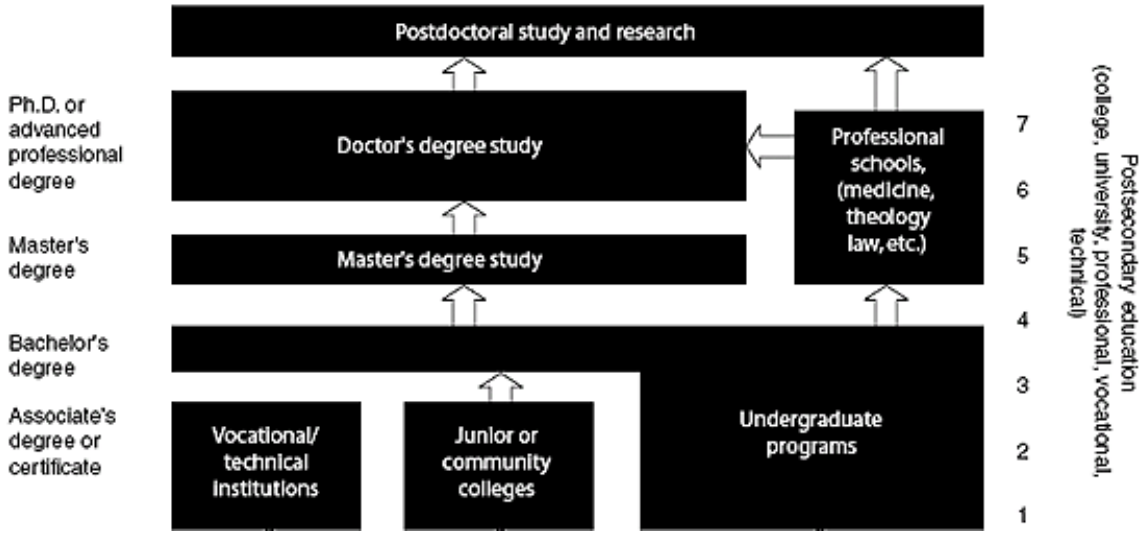

Figure 1. The structure of Higher Education in the US

NOTE: The chart illustrates typical progression patterns rather than encompassing all possible variations.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics.

In summary, the trajectory of the American higher education system reflects a complex historical evolution. The system transitioned from elitism to inclusivity, influenced by landmark legislations and student activism that allowed wider accessibility to higher education, more diverse course offering, and a substantial commitment to academic excellence. Admittedly, the US being a global power, its system has become more influential globally where it was able to engage in the internationalization enterprise as opposed to Morocco, as a small country that has obtained its independence relatively recently, seeks internationalization mainly to enhance its higher education system.

4. Internationalization of Higher Education in the USA and Morocco: Divergent Paths

While the term internationalization has recently gained widespread usage in higher education, its interpretation and application vary across countries and among different stakeholders (De Wit, 2002). The historical context of internationalization in higher education reveals distinct approaches taken by the U.S. and Morocco. The internationalization of higher education in the U.S. became prominent during the Cold War. The dread of a socialist development was the catalyst for shaping the thinking and the language of planning strategies of education for the new nations that were referred to as the 'uncommitted areas of the world.' This discourse introduced the terms "development" and "underdevelopment," classifying countries into developed and underdeveloped nations. In fact, the argument that Marxism offered a better and more rational path to assimilating into the contemporary world alarmed U.S. policymakers. Therefore, major U.S. foundations such as Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller strived to proliferate Western schooling to nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The foundation's officers believed that the extension of democratically grounded education was the way to ensure the stability, prosperity, and orderly development of these nations.

In contrast, Morocco, having achieved independence more recently, possesses significantly less economic and military might in comparison to the United States, and continues to navigate a post-colonial relationship with France. As a formerly colonized nation, Morocco has adopted a cooperative stance towards internationalization, prioritizing collaborative efforts. The country has actively sought to elevate its higher education system and research standards through strategic partnerships, emphasizing a non-imposing approach on other nations. Notably, Morocco has pursued collaborations and cooperative programs with countries boasting higher global rankings in their education systems. Furthermore, the nation has diligently worked towards fostering increased international mobility for its students, professors, and researchers (Kaaouachi, 2020). In fact, Morocco's internationalization was marked by the adoption of the LMD model of higher education, a French version of the European Bologna process (Kohstall, 2020). On the other end of the spectrum, the U.S. has been historically engaged in shaping education systems in colonized countries. For instance, the U.S. was actively involved in the Hawaii Americanization projects and informed school projects for Native American and African American communities.

Moreover, U.S. education scholars, including those with expertise in foreign education and education policy transfers, took part in creating education systems in the colonized countries. In fact, the colonial peripheries served as testing grounds for various social control methods before being transferred back to the imperial centers and, in some cases, the other way around (Takayama et al., 2017; Del Moral, 2013). For example, the U.S. government tested a new model of colonialism in Puerto Rico, where the latter has undergone six different language policies that were implemented in the public schools in order to enforce English as the language of instruction and generally Americanize the people of the island. (Del Moral, 2013). Another example was the Teachers College at Columbia University, which oversaw the administration and assessment of colonial education systems introduced by the U.S. government. The Teachers College International Institute released reports on Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands' educational systems, revealing the U.S. imperial logic (Takayama et al., 2017). For instance, Indigenous people in the colonies were considered primitive and backward individuals who were isolated, uncivilized, and content with their lifestyle in reports on education in colonial dependencies published by the institution (Kandel, 1932).

More efforts continued to be concerted to propagate the Western education model in developing nations. The US-based foundations mentioned earlier funded research projects that showed the strong connections between education, economic growth, and national development. For instance, the Carnegie Corporation collaborated with the British Ministry of Overseas Development in the former British colonies early on, focusing on the training of African teachers and establishing connections between African institutions and Teachers College at Columbia University, where Columbia enjoyed considerable oversight of the administrative and programmatic aspects of the program. Again, since the U.S.' historical mobility patterns were and are currently directed at spreading Western education globally, the Ford Foundation supports educational initiatives in many conflict-ridden areas of the globe today. For instance, they have supported teacher training and reconstruction in Bosnia, as well as educational peace initiatives in Israel and a few significant educational initiatives in South Africa. Over time, the direction of Foundations' funding has shared comparative education's belief in the power of social sciences to aid countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America in accelerating societal progress through the expansion of mass education (Gottlieb, 2004).

5. Student Mobility and Language Dynamics

An integral part of internationalization of higher education is student mobility. Both the USA and Morocco have experienced a rise in student mobility for study abroad programs. Over the past decade, there has been a rise in the number of Moroccan students pursuing extended periods of study abroad, commonly referred to as degree-seeking mobility. In 2021, the UNESCO Institute for Statistics reported estimations for the number of Moroccan outbound (i.e., out of one's country) internationally mobile students of 68 717 students, being higher than that of neighboring countries such as Algeria, 32 336 students, Tunisia, 26 423 students, Libya, 8100 students, and Egypt, 50 814 students. As for the U.S., the UNESCO Institute for Statistics reported 102 691 American outbound internationally mobile students, and 833 204 inbound (i.e., into another country) internationally mobile students in 2021, while Morocco catered to 23 437 inbound internationally mobile students in 2021 and 23 584 students in 2022. It is important to note that Morocco exhibits diversified mobility patterns, with France being a preferred destination for Moroccan students and Morocco attracting students from sub-Saharan African countries.

France is a top destination/choice for exchange and study abroad programs for Moroccan students and educators for various reasons. First, it follows the Bologna process that promotes mobility through equivalent degrees and a standardized credit transfer system (Kohstall, 2020). Second, the geographic proximity of both countries. Third, the prestige associated with obtaining a degree from a French institution (Kaaouachi, 2020), and finally the Moroccan institutional choice not to endorse English language instruction. They opt instead for modern standard Arabic and French as the mediums of instruction, despite English being the predominant language for global communication in most parts of the world (El Kirat, 2019), which, admittedly, restrict mobility of students and faculty members because of the language barrier.

Morocco has become a favorite destination for students from several sub-Saharan countries such as Mali, Ivory Coast, Republic of Guinea, Congo, Mauritania, Gabon, and Senegal. In fact, various French speaking Western African countries prefer to go pursue higher education in Morocco when deciding to study abroad. They have various reasons for doing so. First, the Agence Marocaine de Cooperation Internationale offers scholarships to these students. Second, Morocco's visa application process is especially less cumbersome for these students than that of European or North American countries. Third, low tuition and cost of living. Fourth, Moroccan degrees are recognized in these countries and graduates are more likely to be hired in Moroccan companies operating in their home countries when they return home after graduation as Morocco has been expanding its economy in several African countries in the last decade (Kaaouachi, 2020). This being said, and as mentioned earlier, Morocco has

catered to 23 584 inbound internationally mobile students in 2022 according to the Unesco Institute for Statistics, which was greater than Algeria, 7 724 students, and Tunisia, 8 642 students. However, El Kirat (2019) noted that opting not to utilize the English language in Moroccan higher education institutions serves as a deterrent for students from English-speaking countries, dissuading them from applying for credit programs or seeking degrees through mobility programs.

Admittedly, the U.S. and Morocco face challenges related to language in their internationalization efforts. However, while the U.S. historically saw language as a tool for global influence, Morocco's language choices impact its attractiveness to certain student demographics. Looking ahead, the U.S. and Morocco continue to evolve in their approaches to internationalization, with the US navigating the legacy of its historical interventions, and Morocco balancing its historical ties with France while actively seeking diverse global partnerships.

6. Discussion

Given that the author anticipates closer collaborations between U.S. and Moroccan higher education institutions in the coming decades, it is crucial that both Americans and Moroccans understand the historical and structural similarities and differences between the two countries. Examining Morocco and the U.S. higher education in terms of their historical development and geopolitical context while utilizing a critical lens to investigate their colonial legacy can inspire development of future frameworks that can guide a comparative study of higher education systems that are entirely different. Finally, and most importantly, ideas and perceptions about the supposedly "appropriate" forms of education should frequently be examined and critiqued because they are codified as best-practice guidelines in the discourse of international development and are disseminated by experts and powerful international organizations using ideological and coercive mechanisms, frequently with little consideration for whether these best practices are appropriate in a particular context (Buckner, 2018). In the context of Morocco, the perception of the French system persists as foreign and imposing. Nevertheless, with the growing popularity of English in Morocco and the increasing advocacy for adopting English as the language of instruction, there arises a necessity to indigenize and Moroccanize the educational system. This would contribute to fostering a more open system in Morocco, as opposed to merely replacing the French system with a potential U.S.-oriented one in the event of future collaboration between the United States and Morocco. In other words, Morocco will need to create and increase its international relationships with other countries to loosen its ties with the colonial metropole of France.

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