

Morocco Cross-Sectoral Youth (CSY) Assessment

Testing the *Support to Dar Chebabs* Concept



Assessment Report (June 25 – July 9, 2007)

Submitted by

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"Better to meet someone who tries to understand me, than someone who tries to give me something without understanding me first"
--Moroccan Proverb

1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Marginalized youth at risk of disaffection are a growing cohort of youth 15-24 within the larger urban and peri-urban communities in Morocco. For clarity purposes, marginalization and disaffection during this assessment were understood as follows:

Marginalization – characterized by poverty, lack of formal education, few or no support mechanisms / networks, unsupportive or broken family structure, and lack of positive reinforcement. Yet marginalized youth have assets which they may or may not be aware of and some perceived opportunities pulling towards both positive and negative risk-taking. Their expectations are largely unmet, however there is still hope.

Disaffection – characterized by those traits associated with marginalization but compounded by additional losses which pull a young person towards greater negative risk-taking. There is perceived or real loss of support structures and supporting values; dignity; increase in humiliation; opportunities for education, work, inclusion; and positive risk-taking

A disaffected young person may already have engaged in negative risk behavior and may have spent time in prison, on the street or with groups exhibiting negative behavior. The degree by which the disaffected young person will lean towards negative behavior can fuel the allure of extremist ideologies. Their expectations at this stage are unmet or unfulfilled, further driving youth's grievances.

A Growing Concern About Marginalized Youth at Risk of Disaffection

This population's risk of engagement in extremist organizations is of considerable concern to USAID-Morocco and a number of USAID Offices and Bureaus in Washington and the MENA region. After an initial series of rapid appraisal activities, USAID-Morocco developed a preliminary *Support to Dar Chebabs* concept paper (see Appendix A1) that expressed the Mission's interest in achieving three central objectives:

- Reaching marginalized youth at risk of disaffection and providing opportunities for them to engage with positive social, political and economic programs.
- Focusing on the development of independent, positively oriented problem solving, livelihood development and civic participation skills of marginalized youth -- in order to get these youth to address their priority issues of concern and to contribute to the construction of their own, improved future.
- Locating this work within an existing government supported structure such as the nation-wide *Dar Chebabs* System – both to ensure buy-in by government and civil society stakeholders, and to support possible scaling up by an alliance of national actors from the government, civil society and private sectors.

A Focus on Youth 15-24 in Select Urban and Peri-Urban Communities

While youth across Morocco face many common challenges to preparing themselves for positive roles in work, family and community life, USAID-Morocco has prioritized programming for youth in marginalized urban and peri-urban communities in the Casablanca to Rabat corridor. For this is a sub-cohort of youth impacted acutely by issues of marginalization, disaffection and extremism. This assessment report is similarly focused on field research and programmatic recommendations for youth from these communities – though it is hoped that many of the key lessons learned and recommendations from this assessment can inform programming at a national level. It is also important to note that while many Moroccan government entities use the age range 15-30 when they refer to youth programming, this report focuses on youth 15-24. Thus, it does not represent a comprehensive youth assessment in the Moroccan context.

Four Key Framing Questions Driving the Assessment

With many years of experience in designing programming strategies to meet the needs of other priority populations, USAID-Morocco understood the value of committing time and resources to a fuller assessment activity that could contribute to the further development of their initial Support to Dar Chebabs concept, and which could address four key framing questions:

- What opportunities may exist in Morocco for an innovative, synergistic, cross-sectoral, youth-oriented program that will address the needs of youth at risk of social, political and economic disaffection?
- What understanding can be reached of radicalization and potential recruitment of youth to participate in violence, up to and including terrorism in the general population?
- How can a cross-sectoral approach drive the analysis, design and programming for youth programs in Morocco leading to constructive economic and political engagement among young people aged 15 to 24?
- How do assessment results support USAID-Morocco to test, validate, expand and improve upon the [support to Dar Chebabs] programming scenario concept that has been laid out by USAID/Morocco?

A Partnership with the Cross Sectoral Youth Project

Since work with marginalized youth is often best conducted within a cross-sectoral approach, USAID-Morocco reached out to the USAID/Washington Cross-Sectoral Youth Project (a DG Associate Award under EGAT's Office of Education's EQUIP3 Project: "Out of School Youth") for technical support and guidance. This collaboration led to the development of a common Scope of Work (SOW) for what came to be called the Morocco Cross-Sectoral Youth Assessment.

Getting the Right Tools into the Right Hands

At the heart of any successful youth work intervention is the ability to get the *right tools* into the *right hands*, and then to focus the tools and hands on doing the *right jobs*. This metaphor works equally well at the level of young people, the organizations that serve them, along with the government and non-government entities that fund oversee this important area of civil society investment. Each of these actors needs the technical capacity (the *right tools*), the supportive partnerships (the *right hands*), along with a carefully targeted set of step by step activities (the *right job*) in order to achieve meaningful outcomes, and ensure both scaleable and sustainable longer term impacts. Ultimately, the mandate of the Morocco Cross Sectoral Youth Assessment Team was to assess which *tools*, needed to be in whose *hands*, for the target group of marginalized youth at risk of disaffection to be effectively served.

The Assessment Team was also tasked with better understanding the priority needs and aspirations of marginalized youth at risk of disaffection so that the *right job* could be defined and focused upon.

Key Recommendations

Based on consultations with a wide range of stakeholders, the assessment team's four main recommendations are that USAID needs to:

- Be intentional about the population to be served -- for reaching marginalized youth at risk of disaffection will require targeted programming versus an expansion of general youth services.
- Reach out to marginalized youth in their current environments – rather than expecting them to readily access center based services.
- Work with youth to seize opportunities in their immediate environments – and then look to longer term opportunities in mainstream settings.
- Link youth to holistic livelihood development pathways – recognizing that marginalized young people's number one priority is improving their income, while at the same time understanding their need for opportunities to improve basic education competencies, develop key life skills and enhance their capacity for civil society participation.

It is also the assessment team's recommendation that USAID-Morocco consider partnering with a range of government and non-government entities in the pilot delivery of services for marginalized youth at risk of disaffection. In particular the assessment team recommends that USAID-Morocco:

- Engage a number of direct programming partners in the development of outreach services.
- Link partners with supportive spaces and structures in their communities.
- Invest in the capacity of these partners to deliver holistic programs to this hard to serve population.
- Strengthen ties to emerging government and non-government funding sources active in the youth serving sector.
- Focus on efforts to develop coherent policies at the national and local level that can foster the scalability and sustainability of pilot programs.
- Create a competitive funding model with built-in incentives for innovation among direct service partners and existing government funding sources.

While USAID-Morocco moves into the program design phase, it is the assessment team's recommendation that USAID-Morocco considers some illustrative programmatic building blocks with regards to outreach, cross-cutting programming, innovation livelihood pathways, institutional capacity development, and policy development, each of which is described in section 5.3 of this report.

USAID-Morocco has placed youth as a priority programming area. It is hoped that the findings and recommendations resulting from this cross-sectoral youth assessment inform a solid program design and implementation – ensuring that the *right tools* are in the *right hands* to do the *right thing* in order to better respond to the needs and aspirations of marginalized youth at risk of disaffection.

2. INTRODUCTION, BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

Overview of Section 2

This section of the Assessment Report provides an orientation to the underlying rationale for the assessment activity, and it outlines the steps taken by USAID-Morocco, USAID's D.C.-based Cross Sectoral Youth Working Group, and the Education Development Center to bring it to fruition. It also describes the assessment methodology employed.

More information and greater detail can be found in the Appendix section as follows:

- Readers interested in understanding the overall mandate and Mission-centered context of this report should read the SOW found in Appendix A.2 -- along with the initial "Support to Dar Chebabs" concept paper found in Appendix A.1.
- Those more interested in the overall assessment approach employed should review the "Detailed Youth Assessment Implementation Plan" found in Appendix B.
- Readers interested in the Assessment's underlying Cross-Sectoral Youth Development paradigm should review the "CSY Youth Development Framework" found in Appendix D and the "3-Dimensions to Cross Sectoral Youth Programming" graphic found in Appendix C.
- Readers interested in a "Summary of Moroccan Population & Youth Statistics" may review Appendix M.

2.1 Introduction and Background

According to the Population Reference Bureau, Morocco's population is estimated at 31,700,000. Statistics from 2003 show that 57% of the population lives in urban or peri-urban areas and 21% is between 15 and 24 years of age (CERED 1997, "Situation et perspectives démographiques du Maroc" / Direction de la Statistique, ENNV98). According to the latest census, close to 10 million Moroccans cannot read nor write. One million children aged between 9 and 14 years are out-of school and more than 300,000 drop out of school every year. This education context adds to an already challenging context faced by Moroccan youth. Although statistics show that more youth living in urban areas (86.7%) have an aptitude to read and write than those living in rural areas (47.8%), youth unemployment among urban youth is significantly higher (34.5%) than that of rural youth (5.5%).

A Moroccan Generation at the Cross Roads

Morocco, like many of its neighboring countries in the MENA region, is facing a series of significant challenges to its political, social and economic stability. One area of growing concern is the presence of a significant youth bulge in its urban and peri-urban areas whose integration into productive adult roles in work, family and community life is threatened by a structural misalignment between current educational programming and the rapidly changing workforce needs of public and private sector employers. This is a generation of youth who have grown up in crowded modest or substandard housing, with an average of 5.3 people per household (see Appendix M), who have had to cope with a rigid, unsupportive school environment, and have seen their parents faced with difficult choices between paying the many hidden costs associated with public education (mandatory fees, material contributions, and school supply costs) and keeping food on the table.

A Search for Alternative Pathways to Opportunity

With almost no access to formal sector employment opportunities at the completion of their education – especially for those who drop out or are pushed out at an early age – a growing cohort of Moroccan youth have struggled to find alternative livelihood pathways through informal work, small scale self-employment, or an engagement in endless job seeking pursuits -- while all the time remaining out of the legally sanctioned labor force and therein subject to harassment, exploitation and economic frustration.

A Feeling of Being Left Out or Excluded

In a time of civil society reform and restructuring, some youth have turned to participation in political parties and social movements in order to have their voices heard and aspirations met. But many more have felt left out and betrayed by a State and society that has little regard for those – like marginalized youth – who are perceived to have failed in their efforts to join mainstream social, economic and political life. As a result, a growing number of marginalized youth have found themselves on the verge of moving from marginalization towards disaffection – a critical tipping point in which they lose a sense of optimism towards the future, find themselves cut off from any meaningful connection to public or civil society institutions, lose confidence in their ability to identify opportunities for incremental positive risk taking and personal development in the context in which they live, and begin to turn to negative risk taking in the direction of crime, violence and association with radical or extremist groups.

A Growing Number of Disaffected Youth

Many in government and in civil society recognize that the emergence of a large number of disaffected youth in Morocco is of grave concern to those interested in Morocco's continued growth as a moderate, progressive state. Disaffected youth involved in extremist groups have been at the heart of recent terrorist bombings in and around Casablanca, and increasing numbers of urban and peri-urban neighborhoods run the risk of becoming the kind of ungoverned spaces that lie at the heart of escalating conflicts in other countries faced with marginalized and disaffected youth bulges -- such as the phenomenon of youth gangs in Central America or the involvement of youth in paramilitary groups in Colombia and conflict affected areas in West Africa.

A Clear Intent to Address Youth at Risk of Disaffection

The question of what to do to prevent marginalized youth at risk of disaffection from moving into disaffection and radicalization, is a challenge facing many USAID Missions world wide. All face the challenge of aligning country operational plans, new or existing funding streams, and their own sector specific areas of technical capacity, in such a way that they can address the critical population of marginalized youth at risk of disaffection.

A Multi-Year Process Within USAID-Morocco

USAID Morocco has been addressing the needs of marginalized youth through a range of programming initiatives over the past years. It has also been involved in ongoing efforts to develop the funding and programming partnerships needed to take this work to scale. USAID-Morocco has consistently sought to draw upon the expertise of a range of specialists within USAID's global and regional Bureaus and Offices, along with the experiences of USAID Missions in neighboring countries. This Cross Sectoral Youth Assessment is the culmination of 2 years of discussions and communication with actors in Morocco, Washington and in the MENA region.

Moving From Appraisal to Assessment Activities

In the case of USAID-Morocco -- a Mission with an experienced multi-sectoral team drawn from Education, D&G and Economic Growth -- the desire to develop an effective cross-sectoral strategy for meeting the needs of marginalized youth at risk of disaffection led them to examine a number of different programming scenarios via a rapid appraisal process. This process led initially to the development of a "Support to Dar Chebabs" concept paper, which was used as the starting point for this Morocco Cross Sectoral Youth Assessment.

A Multi-Stakeholder Partnership within USAID

The Morocco Cross Sectoral Youth Assessment activity has been a partnership between USAID-Morocco, the D.C.-based USAID Cross Sectoral Youth Working Group, USAID's ANE Bureau and CMM Office, along with the Education Development Center (EDC) – which serves as the technical lead on the multi-country Cross Sectoral Youth Project (CSYP). It has represented a unique opportunity for these three main stakeholders to join together to pioneer the application of a recently developed Cross Sectoral Youth Assessment methodology, and it has offered an important glimpse into the significant synergies that can be achieved in working towards a common purpose.

A Focus on Responding to Disaffected Youth Vulnerable to Extremism

The primary objective of the planned Morocco CSY Assessment was to understand the interplay between three critical dimensions in the lives of marginalized youth 14-25:

- The overall **opportunity and vulnerability context** in which marginalized youth live, and the impact of this on their levels of social, political and economic disaffection.
- Their existing **developmental assets**, and their **priority needs and aspirations** for positive youth development services and interventions.
- The community **spaces and structures** that accompany young people as they respond to the vulnerability context in which they live and as they seek out positive youth development opportunities.

Each of these critical dimensions became the focus of one of the 3 Sub-Teams formed from the overall Assessment Team's membership. This structure ensured a holistic and cross-sectoral look at the phenomenon of marginalized youth at risk of disaffection, and it provided a systematic way for the team not to fall into traditional sub-sector working groups in education, D&G, or economic growth.

Relevance of the Three Critical Dimensions Outside of Morocco

These three critical dimensions are by no means unique to Morocco, and could form the basis for organizing cross-sectoral teams in other country's youth assessment activities. Their articulation draws on the work of a number of leading youth development frameworks including those of the recently published Growing Up Global Study of transitions to adulthood (re the Opportunity and Vulnerability Context) ; the work of the Ford Foundation and others on the concept of positive youth development (re Assets, Aspirations and Needs); and emerging thinking by the Kellogg Foundation and the Search Institute, among others, on the role community actors play in supporting youth development (re Community Spaces and Structures).

2.2 Methodology

The Selection of a Scenario Testing Approach

The Morocco Cross Sectoral Youth (CSY) Assessment fell into the category of a scenario testing activity, and as such it was designed to:

- i. Gain insight into how four key stakeholder groups (young people, government and non-government youth serving organizations, along with both policy makers and funders) understand the three critical dimensions cited above. And then determine what each stakeholder group perceived to be both key strengths and weaknesses in existing programming for youth, and the likely essential factors for success in new youth development initiatives.
- ii. Systematically explore the proposed support to Dar Chebabs approach to reaching disaffected youth -- addressing both the merits and limitations of this potential programming modality.
- iii. Make a recommendation to USAID-Morocco vis a vis proceeding further with the proposed Support to Dar Chebabs approach, or recommend an alternative programming scenario emerging from the scenario-testing of the current one that shows greater promise.

Stakeholder Consultations and Youth Focus Group Discussions

In the course of the assessment, the team conducted a combination of consultations with various stakeholders and youth focus groups discussions (FGDs), which allowed to complement data collected from different groups and to triangulate responses. Consultations and FGDs included the following:

- **Youth focus groups:** A total of 18 youth focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted. These included a total of 161 youth (52 females and 109 males) between the ages of 15 and 25, living in urban and peri-urban communities in and around Casablanca, Rabat, and Sale.
- **Stakeholder consultations:** A total of 30 consultations took place with local organizations, government agencies, private sector, and media.
- **International donor roundtable:** A donor roundtable was organized at the onset of the assessment in an effort to (i) better understand the opportunity and vulnerability of youth as perceived by the international donor community; (ii) identify existing knowledge gaps about marginalized youth at risk of disaffection; and (iii) foster greater donor coordination on youth programming.

*See Appendix K for a list of stakeholder meetings, interviews, site visits and roundtables; Appendix L for a list of youth Focus Group Discussions (FGD's) and youth basic demographics; and Appendix J2 for a Summary of the International Donor Roundtable Discussion.

The Use of a Cross Sectoral Youth Assessment Methodology

The Cross Sectoral Youth (CSY) Project draws on the experience of both an existing CSY activity currently implemented in India, along with a wealth of pioneering cross-sectoral youth initiatives delivered under the USAID-funded EQUIP3 LWA mechanism (See the EQUIP3 section of www.EQUIP123.net or go directly to http://www.equip123.net/equip3/index_new.html for more information on EQUIP3).

The CSY Youth Assessment Methodology focuses on three interlinked country-level program design and development components:

- CSY understands the need to facilitate a **three-dimensional dialogue** within Mission-level cross sectoral youth working groups that addresses the interplay between the Missions strategic plan, the sector-specific and/or cross-cutting technical programs the Mission's sectoral teams might wish to support, and the funding/procurement mechanisms available to be drawn upon. (see figure in Appendix C)
- CSY has also developed an overarching CSY **youth development framework** that describes the interplay between the development of sector specific competencies and the acquisition of cross cutting youth development assets. The CSY Framework also looks at how the development of competencies and assets by youth fosters both the promoting and protecting behavioral outcomes that allow this positive youth development process to make a substantial contribution to country level strategic plans. (see framework in Appendix D)
- CSY recognizes the need to take a **demand-driven approach** to the assessment and design of youth development interventions – an approach that always looks to match young people's perceived priority needs with young people's willingness and capacity to co-invest some of the time, effort and resources available to them into the design and delivery of specific interventions.

Demand Driven Program Design Tools and Techniques

As will be described in the following three sections of this document, each of the Assessment Team's three sub-teams went on to develop a flexible -- though systematic -- set of key informant, round table, and focus group discussion tools that drove the gathering of perceptions from a wide range of stakeholders (including government, civil society, the private sector and youth themselves). Information gathered was then triangulated and analyzed in order to develop a set of scenario testing findings and overall program development recommendations for the USAID-Morocco team and its regional and DC based allies and supporters as they plan for next steps in the design of a program strategy for addressing the aspirations and priority needs of marginalized youth at risk of disaffection.

A Cross-Sectoral Assessment Team

The CSY Morocco Assessment Team was made up of representatives from USAID-Morocco, USAID-Washington, a team of CSY Specialists from EDC, along with two Moroccan Youth Research Specialists. The team included:

- David James-Wilson, Cross-Sectoral Youth (CSY) Assessment Team Leader (EQUIP3 – EDC)
- Alejandra Bonifaz, Cross-Sectoral Youth (CSY) Project Associate (EQUIP3 – EDC)
- Joseph Sany, International Youth Specialist (EQUIP3 – EDC)
- Christine Adamczyk, CSY Cognizant Technical Officer (CTO), Democracy & Governance Office, (USAID-Washington)
- Oliver Wilcox, Middle East Democracy Advisor, Asia/Near East Bureau (USAID-Washington)
- Mark Hannifan, Conflict Advisor, Conflict Management & Mitigation Office (USAID-Washington)
- Jane Cassewit, Education Team (USAID-Morocco)
- Idriss Touijer, Democracy and Governance Advisor (USAID-Morocco)

- Fatine Bellamine, Economic Growth Program Coordinator (USAID-Morocco)
- M'hammed Abderrebi, Youth Research Specialist (Rabat-Morocco)
- Naziha Sabri Youth Research Assistant (Casablanca-Morocco)

The Formation of 3-Sub Teams

The overall CSY Morocco Assessment Team was divided into 3 Sub-Teams – each of which was asked to focus their efforts on one of the three critical dimensions in the lives of marginalized youth described in section 2.1 above. Each of these sub-teams was asked to lead on the development of field research tools relevant to their theme; to conduct interviews and field visits linked to their critical dimension; and, to lead on the preliminary analysis of data and learnings related to their cross-cutting theme. The three sub-teams were also responsible for selecting and refining the analytical frameworks used in the drafting of the initial reporting, findings, and recommendations sections of this report related to their critical dimension. The three sub-teams were as follows:

- 1) Vulnerability and Opportunity Context Sub-Team
- 2) Assets, Aspirations and Priority Needs Sub-Team
- 3) Community Spaces and Structures Sub-Team

Section 3 of this report captures the work of these three sub-teams and portrays the ways in which each contributed to a holistic and cross-cutting exploration of the day to day reality of marginalized youth at risk of disaffection in Morocco – and of the ways that USAID might support community-based responses to their priority needs and aspirations.

3. THREE CRITICAL DIMENSIONS (SUB-TEAMS)

3.1 Youth Vulnerability and Opportunity Context

The first sub-team of the Morocco CSY Assessment activity focused on the broader question of the vulnerability and opportunity context in which young Moroccans find themselves. Their task was to prepare the way to scenario-test the *Support to Dar Chebabs* concept at the level both of its likelihood to reach the target group of marginalized youth at risk of disaffection, and its ability to address the underlying push and pull forces towards disaffection and radicalization at play in the current Moroccan context.

3 Key Steps in the Targeting of Beneficiaries

Successful program design for marginalized youth populations requires capacity to do three things simultaneously. First, there is a need to understand the overall vulnerability and opportunity context in which a broad range of marginalized youth are living. Second, there is a need to segment this broader heterogeneous population of marginalized youth into identifiable sub-cohorts of potential program beneficiaries-- based on degrees of marginalization, levels of emerging disaffection, or capacity to benefit from planned interventions. Third, and perhaps most importantly, there is a need to intentionally target a given sub-cohort (or sub-cohorts) of marginalized youth so that services can be designed, and funding formulas spurred, in such a way as to ensure that the targeted sub-cohort are served first.

The Danger of Target Groups Being Pushed-Out or Kept-Out

The risk is always that especially marginalized youth will be *pushed-out* by or *kept-out* of programming by common barriers to access such as the location and hours of programming, the program delivery modality (center-based versus outreach-oriented) and any eligibility criteria put in place (such as literacy levels) that they cannot meet. Moreover, there is the simple reality that without intentional targeting (of both services and funding) especially marginalized groups of youth will be easily displaced by more capable groups of somewhat less marginalized youth who have more experience in accessing programs and greater ability to meet minimum participation criteria put in place by program designers.

Successfully Targeting Youth at Risk of Disaffection in Morocco

Youth at risk of disaffection, such as those targeted by the USAID-Morocco Mission, are not an easy group to serve. They can be difficult to reach, and a challenge to program for. Yet both of these factors can be successfully overcome by ensuring that time is taken to assess these young people's vulnerability and opportunity context, and to develop an overall program approach and component program strategies that build on the knowledge gained via assessment activities.

In order to build such knowledge about the vulnerability and opportunity context of youth at risk of disaffection in the urban and peri-urban areas around Casablanca and Rabat, the Morocco CSY Assessment Team carried out three interrelated tasks, each of which are described at greater length in the next sections of this report:

- a. First, the team adapted two existing vulnerability and opportunity oriented **analytical frameworks** -- one from USAID's CMM Office and another from a recent study by USAID of youth gangs in Central America.
- b. Second, the team gathered the **perceptions of four key stakeholders** (i) government actors, (ii) civil society organizations (iii) the private sector and (iv) youth. This was done by drawing on input from round table discussions, key informant interviews, a review of existing documents, youth focus group discussions, and the use of interview protocols, focus group guides, and a standardized youth survey instrument from the Search Institute¹.
- c. Third, the team analyzed the results of the perceptions gathered from the above stakeholders and identified a number of **key implications** for the overarching *Support to Dar Chebabs* scenario testing process.

3.1.1 The Analytical Frameworks Used

The "Vulnerability and Opportunity Context" sub-team began its work by speaking with a few initial key informants among current USAID grant recipients, the media, academics and the public sector. These discussions gave the team a quick snap-shot of the current reality of marginalized youth in Morocco, and led them to adapt two existing analytical frameworks for the creation of common interview protocols and focus group discussion guides.

An Era in Morocco Marked by Change

According to initial respondents, in today's world, all Moroccans are impacted by social, economic and political change. Through their attitudes, behaviors and the context in which they live, all must learn how to approach change – both by identifying new opportunities and by preparing for new obstacles and challenges. Those that are best placed to benefit from change --due to factors such as education levels, access to employment opportunities, or the continuation of entrenched political and economic power – find change to be a generally positive process. Those least well equipped to benefit from change -- because of a lack of well developed human, social, financial, or physical assets -- may experience change to be a marginalizing experience in which their efforts end up being focused on day to day coping and survival versus the pursuit of new opportunities or challenges.

The Impact of Change Upon Young Moroccans

As many stakeholders commented, Young Moroccans' vulnerabilities to change seem to be especially pronounced, as they are still in a life stage focused on the development of core *human assets* (including literacy and numeracy skills, critical thinking and problem solving abilities, technical-vocational and broad employability skills); the cultivation of *social assets* (including -- networks of supportive adults, community spaces and structures, peer groups and life partners) along with the accumulation of *financial assets* (such as financial literacy and access to both savings and credit services) . The way attitudes are formed, behavior is reinforced, and young Moroccan's immediate social, economic and political context either supports or frustrates their efforts to cope with change, all join together to shape young people's approach to the world. These attitudes, behavior and context are often kinetic and mutually influence each other. They can either serve to engage that young person in positive pathways to the future, or push and pull them onto pathways marked by increased social conflict, growing

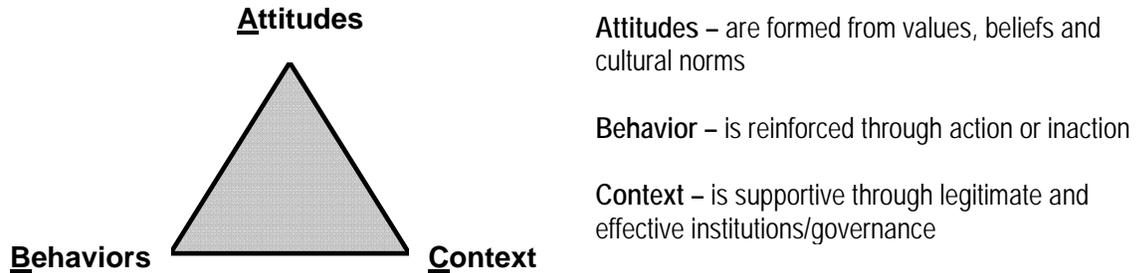
¹ The *40 Developmental Assets* and the standardized surveys developed and validated by the Search Institute in more than 320 communities, informed this assessment and served as an additional instrument to collect and triangulate data.

disaffection and radicalized thoughts, and participation in socially negative actions including crime, violence and support for terrorism.

CMM's ABC Triangle

USAID's Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation has developed a conceptual framework that can be helpful in visualizing the interplay between attitudes, behaviors and contexts in the escalation or mitigation of conflict -- such as that emerging between youth at risk of disaffection in Morocco and the broader social, political and economic systems in which they live.

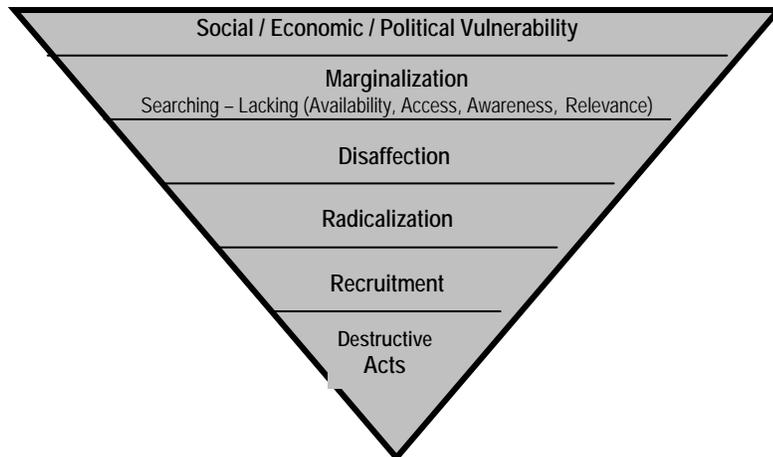
ABC Triangle:



Existing literature tends to show that all three of the preceding factors need to be on a positive trajectory to keep a young person from feeling alienated and holding grievances towards the world around them. Grievances can be derived through unmet expectations and can manifest themselves in a feeling of being out of the system – a key foundational perception at the heart of disaffection. All youth are considered to be generally vulnerable to some degree of disaffection, however as more expectations about their world go unrealized, their attitudes, behavior and context can contribute to their increased proclivity to violence and despair.

The Central American Youth Gang Assessment's Inverted Pyramid

Another way that the Assessment Team found helpful to visualize the dynamic movement from marginalization through disaffection and on to radicalization and extremism was using an inverted demographic profile of vulnerable youth adapted from a recent USAID study of youth gangs in Central America.



An inverted pyramid can help explain the different stages within a continuum of vulnerability, through which youth move. The further down the pyramid, the targeted group of vulnerable youth becomes more finite and more exposed to extremism.

3.1.2 Perceptions of Young People's Vulnerability and Opportunity Context

The ABC triangle and the inverted pyramid both served as a helpful theoretical foundation for the development of the roundtable questions, key informant interview protocols and focus group discussion tools used by the Vulnerability and Opportunity sub-team. These tools were, in turn, used to better understand the attitudes and behaviors of disaffected and marginalized youth as perceived from the vantage points of different stakeholders.

The first step in understanding the vulnerability and opportunity context of Moroccan youth was to explore respondents' perceptions about key contextual factors.

The Impact of Family structure

A wide range of respondents indicated that a traditional blend of Arab, Berber and European influenced family support structures are still the focal point for young people growing up in Morocco. Young people from all backgrounds and settings ranked family among the most (if not the most) supportive structure around them. When surveyed about their perceptions, 41 out of 47 young participants *extremely agreed* with the statement that they *have parents who try to help them succeed*. They also stressed the importance of contributing to family wellbeing. Indeed, while economic concerns were almost always paramount in the minds of youth focus group participants, this concern was expressed as a desire to contribute to family versus personal wellbeing.

Key informants also reported that increased economic disparity within rural areas coupled with perceived opportunities in urban areas, has encouraged migration to larger cities resulting in cramped spaces, increased pressure to support growing families and less positive reinforcement from overburdened households towards young people coping with the changes and challenges of urban living. According to some, the family structure is also eroding as children may be asked to seek income to support the family by dropping out of school, thus curtailing their own development and chances at further education and employment. Others described the high cost of education for poor urban families who face the difficult choice between paying all of the hidden costs associated with education (mandatory parent association donations, required contributions of teaching supplies to schools, along with the cost of student's materials, transportation and clothing) and covering daily living expenses.

The Role of Government

The Moroccan government perceives itself to be keenly interested in the development of its large youth population. The Secretariat of Youth provides substantial funding to summer camps, it pays for the upkeep of a national system of Dar Chebabs (Youth Centers) and it offers the occasional operating grant to Community Associations to program in Dar Chebabs. Other actors in the system are more critical of the role of the Secretariat for Youth, reporting that they only cover the salary of the Dar Chebabs Director, and occasionally one or two technical staff members, but provide no significant funds to support programming – leaving the support of programming to community associations, parents (who must pay fees) and other public sector funders such as the INDH, and Entraide National.

Other government entities with a mandate to assist youth are the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Employment, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the locally-elected Commune council. The newly

developed INDH is also an important actor, and one with an increasing role in the funding of community associations interested in working with youth.

The government is perceived by many in civil society to be distant from youth -- in that they rarely consult directly with youth and provide most of services to youth through non governmental community associations. This disconnect, and the nontransparent manner in which civil society receives government funding, may cloud young Moroccans' view of government as a legitimate and effective institution. Although both economic and social development of Morocco depends on the existence of a coherent, well-managed, transparent and accountable policy for youth, there does not appear to be a strategic vision across all national, local administration, and elected bodies to target the issues affecting youth development in Morocco.

The Role of Civil Society

Morocco was described by many key informants and round table participants as having a vibrant civil society which plays a legitimate role in reaching out to youth and helping to meet their priority needs. Nonetheless, community associations interviewed said that they have to focus most of their energies on pleasing their government donors and remaining on the preferential list for annual funding rather than on systematically designing and implementing innovative new programming. This leads to supply-driven programming set up to meet the government's priorities, rather than a demand-driven one based on input from the youth themselves. Nevertheless, many associations are implementing needed programs for marginalized youth and are providing services to those that the government would not and cannot reach.

The Role of the Private Sector:

The private sector is seen to provide some support to young people in the form of employment opportunities and a few high profile public-private partnerships with community associations working with youth in areas such as IT, workforce development and access to financial services. The partnerships with community associations were characterized by a number of civil society stakeholders as tending towards being self-serving on the part of private sector entities and often entail only gifts in kind, donations of branded merchandise such as t-shirts and hats, and all too often offer no substantial resources at promoting youth development.

3.1.3 Stakeholders' Perceptions of Young Peoples' Attitudes and Behaviors

The Vulnerability and Opportunity sub-team developed a "*Differences Between Marginalized and Disaffected Youth*" key informant and round table discussion tool which was used to elicit input from a wide range of government and civil society respondents (see tool in Appendix E). The focus of this tool was to generate a discussion about how attitudes and behaviors of marginalized youth might be characterized as they moved from the category of being marginalized towards the category of being both marginalized and disaffected. As a second step in the application of this tool, factors involved in *pulling* or *pushing* youth towards disaffection also surfaced. In addition, in order to better understand the continuum of vulnerability faced by youth in Morocco, some stakeholders were asked their perceptions about where young people in Morocco stood on the vulnerability inverted pyramid (described in section 3.1.1 above).

Overall Perceptions about Marginalized Youth

When using the above tools, marginalized youth were characterized by most respondents in terms of their lack of sufficient services and support systems. These youth were described as still displaying the

ability to identify opportunities for advancement – though it was understood by many respondents that marginalized youth were usually faced with a range of positive and negative options, and were not always able to choose freely between positive and negative ones depending on the day to day survival pressures they faced.

Overall Perceptions about Disaffected Youth

Disaffected youth, on the other hand, were described by respondents as having the same underlying lack of services and support systems as all other marginalized youth, but were also described as beginning to develop a sense of having been both left-out and pushed-out of the system. This group was portrayed as being disappointed, angry and frustrated – with a growing sense of despair and hopelessness regarding society’s interest in their wellbeing.

Government Stakeholders’ View of Marginalized and Disaffected Youth

Government stakeholders at the national and local levels generally seemed to view marginalized and disaffected youth through the prism of the general services they make available on a first come first serve basis to all youth. Consultations with government officials showed that most government programs, such as the Dar Chebabs or summer camps, do not intentionally target marginalized youth at risk of disaffection – nor do they make many allowances for youth who cannot pay the fees or travel costs associated with participation in such programming. In practice, this approach tends to leave out the most vulnerable youth populations. Government funded employability schemes also tend to place barriers to entry in the form of eligibility criteria. For example, government sponsored vocational training targets those who have had partial high school education, effectively bypassing entire segments of dropouts from primary years.

When it comes to marginalized youth at risk of disaffection, Government programs are even less successful in reaching out to this group. This was confirmed by youth focus group results where out of seven focus groups, only 5 of them identified the Dar Chebabs as a place in their community where young people like them might go, and even those stated that they *rarely* (1.6 on a scale of 1 to 5) spend time in the Dar Chebabs.

“Dar Chababs are made for children under 12. They do not provide activities designed for youth.”

Youth focus group participant,
Sidi Moumen

Government perceives disaffected youth as posing a very real threat for society at large. Yet they see their principal role to be the provision of general recreational outlets to prevent more anti-social behavior, rather than offering substantive positive opportunities at work or education. With this approach, they tend to target change in young people’s behavior without reaching to the attitudes level or the context in which they live. The government also perceives that disaffected youth threaten what it means to be ‘Moroccan’ or a good citizen and turn to coercive police responses when behavior is perceived to be threatening. As shared by a youth focus group participant who lives in Bachkou, Casablanca, “we can just be talking with friends in the street and the police questions our behavior, as if we were doing something wrong.”

Civil Society Actors View of Marginalized and Disaffected Youth

Civil Society Actors involved in round table discussions and key informant interviews identified marginalized and disaffected youth as critical populations to target. It was unclear, however, whether or not they have the capacity to target these groups as effectively as one might hope. Consultations with local NGOs and associations show that they perceive marginalized youth as young people who are poor, uneducated, or partially educated, might have a broken home but have some degree of support

systems in their life. The principle characteristics of marginalized youth mentioned across groups of community association respondents include a 'lack of services' and a 'lack of opportunities'. Civil Society actors, nevertheless, also stressed that this group of youth still looked forward to the future. As one youth worker in Sale stated, "these young people are ambitious, but struggle to find responsive spaces or opportunities".

Continuing along the vulnerability continuum, civil society respondents perceived disaffected youth as being those slipping towards greater negative risk-taking. Although they identify this as a critical group to target, their approach tends to be that of 'wait and see' -- where an intervention is launched and waits for disaffected youth to reach out and seize the opportunity presented, rather than organizations or staff actively reaching out to this segment of vulnerable youth and ensuring that they join in. Some community associations consulted for this assessment, perceived disaffected youth as having "lost hope" and being very hard to build trust with or re-engage in mainstream programming. Respondents generally demonstrated little inclination to consult marginalized or disaffected youth on what types of programming they might need in their current context. This seemingly creates a gap of information leading to limited understanding of the different levels in the vulnerability continuum, which ultimately affects civil society's ability to reach this population effectively.

Sample Comparison	
The Vice President of a community association in a peri-urban area in Sale made the following comparison:	
Marginalized	Disaffected
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lacking opportunities. - Not always aware of services or programs. - Poor school opportunities. - Poor families. - Unsure of value of formal education. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rejected. - Refused. - Abandoned. - Cannot find someone to engage with. - Lost of self-confidence. - 'Consider me!' - Take revenge to let others know that they are still there.

Private Sector Respondents

The few private sector respondents consulted about the marginalization to disaffection continuum seemed to differentiate between marginalized and disaffected youth by seeing the possibility of offering low-skilled jobs to marginalized youth-- recognizing that they can be positive risk-takers and potentially good employees. These same private sector respondents tended to largely ignore disaffected youth when it comes to supporting programs – though they did recognize that disaffected youth could be a drag on economic growth via the impacts of crime on the business environment.

The Donor Community

National and International donors who participated in this Assessment activity often viewed marginalized and disaffected youth through the lens of the youth bulge phenomenon and/or terrorism. Many international donors in Morocco place youth at-risk as a top priority in their agendas, but also recognize the limited understanding that they have about these populations. As a UNFPA representative expressed at a donor roundtable session at the outset of this Assessment: "we need to find out what we don't know that we don't know."

Much support towards youth from international donors seems to go to short-term or one-off events (such as concerts, poster campaigns, sports tournaments or stand alone trainings) rather than sustained development investments. Very few funds are targeted for especially marginalized populations, rather they are programmed with all youth lumped into one broad category of potential beneficiaries.

Youth Perceptions about Marginalization and Disaffection

Young respondents themselves seem able to understand and clearly differentiate marginalization from disaffection and to see them through several lenses. Marginalized youth are seen to be those still willing to take positive risks and those that still have access to some support structures. For example, youth participants in a youth focus group in the community of Nouacer outside of Casablanca identified a nearby industrial area as a positive community structure that offered them opportunities to grow. While marginalized youth may have some unmet expectations, their outlook is generally good and they haven't experienced many negative risks yet. Marginalized youth are still seen, however, to face a pronounced lack of public and social services, weakened family support, and a general lack of opportunities for continuing education or skills development.

Youth participating in focus group discussions saw disaffected youth to be those who had begun to feel an inability to gain positive advancement in their lives. A group of young men between 18 and 25 years of age who live in Bachkou, Casablanca, described the negative comments they faced from family members, peers and neighbors when they failed at efforts to improve themselves. This was said to manifest itself in a feeling of humiliation and a loss of dignity, and was described as leading to a lack of self-confidence and a profound sense of self-doubting.

3.1.4 The Contributing Factors Along the Vulnerability Continuum

Literature in the area of conflict management and mitigation shows that internal and/or external forces appear as positive or negative opportunities to young people, and feed on their grievances or frustrations. Disaffection and marginalization alone are not enough to move a young Moroccan from one category to the next down the inverted vulnerability pyramid, nor is simply the presence of a large youth cohort within Morocco sufficient condition to drive extremism or violence. These contributing factors (referred to by the assessment team as "push" and "pull" drivers) fuel growing grievances and move Moroccan youth towards disaffection and potentially radicalization and extremism.

This movement from marginalization to disaffection along the vulnerability continuum was described by a Peace Corps volunteer group as a process of eventually "hitting the glass wall". When marginalized youth--who are challenged by the lack of services and support structures, but can still see some potential opportunities ahead-- take positive risks in pursuit of opportunities (in livelihood, education or civil society participation) yet continuously fall short of success, they eventually "hit the glass wall" and can fall into the disaffected category. Originally they could see opportunities through the glass, but the experience of continuing to hit the glass wall generates disappointment, shame and humiliation, and may lead to a withdrawal from their existing peer, family and community support systems. The forces, events, or circumstances that create the glass wall in Morocco can fuel an attraction to extremism.

Hitting the Glass Wall

Some of the drivers (or contributing factors) perceived and voiced by young people and other stakeholders throughout the assessment:

- Blocked or eroded avenues to employment and education.
- Police harassment of informal entrepreneurs.
- Sexual harassment on the job.
- Informal sector employers withholding pay as the price for keeping a job.
- An absence of justice and fairness in the legal system.
- Little reward or gain from hard work.

Frustrated Attempts to Gain Entry into the Workforce

There are some standard assumptions by many government and civil society respondents about the "passivity" of marginalized youth in the face of poor employment prospects, for example, that youth "are

all waiting for a government job". Such assumptions were challenged by stories young focus group participants shared about multiple frustrated efforts at trying to improve their situation. They spoke about trying to start small business activities in their community, but then being forced to pay significant bribes to police and local officials to keep these entrepreneurial efforts going. Some shared experiences of finding temporary jobs through friends or family contacts and then being required to pay much of the salary earned to the person who found them employment. Other youth spoke about exploitative apprenticeships where they were asked to work long hours for little pay and then were let go just ahead of the promised transition to employee status. Some young women also spoke about the sexual harassment they faced when looking for work in the informal sector, with offers of employment often linked to sexual favors.

To understand disaffection, one needs to hear these stories and understand the depth of frustration they portray among a cohort of marginalized youth who "hit the glass wall" repeatedly, and are left wondering if they have any viable pathway to the future open to them.

Humiliation and Lack of Dignity

Youth in focus groups conducted for the assessment noted out how unmet expectations and a lack of support structures can lead to deep and growing humiliation. Coupled with a culture of negative reinforcement and different approaches to self-reliance and self-responsibility, young Moroccans participating in focus groups and individual consultations had experienced humiliation in some way and consistently cited this as a key driver in leading to violence and/ or joining extremist groups who may espouse violence. Interviews with former young terrorists in other parts of the world often find that humiliation is a key reason for seeking support in groups which offer them positive reinforcement and build their self-esteem.

Youth focus groups on political awareness in Morocco found that lack of dignity often was brought on by the type of work a young person was forced into after expectations for something more promising were unmet. While poorer youth in focus groups would cite work as a means to survival, more affluent, middle class, educated youth saw working as a lynchpin to their identity and their dignity.

The Next Stage in the Vulnerability Continuum

Government and civil society youth stakeholders perceive youth in Morocco moving into illegal activity as the next step after disaffection. These activities are seen to including crime, drug use, illegal migration, prostitution and extremism. A young Moroccan is sometimes considered to be engaged in "illegal" activities in the eyes of the system when she or he starts a non formal enterprise. This is in part due to the reality that the informal economy, while mostly involving productive, income generating activities, can also be a vehicle used by extremist groups to launder money through contraband and narcotics trade.

More likely though, the non-legal status of such informal enterprises is often just a pretext used by police and local officials to elicit a bribe or regular payment of protection money. The distinction between what is illegal and what is acceptable becomes indistinguishable as youth enter the lower stages of vulnerability on the inverted triangle. At the same time, the frustration faced by marginalized youth trying to create even a small livelihood pathway for themselves leads to growing resentment. A young Peace Corps volunteer, who had been working with marginalized youth for the past 14 months, called for immediate action by explaining, "emotions under the disaffected stage can only build for so long, then they have to come to here [pointing at a card written 'extremism' on it]".

3.1.5 Key Considerations for *Support to Dar Chebabs* Scenario-Testing

Key considerations arising from the work of this sub-team include:

- The need to carefully assess the likelihood that any proposed interventions will in fact reach the target group of marginalized youth at risk of disaffection.
- An intentional examination of potential barriers to entry into potential new programs (including barriers such as minimum education levels, the geographic location of services and/or the hours and modality of service delivery).
- A recognition of the need to do some patient relationship building with youth who have been pushed out, or left out of many programs in the past and may not immediately trust the sincerity of new efforts on their behalf (no matter how well intended).
- A deep understanding of the impact of rejection and humiliation on young people, and the gradual step by step process it may involve to get them to buy into new initiatives.
- A careful examination of both the push and pull forces driving marginalized youth towards disaffection – along with a sincere appreciation of the ways in which extremist groups position themselves to do effective outreach work with this population.

3.2 The Assets, Aspirations and Priority Needs of Marginalized Youth

The second sub-team of the Morocco CSY Assessment activity focused on trying to reach a broad understanding of the assets, aspirations and priority needs of marginalized young people at risk of disaffection. Their task was to prepare the way to scenario test the *Support to Dar Chebabs* concept at two levels: (i) the kinds of services this target group of youth might best benefit from and (ii) the kind of program delivery modalities they might find most relevant and accessible.

In order to build such knowledge about the assets, aspirations and needs of marginalized youth at risk of disaffection in the urban and peri-urban areas around Casablanca and Rabat, this sub-team carried out four interrelated tasks, each of which are described at greater length in the coming sections of this report:

- a. First, the team adapted both the Search Institutes 40 Developmental Assets Framework, and the Cross Sectoral Youth Program's Youth Development Framework for use as reference points in the development **data gathering tools**, along with creation of a **data analysis framework**.
- b. Second, the team drew on its initial consultations with key informants to develop a new analytical framework called the "**Positive and Negative Risk Taking Matrix**" (described in a later section).
- c. Third, the team gathered the **perceptions of four key stakeholders** (i) government actors (ii) civil society organizations (iii) the private sector and (iv) youth -- drawing on input from round table discussions, key informant interviews, a review of existing documents, youth focus group discussions and the use of a standardized youth survey instrument.
- d. Fourth, the team analyzed the results from the perception gathered and identified a number of key **implications** for the overarching *Support to Dar Chebabs* scenario-testing process.

3.2.1 Frameworks for Analysis and Tool Development

As the "Assets, Aspirations and Priority Needs" sub-team began its initial data gathering sessions with key informants, it encountered an interesting set of challenges. These challenges, led in turn, to the development of a series of tools and analytical frameworks based on a number of well regarded international experiences with (i) youth developmental assets, (ii) young people's development of the capacity to identify opportunities in their environment, (iii) along with approaches to supporting young people's step by step integration into more opportunity rich environments.

Challenge #1 -- Why Start with Assets

First, many civil society and government actors were surprised to be asked about the developmental assets possessed by the marginalized youth with whom they worked. Most saw such young people in terms of what they lacked, or in terms of the problems they faced.

Young People's Developmental Assets

Development assets are individual and external factors that young people need to grow to make a successful transition to a positive adulthood. At individual level, they are a set of skills, attitudes, behaviors and values young people need to fulfill their aspiration and fully engage in the society. At an external level, developmental assets are linked to the spaces, structures and people that create a positive and enabling environment for young people.

(For more see www.search-institute.org)

Few perceived youth as having any underlying assets and thus few drew on these in the design of their programs. This gap in perception led to the team adopting the Search Institute's 40 Developmental Asset Framework (described below) as a key reference point for both key informant and youth focus group respondents. It also led to (i) the development of the "3 P's: Profile, Process and Prospects" Tool for use with key informants (see tool in Appendix F) and (ii) the application of Search Institute's 58 items Developmental Asset Profile (DAP) survey with a sample of youth focus group participants.

Challenge # 2 -- Why Look To Young People's Immediate Environment to Identify Opportunities

A second challenge faced by the team, is that most initial informants spoke about the environments in which marginalized youth spent the majority of time (cyber cafés, neighborhood streets, informal employment, and the beach) as being devoid of opportunities – preferring instead to talk about the need to get these youth into centers and institution-based programs. This meant that many groups assumed a "wait and see" attitude towards the more marginalized groups in their communities, working on the assumption that youth had to come to them rather than them reaching out to youth in their own environments. This gap in understanding contributed to the development of a modified analytical framework linked to the concept of young people's opportunity context, as illustrated in the "Risk Taking and Opportunity Matrix" in a later section.

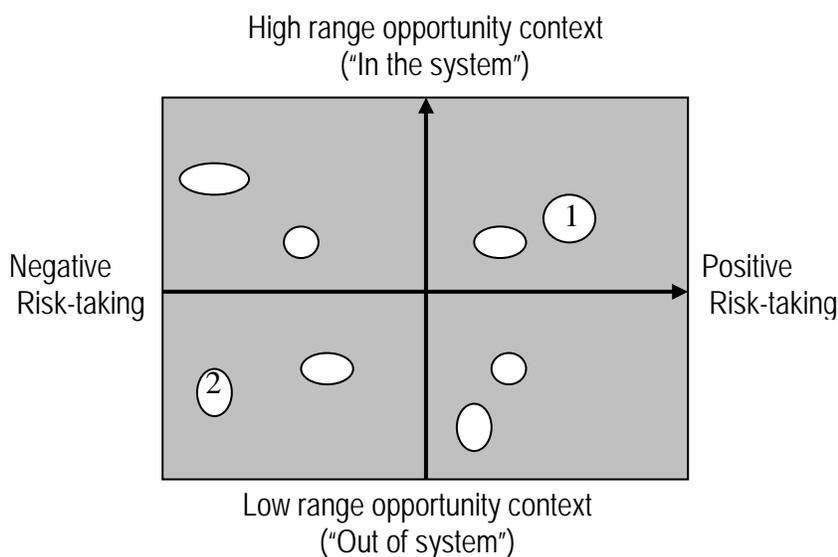
The Interplay Between Assets, Aspirations and Young People's Immediate Environment

In Morocco, as in everywhere else in the world, young people have aspirations for the future. To achieve these they must both draw upon the human, social, financial and physical assets they have already accumulated, and do their best to access opportunities to develop additional assets. At each state of their development, young people interact with their environment, creating outcomes that influence their growth. Different cohorts of young people may engage differently with their environment, depending on what they have access to or perceive themselves as having access to. Young people are motivated by what they perceive to be positive opportunities. They then use their existing assets to seize these opportunities. This dynamic interaction between young people and their environment is at the core of youth development.

Challenge # 3 -- Why Understand Young People's Positive and Negative Risk

As the research team spoke with early key respondents, they also encountered a strong tendency to see marginalized youth as being either passive – waiting for a job from the state or a benevolent private sector employer – or risky (using drugs, taking chances with their health and getting into conflict with the police). This seemed contrary to what initial focus group discussions with youth uncovered about the many ways marginalized youth were trying to find ways to make a contribution to family wellbeing. It also missed the way in which young people associated the term "risk taking" with both negative and positive behaviors. Finally, it seemed to underestimate the difficult decisions marginalized youth had to make on a daily basis in order to cope with the challenges in their environment. This gap in awareness also contributed to the development of the "Risk-Taking and Opportunity Matrix" tool (see below) for use with civil society and government respondents, along with a "Positive and Negative Risk Taking" tool for use with youth focus groups.

Risk-Taking and Opportunity Matrix:



Risk-taking & Opportunity Matrix

This matrix helps analyze the degree of risk-taking and opportunity context of an individual or a group. For this assessment, it was used to situate and better understand characteristics and behaviors of marginalized youth and youth at risk of disaffection.

Examples: The circles (which could also be dots) represent different levels of positive and negative risk-taking and high and low range opportunity context. Example # 1 shows a high range opportunity context (or "in the system") with positive risk-taking. This may be someone who has a supportive home and education who takes the risk of opening his/her own small enterprise. Example # 2, on the other hand, may represent someone who has been left "out of the system" (school and/or acceptable employment) and takes negative risks by selling drugs.

*For more details about the "Risk-Taking and Opportunity Matrix" please see Appendix I2.

Positive and Negative Risk Taking Among Marginalized Youth

Positive and negative risk taking have in common taking action (using the assets you have/perceive you have) to seize opportunities you can identify in your environment. This boils down to attitudes, behaviors and the interaction with the opportunity context as the young person perceives it. The result from the focus groups conducted with youth in Morocco show that young people take risks (negative or positive) based on perceptions of:

- What opportunities exist - how accessible and relevant are these opportunities;
- What immediate pressures he or she faces;
- How the young person perceives himself or herself in terms of developmental assets (capable or incapable); and
- What pull or push factors the young person is subject to (peer, social, neighborhood, etc).

For example, a group of young people (15-24) in a focus group in Rabat were asked how far they were from engaging in a range of positive or negative risks, using a scale from 1 (nearest) to 5 (farthest).

Those who perceived they had remote chances to access opportunities such as school, formal employment or informal jobs, admitted being closer to taking negative risks such as prostitution or drug dealing. This is shown in a later section with the graph titled 'How Far Are Youth from Positive and Negative Risk Taking?'

During focus groups youth mentioned the following types of risks:

Positive Risks	Negative Risks	Positive/Negative Risks
Formal job	Drug dealing	Emigration
Informal/small jobs	Theft	Marrying a rich person
Study	Prostitution	Selling cigarettes
Small scale commerce		<i>*These were sometimes mentioned as positive and sometimes as negative risks.</i>
House keeping		
Professional skills training		

Challenge # 4 -- Why Work Towards Step-by-Step Integration of Marginalized Youth into Contexts with a Greater Range of Development Opportunities

A final area of challenge to the Assessment Team was the general view held by many government and civil society actors that the answer for marginalized youth at risk of disaffection was to remove them from their day to day contexts (either in a coercive way through the use of the criminal justice system or by parachuting them into a formal institutional setting). This view flies in the face of best practices in other countries related to the use of outreach style programming to reach marginalized youth in their day to day environment, and then working with them to take step-by-step pathways towards more mainstream opportunities.

In response to this challenge, the Assessment Team developed a couple of outreach scenarios to test with key informants during the second week of field research (including a hypothetical sport for development programming in beach settings, and a hypothetical problem solving skills development scenario that took place in cyber café settings). This generated rich discussions about the need to consider new programming modalities that require the youth worker to take a leap of faith and enter into marginalized young people's day to day reality, rather than asking youth to be responsible for finding their way to center-based activities.

Young Peoples' Opportunity Context

Young people are motivated by their aspirations; however, to reach those aspirations they have to identify and seize opportunities. In assessing opportunities, young people consider two main factors:

- **Accessibility** – Access is determined by the distance (geographical), the cost (resources) and eligibility criteria (literacy, level of education, age, gender, etc.) of a given program offering.
- **Relevancy** – Do these opportunities enable the young person to take the next small steps toward the realization of his or her aspirations? Or do they require a level of investment and commitment not realistic for the youth to live up to as they balance the other pressures in their lives?

Youth in the end are not a homogenous group. They look at opportunities differently, which then means that the opportunity context is not a level playing field open equally to all segments of the youth population. Depending on the situation of a young person, he or she may have a relative degree of accessibility to opportunities or be completely excluded from the opportunity context. As this Assessment found out, Dar Chebabs in Morocco are a case in point; for while ostensibly designed to serve the youth population, most youth in the focus groups did not attend them; either because the programming did not meet their expectations (relevancy) or because they could not access them (cost and distance).

"Dar Chebabs don't satisfy the real needs of youth, which are professional training and real life skills like communication and how to do things."

Youth focus group participant,
Takaddoum (Rabat)

Turning Finally to Perceptions

The above 4 challenges surfaced were addressed through the development of new key informant and focus group discussion tools. Then, the Assessment Team was able to focus its efforts on assessing the perceptions of a range of stakeholders vis-à-vis marginalized young people's assets, aspirations and priority needs.

3.2.2 Young People's Perceptions of Their Aspirations

Livelihood and Life with Dignity and Respect

It appears from focus group discussions that Moroccan youth aspire to lead a productive life with dignity, respect and full integration into society. When it comes to attaining these aspirations, youth in focus group discussions consistently placed earning an income as their top priority. Youth with low education and skill levels often reported finding themselves scrambling to find one or several, informal, income-earning activities to meet the subsistence needs of their households. These jobs, inconsistent, short-term and low pay, generally involved domestic work, manual labor or selling small products in the streets legally or illegally. In many cases, higher order aspirations had to be squelched in deference to the need for basic survival of the family.

Support to their family

In the 18 focus groups, most youth stated financial support to their parents as the main driver of their interest in earning an income. In Moroccan culture, where the value system is highly family-centered, being able to meet their family's needs or even improve their living standards is considered an inherent duty. Whereas in the past females were only expected to help their mothers with the household chores and raising the children, economic realities demand that they also contribute financially. So great are the family obligations that youth are willing to risk prostitution or illegal migration when they cannot find an alternative livelihood pathway.

Main forms of support to their family

Youth expressed the following main forms of support to their families:

- Housekeeping activities (cooking, cleaning, baby-sitting, dishwashing and laundry, etc.), in most cases carried out by girls.
- Financial support, through revenues from small informal activities (Buying and selling products, articles, etc...); manual labor, etc., mostly done by boys although this activities were also mentioned by girls.

Additional sources supporting this include studies by Afilal Rachida (2007) and Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Démographiques (CERED) (2004). (refer to bibliography).

Have their voice heard

Another consistently expressed aspiration among young focus group members is to have access to forums where their needs and opinions can be heard and taken into consideration. Youth feel that they have no voice. This perception is only further confirmed by lack of youth representation on public and non profit committees concerned with youth policy and programming. They desire a venue where they can influence youth-friendly services and obtain counseling to help them navigate in an adult-focused world which takes little account of their developmental needs beyond basic education. Even in the formal education system, guidance counselors are not available.

Start a family

Although youth find themselves struggling to help their existing family financially, a commonly expressed aspiration was to start a family of their own. As with most of their other aspirations, this goal is linked with another common frustration point for youth, as marriage and parenthood are closely tied to gainful and stable employment.

3.2.3 Various Stakeholders' Perceptions of Marginalized Young People's Assets

When it comes to the assets of marginalized youth, stakeholders expressed a wide range of different perceptions and understandings.

Government and Civil Societies Perceptions of Youth Assets:

In discussions with government officials and civil society stakeholders, there was a general agreement that the main asset of marginalized youth is their eagerness to succeed when given a “second” chance. However, there was also a commonly held belief that marginalized youth at risk of disaffection are at best a segment of the youth population that needed to be “rescued”, and at worst a segment of youth population that was beyond helping.

Those respondents that held the view of marginalized youth as being in need of rescuing tended to advocate interventions that aimed to remove marginalized youth from their community settings (where they were seen to have no assets) in order to link them quickly with the “mainstream”. They saw camping programs, intensive employability efforts for a lucky few as the best way to proceed. Those that saw them to be beyond help, indicated that resources should be spent on less marginalized groups, or suggested that some other group (the police, social workers) should take responsibility for this hard to serve group.

Young People’s Perceptions of Youth Assets

Focus group discussions with young people, on the other hand, brought out more than just their motivation and eagerness to succeed. Young people surveyed using the Search Institute’s Developmental Asset Profile (DAP) Tool were able to identify other areas of developmental assets. These included internal assets such as their sense of caring and responsibility to their family, their empathy towards others, their ability to develop and maintain new friendships, their capacity to make difficult decisions about their livelihood and deal with conflict at home or in the “street”. All of these represented positive values and social competencies that many adult respondents did not see.

(See footnote for background on EEA², referred to in the textbox)

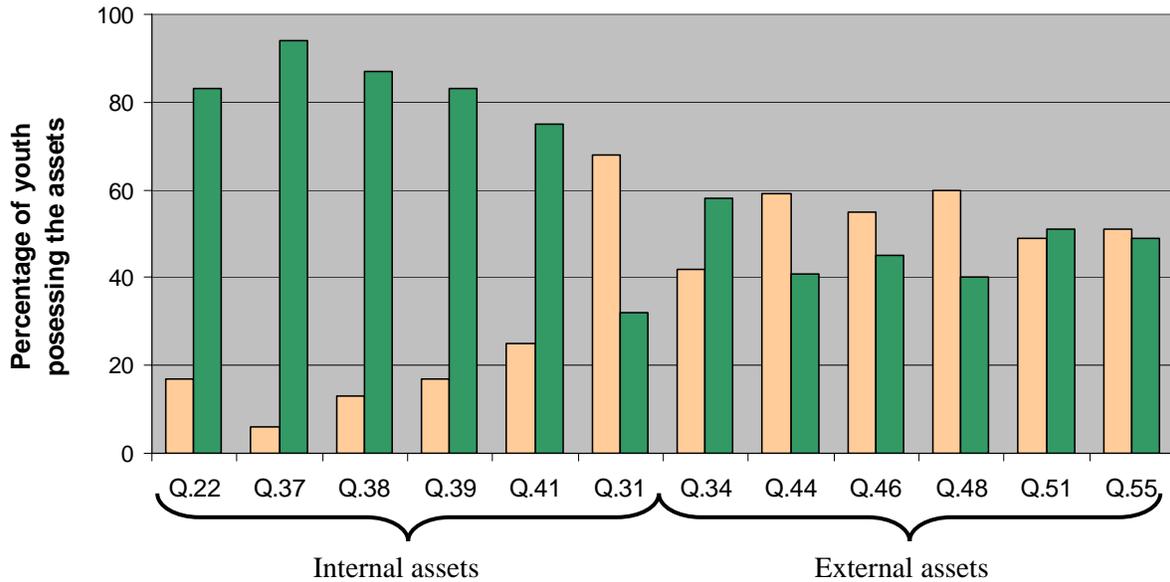
“... When I received my first salary, I gave more than half to my parents....I hope I will be able to build a new house for my parents...”

Graduate from Education- Employment Alliance (EEA) program and employee of Richbond - Casablanca

Youth were also able to identify areas of less well developed assets – especially those linked to external assets such as a safe neighborhood, relationships with caring adults, and support from their parents. As the table below illustrates, this pattern of high internal and low external assets was common across the whole sample of youth surveyed.

² The Education and Empowerment Alliance (EEA) program is an initiative spearheaded by the USAID’s Asia and Near East Bureau (USAID/ANE) and the International Youth Foundation (IYF). EEA brings together private sector, NGOs, and government to determine critical training needs for disenfranchised youth and increase their chances to find employment. The objective is to build bridges between school and work.

Internal & External Assets



Rarely / Sometimes
 Often / Almost always

Internal Assets

Q.22	Take responsibility for what I do
Q.37	Developing respect for other people
Q.38	Eager to do well in school and other activities
Q.39	Sensitive to the needs and feeling of others
Q.41	Serving others in my community

External Assets

Q.31	Involved in a religious group or activity
Q.34	Involved in a sport, club, or other group
Q.44	A school that gives students clear rules
Q.46	A safe neighborhood
Q.48	Good neighbors who care about me
Q.51	Support from adults other than my parents
Q.55	Neighbors who help watch out for me

Of course the presence of internal assets alone may not be sufficient to help marginalized young people achieve all of the key steps toward the realization of their aspirations; but it constitutes an initial foundation from which youth workers or stakeholders interested in youth development could build. Indeed, these assets need to be taken account of in both program design, and in the initial stages of engagement and relationship building when marginalized youth may be wary about youth workers who focus exclusively on their problems and are unable to build from some of their existing assets.

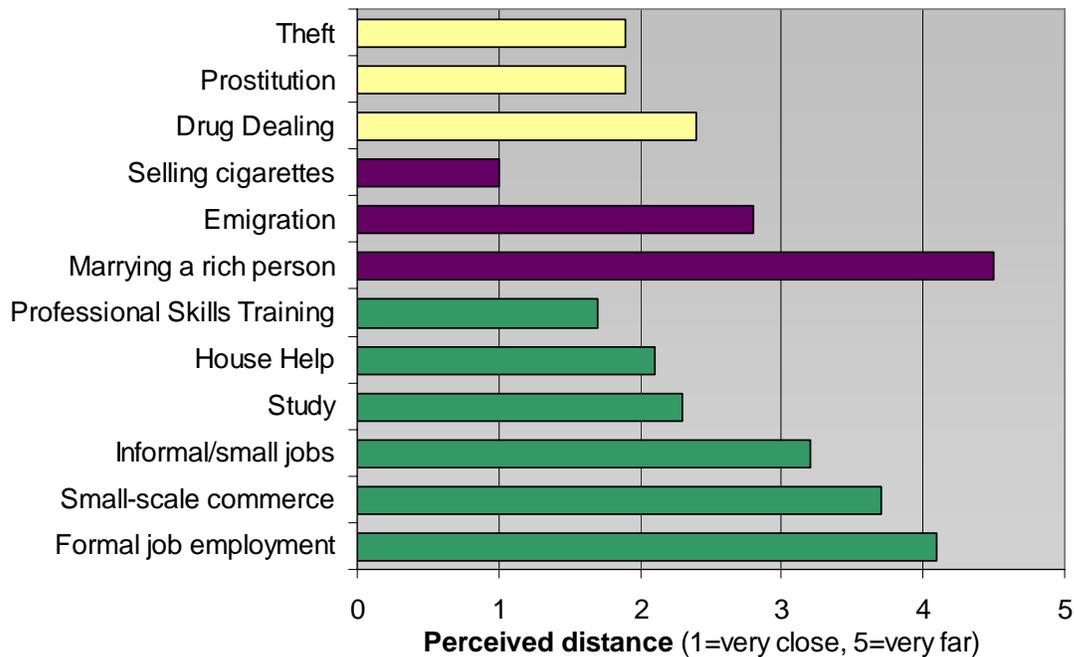
"...The girls who were in our program, were the ambassadors of the program... They will use their social networks to spread the words and the learning they were gaining to other marginalized youth..."

EEA consultant in Casablanca

3.2.4 Perceptions of Young People's Priority Needs

Focus group research confirmed that there were gaps between skills that youth possessed and those skills that were needed to move closer towards achieving their aspirations of entering the world of work and adult responsibilities. Youth were clear about these gaps. When asked to quantify how far away they were from accessing a range of both positive and negative risks in their environment, marginalized youth were direct and sincere in their responses (see graph below).

How far are Youth from Positive and Negative Risk Taking?



Young People's Perceptions of Their Priority Needs

Several recurring themes emerged during the focus group discussions regarding the most important tangible needs youth were looking to have met. These included basic literacy, enterprising life skills (such as problem solving, effective communication and giving and taking feedback), along with livelihood skills to earn an income, vocational training to get a job, and guidance to help them navigate their options.

While a large cohort of youth in the target population has at least minimum literacy and communication skills they aren't enough to compete in today's increasingly technically and globally oriented world work. Even in lower skilled occupations, as found in the International Youth Foundation Project in Casablanca, communication, functional literacy, teamwork and conflict management skills were keys to permanent job offers after an internship.

3.2.5 General Discussions and Analysis: Opportunity Context and Risk-taking

To better understand aspirations, assets and needs of various groups of youth in Morocco; and what they mean for youth programming that target marginalized youth, it is important to look at the opportunity context that is created to serve youth, and how young people relate to it through risk-taking.

Young People's Opportunity Context in Morocco

From discussions the assessment team had with government officials; it appears that there are some center based contexts in Morocco that support youth development. There is a broader recognition of youth issues and a lot of actors are interested in youth development. Institutions such as Entraide Nationale, l'Office de la formation Professionnelle et de la Promotion du Travail (OFPPT), Centre de

Formation Professionnelle et d'Apprentissage, and programs such as "Summer Camps" were cited in many key informant conversations as illustrations of government efforts to cater to the needs of youth. All these institutions were said to provide a variety of programs that address economic and social needs of young people. However, some officials recognized in meetings with the assessment team that these programs are limited in their scope and impact.

The Difficulty in Attracting Marginalized Youth to Center Based Programs

One of the reasons often mentioned to explain the limitations of existing programs is their inability to "attract" a certain segment of the youth population, notably the marginalized youth. For some stakeholders, "attractiveness" meant designing and positioning the program with the hope that the targeted youth would be interested. Experiences in Morocco and around the world show that this approach does not adequately reach marginalized youth. The simple reasons being that the context where programs take place is alien, intimidating and in some cases unknown. It is a "supply driven" model that while apparently having the marginalized youth in mind as a potential client, is in fact designed from the standpoint of the donors or implementers rather than the client. Centers look to draw marginalized youth to a particular building or supportive space; rather than reaching out to youth and starting from where they are, building on what they have and working with them step by step.

"Dar Chebabs in urban areas don't attract young people, because they are not competitive enough compared to other places where young people hang out, such as Cinemas, cyber café, etc..."

Official from Secrétariat d'Etat chargé de la Jeunesse.

High Barriers to Participation

It appears from conversation with stakeholders that, beyond limited funding, the traditional center based opportunity context in Morocco does not pass the litmus test of accessibility and relevancy as far as aspirations of marginalized youth are concerned. In fact, most training offered by associations and organizations visited by the assessment team, had higher education requirements for enrolment than the target audience of marginalized youth at risk of disaffection possessed. Even for those programs without such restrictive entry criteria, their physical location far from the communities where marginalized youth live, proved to be another significant barrier. And in many cases programs lacked the flexible funding to enable effective outreach strategies to places where the marginalized youth could be found.

Youth in Morocco, as elsewhere, will not stop looking for ways to realize their aspirations. Those who have access to opportunities will use them to strengthen their position in the formal system; while those who can't access or seize these opportunities will look for other ways outside the formal system to meet their aspirations.

Positive and negative risk taking

Youth who have the means (assets) along with the necessary access to opportunities will generally take them and use them to move towards their aspirations. These youth are encouraged to take positive risks both by the context they live in and all the assets at their disposal. This might include attending a training course offered in their community and working hard until they graduate from the program.

"Street kids are seen negatively by the society... They are humiliated all the time... They are considered as criminals by the police... In addition, these kids lack opportunities, something that pushes them to make mistakes..."

Youth Focus Group Participant (FGD 2)
Place Tit Mellil, Casablanca.

On the other hand, others who cannot “compete” with those connected to the formal system often do not have assets that would enable them to seize opportunities in their environment even when they are aware of their existence. The feeling of exclusion or incapacity to seize “formal” opportunities combined with the eagerness to realize their aspirations may push them to take negative risks. During focus group discussions with youth (15-24) in Morocco, it became clear that young people who felt that their chances to acquire certain critical assets were remote; were also those who recognized that they were closer to engage in negative risks, as shown in the graph above titled ‘How Far Are Youth from Positive and Negative Risk Taking?’

3.2.6 Key Considerations for *Support to Dar Chebabs* Scenario-Testing

Key considerations arising from the work of this sub-team include:

- An awareness of the existing asset base of marginalized young people and a recognition of the need to draw on this in the design and delivery of new programs.
- An appreciation of both the positive and negative risks available to marginalized youth, and a respect for the difficult decisions they must make on a daily basis.
- A rigorous capacity to identify potential small steps forward within marginalized young people's existing context versus a reliance on setting up idealized program pathways and then waiting for youth to find their way to them.
- A substantial recognition of the need to reach out from center-based programming and build trusting relationships with marginalized youth in their traditional community settings.
- A capacity to address priority programming needs in a flexible, responsive manner without exaggerated reliance on standardized programming elements or rigid methodologies.

3.3 Community Spaces and Structures

The third sub-team of the Morocco CSY Assessment activity focused on trying to reach a broad understanding of the “Community Spaces and Structures” (including the Dar Chebabs) that marginalized young people interact with. This team’s task was to prepare the way to scenario test the *Support to Dar Chebabs* concept at the level of both (i) where in the community (the spaces and structures) marginalized youth at risk of disaffection might best be served, and (ii) the kind of capacity building, planning, coordination and partnership development that might be required to ensure that these spaces and structures are positioned to build scalable and sustainable programming for this challenging population.

This team looked at four distinct levels of Community Spaces and Structures – namely those found in (i) young people’s immediate community, (ii) those connected to local government, (iii) those at the level of national government, and (iv) those linked to cross cutting civil society actors such as the private sector. This team also addressed two distinct types of youth serving actors found within these four levels – namely those that serve youth directly, and those whose role focuses on support to, and oversight of, direct service providers.

Two dimensions of Community Spaces and Structures were not addressed during this assessment activity – namely, formal schools and families. The former was excluded intentionally as the focus of this assessment was on marginalized out-of-school youth at risk of disaffection (though some in school youth were engaged in FGD’s in order to compare their experiences to out of school youth). Young participants were encouraged to speak about the impact of past schooling on their sense of marginalization and disaffection, and this is a dimension to continue to track in future such studies. The family dimension was excluded less intentionally, and should certainly be better integrated into further rounds of program design level assessment activities – as results from this study clearly indicate that family plays an important role in the lives of even the most marginalized of youth interviewed.

In order to build knowledge about the Community Spaces and Structures in the urban and peri-urban areas around Casablanca and Rabat, the Morocco CSY Assessment Team carried out four interrelated tasks, each of which are described at greater length in following sections of this report:

- a. First, the team drew on a **Youth Mobility Mapping approach** that has been used by public health programmers and micro-enterprise development specialists at the initial planning stage of demand-driven health or livelihood services.
- b. Second, the team drew on its initial consultations with a number of key informants within the government and non-governmental youth serving sector to conduct **roundtables and individual interviews** around a “*Youth Sector Relationship Mapping*” tool – which was designed to capture the programming, funding, planning, decision making and communication relationships within a given community’s youth serving sector.
- c. Third, the team used the above mentioned tools to gather the **perceptions of four key stakeholder groups**: (i) government actors, (ii) civil society organizations, (iii) the private sector, and (iv) youth.

- d. Fourth, the team analyzed the results from the perception gathering sessions and identified a number of key Community Spaces and Structures related **implications** for the overarching *Support to Dar Chebabs* scenario-testing process.

3.3.1 Community Spaces and Structures From the Perspective of Youth

The use of the “Mobility Mapping” Tool in focus group discussions opened up a wide ranging conversation with young people from marginalized communities about the community spaces and structures in their lives. It provided an open-ended entry point for an exploration of their sources of support , and it provided a vehicle for youth to talk about the strengths and gaps in their immediate environment (see the tool in Appendix G).

Where Young People Spend Their Time

The Mobility Mapping Tool initially invited young people to generate a list of possible places where young people like them spend time. The results of this were wide ranging, though usually involved a core set of settings such as those seen in the table below titled ‘Where do Youth Spend Time?’

What Young People Gain From the Places Where They Spend Time

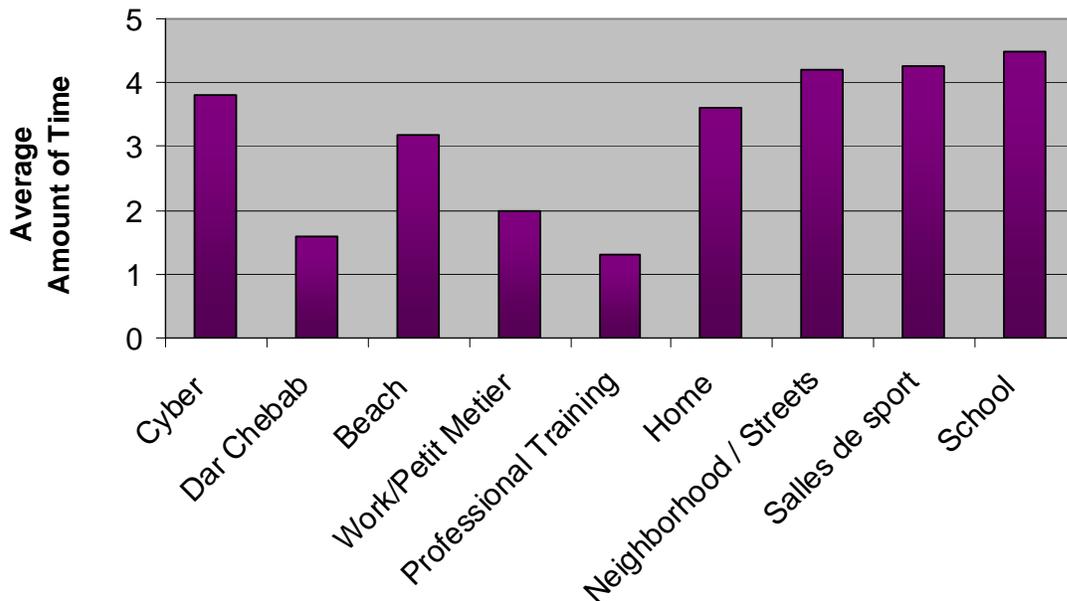
The second step in the Mobility Mapping Tool process invited groups to assign a score of 1-5 to indicate the frequency of time spent by youth in each of the places described in the first step (with 1 representing very little time and 5 representing a lot of time). It also asked them to assign a score of 1-5 as to the “amount of gain” they received from each setting. This exercise helped the assessment team understand the relative ease of access and existing barriers to entry of each setting. Young people’s unprompted commentaries made while working on their focus group activities were very informative, often involving an analysis of why certain places were better than others. As some youth reported, “Dar Chebabs do not satisfy the real needs of youth which are professional training and real life skills like communication and how to do things” (FGD 4, Takaddoum, Rabat).

“Cyber cafes are good, because they are cheap and allow one to get open to other cultures”

Youth Focus Group Participant (FGD 9)
Mohamedia

As the bar graph below shows, youth spend the majority of their time in informal community spaces. Particular places where youth from marginalized background spend more of their time include cyber cafes, informal jobs, the streets, sports halls. These results are broadly similar to the trends seen in the general youth population in a 2001 National Survey of Youth carried out by the State Secretariat for Youth (SSY).

Where do Youth Spend Time?



The Places Where Young People Spend More Time – Cyber Cafés, The Beach, the Streets and Cafés

Youth tended to describe the spaces where they spend the most time as either a natural choice (i.e. “you’re usually living with family members”), or a setting driven by necessity (i.e. the street/neighborhood is a place to go to get out of their overcrowded homes yet is close to home and so doesn’t require funds for transportation to get there). Youth also spoke about the spaces they preferred and felt comfortable in. These included cyber cafes, beaches and sports grounds.

As discussed later, this emphasis on places where youth feel accepted and comfortable, is a key driver of youth decision making around the use of spaces and structures in the community, and underscores the need to access marginalized youth at risk of disaffection within their immediate community milieu.

The Mosque

Youth also consistently cited the mosque as a socially comfortable space where they could gather – although they left it out of the scoring

Sample Testimonies

“Cyber cafes allow us to search for information about institutions, work and special events. They are places we can develop friendships with new people. They open us up to people from different backgrounds and from foreign lands.”

Focus group participant (FGD 5) Sidi Moumen

“We go to the cafes to watch soccer games, to meet friends, to not have to spend all of our time on the streets”

Focus group participant (FGD 5) Sidi Moumen

“The beach is the one place I can go to relax. It keeps me from fighting with my family” (Pilot FDG Sale)

Focus group participant, Sale

“We don’t feel ashamed at the beach. No one looks down at us for not having a job or treats us like thieves.”

Focus group participant (FGD 12) Hay Mohammadi

“The beach is for having a good time, to play sports, to make new friends. There it is calm, with fresh air...and we can break with our usual routines.”

Focus group participant (FGD 9) Mohamedia

aspect of the Mobility Mapping exercise explaining, "it is something we cannot compare to these others". Young people said that the mosque was an important space for them because they are able to retain their dignity there. Youth reported not encountering humiliation or discrimination in their mosques (as opposed to school, the inaccessible job market and most public places). Youth said that everyone is seated on the floor in the mosque and "are equal before God". Some youth spoke about looking forward to being heard by God -- because they are not heard elsewhere (e.g. at home, or when they attended school – both settings youth called places we are always told to shut up).

In addition to the five daily prayers and religious lessons, most mosques now provide the new MORA Outreach programs, including educational television programming and literacy. All mosques and imams are now ostensibly under GOM control (as opposed to the past when self-appointed, Saudi-trained imams were permitted and private mosques proliferated).

The new role of the mosque as a community outreach resource opens up interesting programming implications for work with marginalized youth since in many cases Mosques could be the most indigenously legitimate actor – though issues of access and relevance may also be factors for this alternative community space.

Local Community Associations

Young people participating in focus group discussions had mixed opinions about the local community associations that provide most of the direct recreation and supplementary education offerings in their communities. In some cases, marginalized youth saw these groups to be doing important things in their community – like offering literacy training, making links to vocational training programs, or running sports and artistic programs in Dar Chebabs. In other cases youth saw these community associations to be corrupt and self serving – talking about working with youth, but not really doing anything.

The biggest challenge youth saw for community associations is their focus on younger children. Most community associations linked to Dar Chebabs, for example, were seen to be mainly interested in programs for 8-14 year olds – with youth only involved as volunteer staff in children-oriented activities. There was also a sense among more marginalized groups of youth that community associations lacked the interest and/or capacity to work with them.

Non-Formal Work Settings

Young respondents in focus group discussions spoke a lot about spending time on small economic activities – buying and selling goods, performing small services, doing odd jobs -- and the broad impacts that these had on them. A focus group participant in Sidi Moumen (FGD 5) explained:

"When you work you gain materially, you feel responsible and you gain status in the community. You are taken notice of and respected by others. In addition work lets you respond to your needs, live with dignity and see other perspectives."

It was also clear that micro-economic activity was seen to be a stepping stone towards other opportunities, as stated by a focus group participant:

"Small business activities are a place to learn. They are for developing work skills and competencies. They help guarantee a future for young people. But they are only good for so long. When you get older you want to have something more permanent."

Marginalized youth were also clear that unlike many university graduates, they were willing to use self employment spaces as a way to move ahead. A focus group participant in Sidi Moumen made the following comparison:

"Young people can be successful in all kinds of enterprises. They just need to have the capital to get their own micro-project started....It is the university students who don't want to do this kind of work, no matter what it is."

Government Education Programs (School / Vocational Training)

Depending on the degree of marginalization among focus group discussion members, there were a wide range of opinions about school and vocational training. Young people who were still in school saw it to be an important place to learn and develop – though they also spoke critically of current approaches to teaching and student discipline. These responses track closely with the findings of SSY's 2001 youth study which reported that youth had a generally unfavorable view of schools and of their culture of "control" and "lack of caring" for students.

Youth who had left school – including those pushed out after failing 3 times, or those who had dropped out because of poverty – tended to still report that school was good. But they were less sure how important it was for their futures.

Youth indicated that vocational training programs were an important service in their communities, but spoke at length about a number of important barriers to access them. First, many INDH and Entraide National vocational courses required either a grade 6 or a grade 9 certificate as a minimum qualification for entry – while many marginalized youth had left school at grade 3 or 4. Second, participation in vocational training courses entailed both direct costs (transportation, supplies, meals away from home) and indirect costs (time not available for work) even if they were officially free.

"Not all young people go to school because they do not have money to finish their schooling years. They are also not very motivated to finish school because of their families and also because they see jobless graduates from high education [secondary school and university]"

Focus Group Participant,
Sidi Barnoussi

Dar Chebabs

Young people's overall perceptions about Dar Chebabs were broadly negative – in that they were not seen to be a significant source of support or relevant programming. As stated above in a number of sections, youth respondents tended to see Dar Chebabs to be largely focused on serving 8-14 year olds. They spoke consistently about the mismatch between current Dar Chebabs offerings and what their own priorities might be. Some of their comments included:

"Dar Chebabs do not have programs that respond to the aspirations of youth. They do not have the equipment or enough infrastructure. Even at the level of their architecture they are designed to be little houses with little rooms." (FGD 5 Sidi Moumen)

"Dar Chebabs spaces are for music and hobbies only, while young people want to face reality and their challenging lives." (FGD 4 Takaddoum)

"The Dar Chebab is only about studying and school." (FGD 9 Mohamedia)

"Dar Chebabs are unimportant places [for me]. It's just a name [youth center], it does nothing for youth. It doesn't even deserve to have that name. It is not a youth oriented space. Youth need their own special place." (FGD 12 Hay Mohammadi)

These findings match closely with the results from the SSY youth study in 2001 which found that only 17.6% of youth use Dar Chebabs and the majority of these are still students. According to the same study, of these youth only 20.7% have a positive view of Dar Chebabs programming.

Youth respondents were also quite direct about the challenges they perceived in how Dar Chebabs were structured and run (in many cases echoing the analysis of civil society stakeholders). Youth understood that Dar Chebabs staff was mostly there to support the programming of community associations and not to interact with young people directly.

"The Dar Chebabs is meant to receive associations but not to receive the youth because it is given by the government to the associations."

Focus Group Participant (FGD 4),
Takaddoum

Marginalized youth participating in focus group discussions were also critical of how government authorities seemed unwilling to set policies or develop program strategies that might help improve Dar Chebabs (especially for youth 15-24):

"There is no follow-up from the government. Even though the government spends money on making spaces for youth, the staff in charge is not accountable. They abuse their powers." (FGD 7 Sidi Barnoussi)

In the end though, the physical distance from many outlying neighborhoods (where most marginalized youth live) to the more centrally based Dar Chababs was often described as the biggest barrier to their usage ("even if they had good programs"). Youth spoke about the cost of public transport from their homes to the Dar Chebabs (4 DH each way) and said that there were other ways they would spend the 8 DH's in their community to access learning (cyber café) and recreational opportunities (local sports clubs).

3.3.2 The Perspective of Government Actors on Community Spaces and Structures

By using an interactive "Youth Sector Relationship Mapping" tool with a wide range of key informants and round table groups, the Community Structures and Spaces sub-team was able to gain a number of insights into how government actors perceive their roles and those of civil society stakeholders within the overall youth serving sector. The "Youth Sector Relationship Mapping" tool was specifically designed to capture the programming, funding, planning, decision making and communication relationships within a given community's (or region's) youth serving sector.

State Secretariat of Youth (SSY)

The State Secretariat of Youth has long been seen as the lead actor in youth programming. It has had a strong political imperative post-May 2003. The appointment of Muhammad al-Ghas, a former journalist from the USFP who broke with his party's leadership (he resigned from the political bureau) because of old guard domination, is seen as an indication of a government interest in revitalizing this area of programming. Several respondents also reported that Muhammad al-Ghas's relatively young age, personal dynamism and distance from **old generation, top party leaders** made him an excellent

candidate for this position from the King's perspective. The fact that he reports directly to the Prime Minister was said to reflect GoM's counter-extremism political agenda behind youth development; where the logic seems to be that youth are the largest, most susceptible constituency in the country – indeed, the majority – they are up for grabs and the state has to respond more efficiently and effectively to their needs.

Reviving and Expanding Existing Programs

The SSY sees itself to be very active in reviving/expanding old and creating new programs; also planning new training program for associations. According to discussions held with senior staff, SSY's overall approach is to generate higher quantity of recreational and cultural activities to keep youth occupied when not in school and to expose them to other civilizations without compromising national values. In the case of Dar Chebabs, SSY respondents acknowledged weaknesses in current operations – in that Dar Chebabs do not meet “new expectations” from youth. SSY staff spoke about seeking to create a “minimum package” of programming within Dar Chebabs which includes sports, languages (English and Spanish), and computer/IT.

One significant barrier to SSY's plans is that they are essentially absent from the realm of funding programming in Dar Chebabs. According to multiple key informants, while SSY speaks about wanting to see minimum programming packages in place, they rely almost entirely on independent community associations to plan, operate and fund virtually all activities. Community associations in turn, rely on participation fees paid by families along with limited grants from local government and national funders such as the INDH. This funding formula makes Dar Chebabs based programming responsive to the needs of community associations with fee paying members and clients (or good political connections within local government) – and only nominally to SSY (except in the case of summer camps).

Clear Lack of Focus on Marginalized Youth

According to more than one respondent, the biggest challenge, when it comes to reaching marginalized youth at risk of disaffection is that the SSY seemingly wants to modernize Dar Chebabs in order to improve outcomes with the very same segment of younger, school attending children and youth currently using them. Implicitly, marginalized youth are not their chief concern, or even a distinct sub-group they are intentionally looking to serve. Public posturing aside, although much new SSY activity is said to be linked to a broader GoM response to recent extremist activities in Morocco, it is clear to many key informants that at the programming level marginalized youth at risk of disaffection are simply not being reached by the Dar Chebabs system.

Missing National Strategy

Other actors viewed the SSY as both making some progress, but also making big promises -- often more interested in media exposure than on systematic improvements to the sector. Some respondents indicated that the SSY lacks an overall strategy for youth and may not have the policy planning/implementation tools or capacity required to go from visioning exercises to sustained impacts.

SSY's Consultative and Facilitation Role

SSY respondents spoke about their existing process for ensuring participation in national planning processes from stakeholders at the local level. At the beginning of each year, SSY asks for the needs and requests of Dar Chebab directors – who in turn eventually report on progress towards annual objectives on a monthly basis. Many respondents said, however, that this was largely a paper pushing exercise where the same type of programming was planned for, scheduled and delivered year in and

year out. Others said that it did represent a potential vehicle for more systematic processes of reform and that it was not being used to its full potential.

In the case of other SSY programs (summer camps and the new National Institute for Youth and Democracy), planning is seen to be done in a more consultative manner (i.e. they meet with associations managing summer camps and political party youth wing leaderships) and decisions are often seen to be more transparent. Some discussions also focused on the role of the SSY delegates, who are based at provincial level and serve as an official link with, and conduit between, Dar Chebabs and central SSY. Effective delegates were reported to play an important role in advocating for community associations to receive funding from SSY and other national government funding entities, and for coordinating some technical training programs.

Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA)

According to key informant interviews, MORA has shifted its focus and revamped its programs since the May 2003 terrorism events. It is now more clearly mandated to work more directly with civil society to reach to disaffected youth in an attempt to counteract extremism. Imams are being retrained and young imams (18 – 25) are being recruited. Their roles have been redefined to include more integration into their local communities through social work with marginalized families and their youth: healthcare, vocational training skills, awareness-raising, etc. MORA has appointed and trained "Murshidat", female Imams, to work with the female populations, always with a view to working more closely with the communities. MORA is also reported to be working closely with local municipalities and administrations, although there is no specific national or local policy towards youth. MORA has its own grant pool to work with associations on social work, healthcare training, etc. Although Imams/Murshidats cannot form their own NGOs, they can sit on NGO boards and Dar Chebabs "conseils".

Limits to MORA Activities with Marginalized Youth

The major constraint to MORA social work with civil society is that Imams/Murshidats have a pressing need for training in project design and delivery, and they lack systematic exposure to effective practices from other government and non government initiatives targeting the same population. Like SSY, MORA may also be inclined to focus on those youth it can most easily reach – i.e. both those that have higher levels of education and therefore a potential interest in attending (or at least an ability to intellectually access) religious lectures or activities; along with youth living in physical proximity to state-run mosques. Some respondents questioned whether or not most marginalized youth would meet either criteria (of intellectual or physical proximity).

Overseen by the Penitentiary Administration of the Ministry of Justice (MoJ), prisons are believed to be serving as a vector of Salafi-Jihadi (S-J) radicalization in Morocco. According to several respondents, the phenomenon is relatively recent, growing and largely concentrated in prisons in Sale, El-Jadeeda and Casablanca. One researcher working on the issue indicated that some prisoners have experienced jail as their "individual drama" and have drawn a parallel between their own abuse and common perceptions of the abuse and humiliation of Arab detainees in Guantanamo Bay and the former Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. Personal experience and collective sentiments may be combining to create a greater sense of shared suffering at the hands of common enemies. In addition to extreme overcrowding (i.e. an estimated 30-40 prisoners to a cell) and poor living conditions, this dynamic offers additional fodder for S-J-affiliated prisoners to recruit from the inside.

These dynamics would appear to stand a greater chance of affecting older youth (i.e. in their early twenties) in the indicated prisons. According to several respondents, younger prisoners have been considerably separated out of the general prison population and are now generally housed in separate facilities with an ostensibly rehabilitative focus. One estimate put prisoners in their twenties (up to 30) at around 40% of the general prison population. Given that rates of recidivism in Morocco are quite high (i.e. a majority of former prisoners reportedly find themselves back in prison after less than one year of release), there may be an appreciable overlap between "repeat offenders" (in U.S. terms) and younger "adult" prisoners.

Several respondents familiar with prisons in Morocco stated that there is little or no follow-up support to those who have completed prison sentences and been released, or those who have been pardoned by royal decree. Existing oversight is reportedly administrative and security-related. The Muhammad VI Foundation for the Reinsertion of Prisoners has been active as an advocate for the issue and with some activities.

This seeming subset –current and/or former prisoners in their twenties from certain facilities– of the assessment team's youth demographic may be particularly susceptible to radicalization, recruitment into extremist networks and perhaps more likely hardened criminality. While more research remains to be done, they would seem to pose a particular challenge to any youth programming in Morocco seeking to counter extremism in a more pinpointed and direct fashion.

One area of some promise for work with MORA, according to a number of respondents, is that because they are entering into this area only recently, and will need to invest funds in staff development, there may well be more opportunity to influence program development than in the more closed and tradition bound Dar Chebabs system.

Parliament

While more assertive and proactive in recent years, Parliament is still seen by most respondents to be a secondary institution in setting or making policy. While Morocco's emerging youth bulge might be a natural issue of interest for this body, parliament has by most accounts not been a generally receptive or attentive forum for youth-relevant issues. This said, as the instances of committees exercising executive oversight increase, the committees with responsibility for the SSY and MORA could be targeted as partners in policy/institutional level work. Over the longer-term, Parliament could potentially become a key actor in national youth policy dialogues – especially with respect to issues directly affecting most marginalized youth, which represent a source for extremist manipulation and instability for Morocco. According to key informants, issues that MPs or committees could engage on would have to be tracked with specific issues impacting marginalized youth, versus youth writ large: e.g. policing/security services, regulation of aspects of the informal economy, vocational training policies, developing legislation for a "GED" equivalent for school drop-outs; or, restructuring sub-national government to better serve marginalized youth populations. For USAID-Morocco, programming in this area of DG may not require new funds/new programming. Rather it represents a targeted mainstreaming of a youth policy prong into an existing parliamentary program that has a committee strengthening component.

National Human Development Initiative (INDH)

A Royal initiative announced in spring of 2005, the INDH, according to several respondents, aims to work more closely with high need populations at the local level -- through program and funding partnerships with municipalities, local administrations and NGOs. The INDH is reported to be well funded and has provided training to thousands of local administrators. Many local NGOs have received INDH funding – including many serving youth. Indeed, INDH is a funding mechanism versus a delivery one and seems content with its mandate to support local efforts to improve opportunities for disadvantaged groups.

Opinions amongst Moroccans as to its effectiveness in achieving its mission – especially when it comes to reaching marginalized youth -- are varied. Several key informants suggested that its planning processes are the most participatory when it comes to youth involvement, and that it has proven to be willing to fund non traditional programs in non-traditional settings.

Addressing youth needs make up only a part of the program and there appears to be no formal INDH youth strategy yet. Some key informants, including a regional Entraide National Delegate, said that there is a new consultative process underway within INDH to develop a comprehensive youth strategy, and that this appears to be more promising than anything currently being carried out by SSY.

INDH's Most Promising Features

According to several key informants, the INDH could offer a broad umbrella under which to justify programming reforms and move political will of other actors who are currently targeting youth broadly, but do not appear to be reaching marginalized youth at risk of disaffection. INDH is apparently well set up to offer GoM cost-sharing resources that could drive new youth programming and ensure that actors are fully mobilized at local level.

Entraide National (EN)

Assessment team members had a number of useful sessions with key informants from within EN – including those linked to direct programming and those in leadership roles. According to respondents, EN has a clear role in the provision of vocational training and employability skills development opportunities for youth. Like SSY, though, EN has only a few activities especially calibrated to reach marginalized youth. The majority of EN vocational offerings require entrants to have completed either the 9th grade or the 6th grade. They are thus essentially inaccessible to youth who drop out (or are pushed out) of schooling in earlier years. EN does, however, offer some community based options for those without basic literacy skills, and does work with beggars and street active children in a limited way.

Linking Marginalized Youth to EN Programming

One interesting example of combining EN programming with outreach services to youth is the work of the community Association Amal in Sale. This organization, working out of very small program sites in neighborhood settings, reports a good track record at reaching out to marginalized youth, providing them with remedial basic education offerings and placing them into EN vocational training sites when they are able to meet minimum education requirements. This mirrors the effective work other community associations have been doing to re-connect 12-15 year old school drop outs with the formal education system by using outreach staff to find them, literacy programming to get them ready for resuming their education, and working with local education officials to get them placed back into formal classrooms.

Local Government

In light of Morocco's ongoing decentralization efforts, key informants indicated that local governments have begun to play a direct role in youth programming. Local governments have some financial powers – e.g. communal councils have power to give grants to local associations – and they are also involved in the registration of new community associations. This said, partisan politics apparently often plays a role in which associations receive grants. According to the law, the commune president has the right to give grants to associations of his choosing from that particular line item in the commune's budget – which makes such decisions ripe for patronage. The commune president of Temara reportedly turned this decision-making over to the communal council's subcommittee on social affairs and set up a process for reviewing grants – a promising development when it comes to ensuring transparency and relevance in local funding decisions.

New Role for Local Governments in Construction of Dar Chebabs

One interesting development the assessment team heard from a number of government and civil society sources is the new role of local government in the construction of Dar Chebabs. According to key informants, it is apparently now the case that local councils' power to use public lands and finance the construction of new facilities is being applied to Dar Chebabs construction (along with the creation of parks, playgrounds and sports fields). In Temara, a second commune-financed Dar Chebabs is being completed. In Sale, two recently completed Dar Chebabs are reportedly the subject of contention between the municipality president and the SSY delegate (with the former not content to hand over the operation of the centers to the SSY without some say in programming priorities).

Dar Chebabs Directors

The Assessment team spent considerable time speaking with Dar Chebabs Directors, with staff of community associations who work in Dar Chebabs, and with other stakeholders familiar with the Dar Chebabs system. In general, these respondents confirmed that the Dar Chebabs Director plays a central – though all too often marginal role – in the delivery of programming for young people.

A Mandate to Serve Community Associations versus Youth

To begin with, it is important to recognize that Dar Chebabs Director's primary mandate is to serve community associations and not to work all that directly with young people. The Director has no programming budget from SSY – instead, the Director's role is to maintain the Dar Chebabs buildings and to work with community associations to develop a regular program schedule. One respondent indicated that most Dar Chebabs Directors are a combination of custodian (the key-man) and low level clerk (the file-man). The Peace Corps – whose volunteers work in multiple Dar Chebabs – have instructed all incoming volunteers that they must have a courteous relationship with the Director but that they must work with community associations to design and deliver actual programming.

Splitting Activity Fees to Cover Operating Costs

Dar Chebab Directors have almost no operating funds from the SSY (according to some it is 500DH per year) and even items like cleaning supplies and replacement furniture are provided to them directly by the SSY. Directors can play an important role as members of the community advisory committee or "Conseil" -- which, when structured as a community association itself, is able to raise some funds and /or receive funds from other community associations. A number of Dar Chebabs operate on the basis of a splitting of activity fees (charged to each participant) between the activity's instructor (45%), the sponsoring community association (30%) and the Dar Chebab Conseil (25%). This can provide

substantial operating funds for the Dar Chebabs, some of which can be used to hire extra staff or run special events. But this also creates a built in incentive for the Director and Conseil to prioritize access to Dar Chebabs space for courses, clubs and activities that can charge membership fees in order to create an income stream for all parties involved.

The Director's Role in Community Association Development

Interestingly enough though, a good Director can play an important advisory or advocacy role with community associations looking to gain funding from local government sources or from the SSY itself (for time bound programs such as summer camps). Directors can often send written documentation in support of community associations' initial application for registration with local government (a step in their gaining legal status as NGO's). They may also be called upon to provide support to grant applications. Effective Dar Chebabs Directors can thus play a role in creating community associations, helping them gain legitimacy, providing them a physical space to run their programs, and in seeking out local and national government resources. This "one stop technical support" function is by no means a well developed role in most communities, but it does appear to be a significant one in a number of the larger urban communities visited by the assessment team.

3.3.3 Civil Society Perspectives on Community Spaces and Structures

Community Associations

According to multiple respondents, since the early 1990's community associations have become a considerable force in Moroccan civil society (see Appendix N for more on community associations and youth participation). They are a mixed group of large national associations – many of whom have affiliated local associations at the community level – along with a wide range of very small local associations who have very limited resources or internal capacity. As with other dimensions of Moroccan society, personal relationships often determine community associations' level of access to resources – whether from the local government, national ministries or central government agencies.

Community Associations must go through a standard bureaucratic process to develop their individual statutes and have them accepted and approved at the local government level. This is how they gain legal status and the capacity to raise funds, open a bank account and carry out programming as a distinct legal entity.

Programming in Dar Chebabs

Community associations are the major deliverer of programs within the Dar Chebabs system. Thus, Dar Chebabs were seen by many respondents as both a physical space and a coordination point for local associations doing youth activities. Activities offered by community associations within Dar Chebabs are generally recreational (e.g. sports, games, hobbies) or cultural (e.g. cinema, music, foreign language) in nature -- though some community associations also provide remedial basic education in literacy and numeracy.

Community Associations in Morocco

Community Associations refer to a mix of community based organizations (CBOs) and youth-led and youth-serving associations. According to the Ministry of Youth and Sports, in 2003, Morocco had approximately:

- 47 national youth associations with 2,019 offices across the country; and
- 5,000 local youth-serving organizations.

These associations cover a wide range of activities, from culture and arts to education, child protection, health issues, and political participation.

* See Appendix N for more on community associations and youth participation.

A Focus of Dar Chebabs Programming on Children 8-14

By most accounts, the focus of community association programming in Dar Chebabs is on children and younger adolescents -- from the age of 8 to 14. This correlates with the perceptions of older youth who see Dar Chebabs as being for children, as discussed in a previous section.

Reliance on Fee-for Service Programming

Most community associations working within Dar Chebabs seem to rely on fee for service programming to advance their programming. Young people are charged 40-50 DH to participate in an activity or club – and this money is used to cover the instructors' fees, the community association's overhead costs, and a portion of funds (10-25%) goes to the Dar Chebabs advisory committee or "Conseil". This does impact their ability to serve more marginalized populations unable to pay for recreation or cultural activities.

The Dar Chebabs Conseil

Community Associations are lead members of the Dar Chebabs Conseil. They recognize the importance of influencing this entity in order to ensure their continued access to programming space within the Dar Chebabs. Respondents report that Conseils are a mixed bag. Some exist only on paper and are largely inactive. Others are dominated by same people (often community association leaders) for years because there is no form of election beyond the self-selection of founding members of the Conseil community association. The challenge for new organizations interested in offering new programs is that the distribution of space and programming time is controlled by those with the least incentive for change (the existing community associations and the Director).

Many community associations in the larger urban communities where the assessment focused, said that they had given up hope trying to gain access to the Dar Chebabs – which they characterized as being run in the interest of a well established group of crony community associations with a vested interest in maintaining the status quo.

Programming in the Community

A steadily growing number of youth-serving community organizations are focusing on programming outside of the Dar Chebabs structure. Many of these groups report working with older youth, and with groups of youth in communities without easy access to Dar Chebabs. Even those community associations working in neighborhoods near Dar Chebabs spoke of the need to find different service delivery modalities since access to Dar Chebabs is often limited to long standing associations with links to the Conseil, and since many youth find the Dar Chebabs set up to be uninviting.

Work with Marginalized Youth

Some community associations have specifically targeted harder to reach populations of marginalized youth, but often find that a lack of funding for this work makes it hard to sustain. With new funds from INDH now entering into the system, groups expressed optimism about their ability to program for new populations beyond those they have traditionally served via fee for service activities. Other community associations have forged links with Entraide National as it begins to look to NGO's to deliver some of the vocational training and employability services it once delivered itself – and as it looks for ways to broaden and deepen its reach into more marginalized settings.

A Search for Stability and Capacity Building

Local associations tend to view themselves as having certain inherent advantages: i.e. they are from the communities, based there, and therefore know their needs ("la proximite") better than other actors. At

the same time, they recognize that their “smallness” and/or “localness” contributes to an overall struggle to access stable funding and build internal capacity. Many respondents spoke of the need to build their ability to deliver full projects – versus stand alone activities – and to develop sustained relationships with harder to serve populations who have a hard time making use of one-off workshops, occasional recreational offerings or special events driven activities such as concerts, camping trips or excursions.

One of the challenges many youth serving NGO’s described was the funding formula used by many government funders – who tend to provide resources for direct activity costs, but exclude resources for institutional capacity building or even indirect overhead costs. Community associations see this approach to be contrary to the kind of longer term investments that will be necessary to provide services to especially marginalized groups of youth.

Larger and Smaller Civil Society Organizations

Some of the most active economic opportunity oriented NGOs (e.g. l’Heure Joyeuse, Zakoura, Bayti, Planet Finance) enjoy “top-down”, and sometimes royal support through connections of their founders and administrators. These NGOs are often able to meet the prime aspirations of youth in the FGDs, i.e. to be able to earn a livelihood, and do so by providing vocational training programs, and in many cases helping to place newly trained youth into the job market. Despite their laudable efforts, few of the major NGO programs actually meet the needs of the most marginalized, potentially disaffected youth -- i.e. those who have never attended school or who abandoned it very early. Indeed many have eligibility criteria that effectively screen out such youth. In addition to these large organizations, there are also small, and less famous, local associations that do intensive work to prepare youth and link them with employment opportunities. While some small associations fail to work at a large scale, they are often better positioned to reach out to more vulnerable populations.

These groups do, nevertheless, represent a potentially important resource in the development of scaleable and sustainable program options for marginalized youth. They may need financial incentives and or technical support to take on this work, but they have demonstrated a solid capacity for innovation and systematic program implementation (often in collaboration with local community associations).

Political Parties and Movements

Parties are enormously discredited among Moroccans – in particular, among youth. Parties have youth wings but these are usually sidelined by older generations of leaders & usually mobilized only in advance of elections. Politically moderate, nonviolent, religious-based parties/movements such as PJD (Justice and Development Party), MUR (Unity and Renewal Movement), and JCO (Justice and Charity Organization) are often seen by observers as having more vibrant, effective and participatory youth wings and wide-ranging youth-inclusive and youth-serving programming/activities. These groups still tend to concentrate on better educated, professional strata that work or have some forms of support if unemployed. They are generally not appealing to the most marginalized youth.

Private Sector

For the most part, respondents indicated to the assessment team that private sector involvement with, and investment in, youth spaces and structures appears episodic, one-off. Many companies are involved in charitable giving, based on the Islamic tenet of zakat (charity to the poor). Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) has been a widespread practice in Morocco but until recently, by all accounts, it has been limited to food and basic survival contributions to NGOs for distribution on holidays.

There are a few promising examples of companies partnering with community associations to achieve broader community development outcomes. One such case is the NGO Al Jisr that promotes partnerships between schools and businesses. Another prominent actor is the Orient Occident Foundation which has recently supported work with marginalized youth in Sidi Moumen, Casablanca. This is a potential area for garnering new support, especially if the private sector comes to recognize the impact that disaffected youth can have on the overall business climate in Morocco.

Media

According to journalists consulted by the team, Moroccan media attempts to engage youth largely via entertainment. One journalist cited a Moroccan TV show called "Generations," which covers music and dancing, as an example. Others observed that official media do not cover youth or youth issues because of lack of interest and time constraints -- with the exception of when a high-ranking official attends a specific event. "Youth Forum," the one radio show which offered youth perspectives on issues as diverse as why youth might not have wanted to vote in the recent parliamentary elections, was no longer on the air at the time of the assessment team's visit. Similarly, few newspapers cover youth issues, though several (e.g. *L'Opinion*) have weekly youth sections but were criticized as not really reflecting youth interests. The internet and Moroccan blogs (estimated by one count at around 1,000) are thought to be becoming increasingly popular. Functional illiteracy rates, overall low internet penetration, and extreme costliness (by Moroccan standards) of in-home internet access would appear to be factors limiting the access of the assessment team's youth demographic. At the same time, internet cafes are anecdotally popular venues among youth in poor urban and peri-urban areas, and FGDs provided additional evidence to support that perception.

3.3.4 Key Considerations for *Support to Dar Chebabs* Scenario-Testing

Key considerations arising from the work of this sub-team include:

- A recognition of the kind of non-traditional community based settings where marginalized youth might best be engaged and initially served.
- A willingness to understand the limitations of the current Dar Chebab centers as a vehicle for serving both youth generally, and marginalized youth in particular.
- An appreciation for the many government entities now engaged in programming for marginalized youth, along with a capacity to differentiate between government bodies formal mandates and their capacity to support flexible, innovative responses to the priority needs of marginalized youth at risk of disaffection.
- An understanding of the emerging opportunities to reform the operation of some Dar Chebabs centers via the intentional engagement of the most effective Directors, the more progressive Conseils, and the most dynamic community associations.
- A willingness to engage a number of different government actors in the formulation of the overall priorities and strategic alliances needed to advance the cause of work with marginalized youth at risk of disaffection.
- A recognition of the need to build appropriate incentives into new funding proposals such that marginalized youth at risk of disaffection are served ahead of other vulnerable youth, and so that capacity building and innovative program design are built into proposed funding arrangements for community associations and other direct service providers.

4. FINDINGS IN RESPONSE TO THE SOW'S FOUR FRAMING QUESTIONS

From Data Gathering to Data Analysis

The 3 sub-teams who developed the preceding sections went through a rigorous collaborative data analysis process that led to the generation of the following findings. This data analysis process drew upon a systematic review of notes and recollections from key informant interviews, site visits, round tables, and focus group discussions (see Appendix K for a list of all stakeholder consultations and Appendix L for a list of focus group discussions). Findings from this data analysis process have been organized below using the four Framing Questions found in the SOW's introductory section.

4.1 Framing Question # 1

What opportunities may exist in Morocco for an innovative, synergistic, cross-sectoral, youth-oriented program that will address the needs of youth at risk of social, political and economic disaffection?

Based on the work of the assessment team, it is possible to articulate the following findings in relationship to question # 1:

4.1.1 Who Are Youth At Risk of Disaffection

A Group That Has Been Pushed-Out and Left-Out

Based on data gathered, it is possible to identify marginalized youth at risk of disaffection as a distinct group of young people. To begin with, they are most often young people who have been left-out or pushed-out of most mainstream youth programs. They frequently have low literacy skills due to school abandonment in the early primary years (caused by family poverty, chronic academic performance leading to aging-out) or never having participated in formal schooling. These young people face significant barriers to entry into vocational training, employability or micro-enterprise development initiatives because of eligibility criteria linked to minimum levels of academic achievement. It is, indeed, a cohort of youth not currently reached by most existing USAID funded initiatives.

A Population Willing to Take Risks

This is a population of youth who are willing to take risks (positive or negative). They are often creative and are looking for a second chance to be successful. However, this cohort has often hit a "glass wall" when trying to advance. They are often met with exploitation by police or local officials (especially when engaged in non-formal economic activities). They are frequently taken advantage of by employers (paid less, not paid, sexually harassed).

A Cohort Marked by Frustration and Humiliation

This is a group of youth who has come to mistrust government programs, local officials, community associations and community programs – in part because of repeated negative experiences and a sense that these groups use them for their own gain. They often exhibit an overarching sense of frustration and humiliation in the face of frequent failures in efforts to provide for their families.

4.1.2 What Are The Needs of Youth at Risk of Disaffection

A Focus on Livelihood Opportunities

Marginalized youth at risk of disaffection identify their priority needs to be threefold. First they are looking for support in establishing more viable livelihood pathways (in both the formal and informal sectors). This might involve access to literacy training, technical skills development, microfinance, improved legal rights within the informal sector, and access to livelihood coaching and mentorship.

A Desire to Be Heard

Second, this cohort is looking to be heard and recognized by others in the community. These young people feel left out of community discussions, and sense that their ideas and input are neither valued nor welcomed in local community forums or consultation processes. This group sees itself as having important perspectives and experiences to share, but is skeptical about the willingness of others to truly listen

A Focus On Making a Contribution

Despite the many individual hardships this group faces, they have made it clear that they are looking for opportunities to make a contribution to the wellbeing of their families and community. They place a high value on helping others and improving opportunities for others. However, they see themselves to be unappreciated resources.

A Need to Be Reached Out To

Because of repeated failures in accessing services and supports, this group is often wary about reaching out to new programs. As a cohort, they need to be reached out to – with a focus on gradual trust and relationship building combined with a responsive approach to choosing optimal settings and timings for program delivery.

4.1.3 What Potential is there for Cross-Sectoral Programming for Youth at Risk of Disaffection

The Value of a Holistic Approach

This group is a natural fit for holistic programming since they are unlikely to seek out separate services and coordinate these on their own. This cohort is distrustful of the system (because of repeated negative experiences). So, projects that can build layers of interventions onto a strong foundation of trust building and relationship formation will do better than those that offer only quick inputs.

A Central Role for Livelihood Readiness

The most logical central driver of cross-sectoral programming for this population would seem to be livelihood readiness. This cohort places a high value on making an income and this could provide a foundation for the introduction of life skills, personal counseling, literacy, and health promotion

components. Examples of potential livelihood-driven cross sectoral entry points are explored further in section 5.3.3 of this document. These include livelihood readiness oriented interventions such as enterprise practicums (short 2-4 week business experiments), job-shadowing or enterprise internships (with collaborating micro-entrepreneurs) or livelihood coaching services (to youth already engaged in small business activities). They also include livelihood access oriented interventions such as micro-finance (savings, credit, business development services), value chain development, or enterprise incubation programs.

Other Cross-Sectoral Programmatic Entry Points:

Sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2 explore a range of additional cross sectoral entry points built upon programming linked to sport for development, service learning, non formal education and a range of flexible outreach style youth engagement interventions.

4.1.4 What Are Some Areas of Existing Capacity in Morocco

A Rich Experience Base

Morocco has a relatively rich experience base within its youth serving sector. There are groups and institutions with experience in employability, workforce development, basic literacy, life skills, self-employment, microfinance, youth leadership, community participation, outdoor/adventure programming, summer camps, sports, recreation among many others.

A Growing Capacity For Collaboration

Another positive feature of the Moroccan youth serving sector is the capacity of different groups to work together on collaborative initiatives. There is a long standing tradition in the co-funding of activities between government and non government actors, and an emerging experience-base of working together in alliances and consortiums.

4.1.5 What Are Some Areas in Need of Innovation

Moving From Activities to Projects

One of the most commonly identified shortcomings in the Moroccan youth serving sector is a lack of capacity to deliver systematic, step-by-step development interventions. Most groups' technical capacity (and funding) is geared towards the delivery of one-off activities or short interventions, rather than multi-part sequenced offerings. This is true within both the government and non-government sectors, and tends to lead towards a culture of youth "consuming" interventions, vs working with organizations to "produce" or "project" longer term impacts.

Capacity for Outreach Programming

Another identified gap is in outreach style programming. Most Moroccan service providers are seen to be heavily center or institution based with very little capacity or experience in reaching out to more marginalized populations. Groups often take a "we will build and you will come" approach to beneficiary self selection – which works well with well motivated and well resourced youth, but which falls short in reaching marginalized youth at risk of disaffection.

Cross Cutting Programming

A further area in need of innovation is related closely to the first two. At this juncture Morocco seems to have relatively less experience in the design and delivery of multi-component cross cutting youth programming following models such as Service Learning or Sport For Development – both of which can provide excellent foundations for cross-sectoral activities and outcomes.

Capacity Building

There is also a general perception that Moroccan community associations are in need of significant investments in broad based capacity building – in areas such as project planning and design, project evaluation, financial systems and policy development.

4.1.6 What Are Some Areas in Need of Synergy

Government -- Community Association Partnerships

With the recent growth in government outsourcing of program delivery to community associations, there is a need to better understand the optimal role of government actors and community associations in program design, delivery and evaluation. At the heart of this is the need to determine how best to keep government involved in its broad policy making and program oversight roles, while at the same time building the capacity of community associations to manage larger grants and advocate for improved funding formulas.

Engagement of the Private Sector

Much work needs to be done to more fully engage the private sector as a leading stakeholder in the youth serving sector. Unlike in other countries, the private sector is still only a lukewarm supporter of youth programming – especially that targeting marginalized youth. There also seems to be a disconnect between the potential negative impacts of youth extremism on the business climate and the private sectors continued usage of a charitable vs a strategic view of its contributions to youth programming.

4.2 Framing Question # 2

What understanding can be reached of radicalization and potential recruitment of youth to participate in violence, up to and including terrorism in the general population?

Based on the work of the assessment team, it is possible to articulate the following findings in relationship to question # 2:

4.2.1 Understanding the Context and Influencing Factors in Relation to Radicalization

Although the assessment centered on attempting to understand youth dynamics and identifying the stakeholders in youth development, several conclusions may be drawn about the radicalization process and the factors contributing to extremism in Morocco. The following observations are meant to frame the issues and provide for more clarity for the Mission in determining appropriate youth programming however do not represent a full picture of drivers for radicalization in Morocco.

Incentives: Ethnic and class divisions

Morocco is one of the more homogeneous countries in the Middle East, however its multi-layered history offers areas where fusions could be exploited for the advancement of a radical agenda. From the Spanish influenced northern area and the historically independently-minded Rif region to the southern disputed region with the Palisarios, Morocco has blended a rich history of Arab, Beduin, and colonial layers together which appear cohesive yet as pressures from globalization force change on traditional ways many manifest themselves in groups wanting to distinguish themselves from each other. There are distinct regional differences between the more fully colonized, coastal areas and the agricultural interior which radical elements could seize on in inciting radicalization.

Moreover, pressures on a changing world are felt at all levels of income. Middle-income youth who are expecting a certain lifestyle commensurate with their perceived standing and education are often frustrated by a loss of what they understand to have been promised them in employment, political access and social status. Simultaneously, the lower-income youth struggle in a world where the “glass window” has placed obstacles on access to what is perceived to be open to everyone but in reality only serves a distinct segment of society – well-paid, long-term employment, higher education, and access to accountable, professional services.

Demographic trends – Morocco has and is continuing to experience rapid urbanization of agriculturally-based villagers to large cities like Tangiers and Casablanca which not only places stress on social and municipal services, housing and schools but generates confrontation of values and traditions from the rural communities into urban life. In the Bachkou bidonville in Casablanca, forty years and several generations of slum dwellers have endured. Along the way they have continued many of the rural traditions and passed them down to younger generations. Nevertheless, as one respondent in Bachkou pointed out to the assessment team – “one is defined by where they live” – the perception by many urban dwellers of the bidonvilles is that they are inhabited essentially by villagers. This further accentuates class differences, regional differences and perhaps in the future, ethnic differences.

Economic factors – There are two economic issues which could contribute to increased radicalization and deserve deeper analysis. One is that the majority of the private sector wealth is concentrated in only several holding companies, including the largest which is essentially controlled/owned by the King. Therefore the wealth of Morocco is controlled by only a handful of families. While there have been efforts made by the government to promote the agricultural and tourism sectors in particular, so far this hasn't translated into increased wealth and opportunity in the service sectors for the majority of the population. Many positions in the holding companies are still given out to those connected to the families from regions, familial relationships, education, etc. A merit-based level of applying for work and landing a job is still the exception and not the norm in Morocco.

Secondly, the black market is still a large percentage of the economy in Morocco. Much of it is fueled by the production and transit of illicit drugs for delivery in Europe and elsewhere. Terrorist groups regularly use the informal economy to launder funds through international systems and drug trafficking is a key element in providing funds in countries for fledgling radical groups. Because youth engaged in negative-risk taking may be susceptible to drugs and crime, it brings them into closer contact with some of these potentially radical groups being financed through the shadow economy. Radical groups can mobilize resources through the intricate drug trafficking systems in place, often under the radar of the authorities. As mixed blessing, the informal economy acts as a safety valve, allowing would be, honest

entrepreneurs to prosper in areas where they apparently find obstacles in the regulatory and financing environment. This related to the above factors contributing to concentration of wealth may provide additional push factors for extremism if the government begins to regulate the informal economy and lessen the opportunities for marginalized populations.

Institutional Capacity and Response – Morocco benefits from a government which wants to assist their large youth population and place resources against those promises but suffers from a lack of formal policy to do so coupled with an unclear mandate on which government body coordinates youth policy and governance. Additionally, Moroccan security sector has been particularly challenged with the advent of terrorism and radicalization, applying old tools to new problems whereby they remain more of force and less of a service to the general population. The assessment team observed this not only in the anecdotal evidence we had heard of post-terrorist round-ups, but in methods of incarceration for dealing with radical elements in society. These practices could contribute to the radicalization process more than inhibit it, all unintentionally by the security forces.

Regional and International Factors – Morocco is confronted by several exogenous factors which could exacerbate radicalism or in the very least contribute to its appeal which also warrant further research. The appeal of the European Community and in particular France as a destination of opportunity for many Moroccans is very palpable. Changes in the regulatory environment for work abroad and migration could adversely affect the de facto safety valve currently in tact for many of Moroccan's youth population. Moreover, France in particular has strong business interests in Morocco, including key sectors like telecom and the awarding of government procurements for large-scale construction projects, like the Hassan II Mosque in Casablanca. It appears that France and by extension of that, the international community could have a larger impact on reform in Morocco than it currently deploys but may be more influenced by its economic holdings and a desire to maintain the status quo to its benefit.

Windows of Vulnerability for Increased Radicalization

Many of the factors above may contribute to but not necessarily result in movements towards extremist ideologies – but they certainly represent issues which can pull and push youth along the vulnerability continuum. Changes in key legislation or elections may push certain groups to seek violent methods to suit their needs focusing on the youth population to carry out some of those changes. As increased despondency covers a wider segment of the youth population, the changes increase for radicalization to appear in Moroccan society.

4.2.2 Understanding the Radicalization Process

Push Factors

Radicalization seems to be a process driven by both push and pull factors. Push factors center on the often extreme conditions of social and economic marginalization: poor, overcrowded and unsanitary living conditions; lack of employment; no presence of, or access to, social services. These factors encourage attitudes of abandonment, anxiety, hopelessness, etc. The contrast with wealthier strata of society, either in geographic proximity or via images on national and satellite television, may accentuate these attitudes. Deprivation and frustration alone do not seem to account for the appeal of extremism or terrorism, particularly among youth. Triggering events, such as not being able to find a job or losing a job, may play a role in pushing more marginalized youth toward disaffection by creating, feeding and

deepening a sense of humiliation. Harassment, detention, mistreatment or even torture by police while in custody, may also be key triggering events or experiences.

Pull Factors

Framing and resource mobilization appear to be variables that pull marginalized, disaffected youth into radicalization and recruitment in extremist and terrorist networks. Simply put, S-J ideology frames common grievances in ways that resonate with shared values. The Jihadi message and agenda draws on and reinterprets basic concepts of Islam in simplistic ways that are accessible to a variety of Muslim audiences. It also diagnoses problems, pinpoints their sources and provides straightforward solutions. It is action-oriented at an individual level, while contributing to a greater, common good. Honor, duty and dignity can replace humiliation, shame and guilt.

In basic terms, S-J projects a vision of the worldwide Islamic community (umma) as under siege/threatened by the military onslaught of Western infidels and Israel in Iraq, Palestine and Lebanon. Allied Arab states are their local apostate allies who are either complicit, facilitate or support this onslaught. This is accompanied by a moral decay imported from the West, reinforced by corrupt regimes and enjoyed by secular elites. As Arab Muslim societies are beyond repair, S-J rejects the peaceful propagation of Islamic values through persuasion and education – the typical means of their distant “scientific” Salafi cousins. Instead, the jihad is a religious duty for every true Muslim in order to defend Islam.

4.2.3 Understanding the Recruitment Process

If radicalization is the internalization of beliefs that emphasize jihadi violence as the ultimate test of one’s faith, then recruitment is part of the first outward expression of belonging. Joining S-J may take several invitations and demonstrations of commitment. Recruitment is not just enlisting but also being brought into a “universe of belief,” where ideological incitement justifies, legitimizes and commands violence. Recruitment may happen either by self-selection or persuasion. Taking action could be preparing for and committing jihad, or otherwise supporting it by other means (e.g. praying for jihadis, collection of money, or recruitment of others). There may be peer pressure, but ultimately the decision to take action is self-selecting, and some may disengage after having engaged. The radicalization and recruitment processes must generally be facilitated. Radical imams or self-styled local “emirs” and a rudimentary Jihadi infrastructure are all at work.

4.2.4 Relevance of Radicalization and Recruitment to the Design of Programs

At the end of the day, those looking to recruit disaffected youth into radical movements are in reality the main “competition” for the kinds of outreach oriented programs called for in numerous places in this document. These groups understand how to engage and cultivate marginalized youth at risk of disaffection and will do so successfully unless community associations and government actors significantly enhance their capacity to compete and win.

4.2.5 Areas for Further Research

Much more needs to be known about the actual radicalization process – including the role played by internet sites, non-formal mosques, and other sources of information / accompaniment. Questions have also arisen about the different trajectories for young men and young women, along with the use of financial incentives to strengthen the recruitment of youth from poorer households.

4.3 Framing Question # 3

How can a cross-sectoral approach drive the analysis, design and programming for youth programs in Morocco leading to constructive economic and political engagement among young people aged 15 to 30?

Based on the work of the assessment team, it is possible to articulate the following findings in relationship to question # 3:

4.3.1 Analysis and Design of Youth Programs

The Importance of Demand Driven Program Development

This Cross Sectoral Youth (CSY) Assessment activity has clearly demonstrated the value of using a market research style approach to developing demand driven programming for marginalized youth at risk of disaffection in Morocco. There will need to be an ongoing application of this kind of methodology as USAID Morocco goes from program planning into program design, and then into program implementation, as potential project implementers begin the start-up phases of their work.

Cross Cutting Livelihood / Workforce Readiness Programming

Results from this assessment also make it clear that the most relevant programming focus for USAID's efforts to reach marginalized youth at risk of disaffection will be that of livelihoods or workforce readiness. This approach will provide opportunities to engage marginalized youth via livelihood linked programming, while at the same time introducing opportunities for literacy, life skills, civil society participation and leadership oriented components.

4.3.2 Evaluation of Cross Cutting Impacts

The assessment team's pilot application of the Search Institutes 40 Developmental Asset Tools signals a potential way to track cross-cutting impacts at the level of the acquisition of internal and external developmental assets by participating youth. The ability of the DAP tool to be used as a pre and post intervention measure of progress, along with an effective way to track change over time in a non-intervention control group, make it a useful monitoring and evaluation tool in the complex context of cross-sectoral programming.

4.4 Framing Question # 4

How do assessment results support USAID-Morocco to test, validate, expand and improve upon the [support to Dar Chebabs] programming scenario concept that has been laid out by USAID/Morocco?

Based on the work of the assessment team, it is possible to articulate the following findings in relationship to question # 4:

4.4.1 Where do Results Validate the *Support to Dar Chebabs Scenario*

The greatest strength of the *Support to Dar Chebabs* scenario lies in its implicit understanding of the need to link three key elements in any successful intervention for marginalized youth at risk of disaffection:

- The need for intentional targeting of the population to be served;
- The need to provide participants with holistic cross-sectoral interventions;
- The advantage of keeping programming for marginalized youth within the existing system.

4.4.2 Where do Results Challenge the *Support to Dar Chebabs Scenario*

The *Support to Dar Chebabs* scenario is significantly tested at five key levels:

- The current reality that Dar Chebabs tend to serve 8-14 year olds vs 15-24 year olds.
- The current fee for service funding structure of most Dar Chebabs programming – that tends to focus programming on children from households with a means to pay.
- The physical distance from many marginalized neighborhoods to the nearest Dar Chebabs.
- The entrenched nature of many Dar Chebabs relationships with a core group of affiliated community associations which tends to limit the entry of new groups (unless they have substantial new funding in tow).
- The operational reality that Dar Chebabs do not offer services to children / youth, but instead focus on serving community associations who do most of the direct programming.

4.4.3 Where do Results Expand the *Support to Dar Chebabs Scenario*

Results from the youth assessment activity point to a number of ways in which the current scenario might be expanded:

- The consideration of institutional homes beyond the Dar Chebabs system (including centers supported by INDH, Entraide National, MORA, community associations and others).
- A recognition of the growing role of an expanding range of national and local government funders in youth programming – a related appreciation that the SSY is no longer the sole vehicle for youth funding.
- An understanding of the need to build in significant outreach components to any center based strategy that USAID-Morocco may consider.

4.4.4 Where do Results Improve Upon the *Support to Dar Chebabs Scenario*

Results from the youth assessment signal a number of areas for potential innovation and improvement to the original scenario:

- The inclusion of a policy development component.
- The addition of a competitive funding process.
- The consideration of investments in capacity building for direct service providers.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS TO USAID MOROCCO

Overview of Section 5

This section of the Assessment Report articulates a series of Recommendations to USAID-Morocco. As requested in the Morocco Cross Sectoral Youth Assessment's Scope of Work, these recommendations are grouped under 3 broad categories – namely those related to.

- 1) The Overall Support to Dar Chebabs Program Scenario
- 2) Potential Program Partners for Work with Marginalized Youth
- 3) Programmatic Building Blocks that Might Be Drawn Upon

5.1 Overall Program Scenario

As can be seen in the findings section above, the Morocco Cross Sectoral Youth Assessment Team recognizes both, some underlying strengths and some substantial limitations to the *Support to Dar Chebabs* scenario initially developed by USAID Morocco. In all, the team has four essential recommendations to make vis a vis the proposed program scenario – recommendations which can drive the articulation of a fully developed program description once USAID-Morocco is clear what funding streams may be in place to advance this planned work.

5.1.1 Be Intentional About the Population to Be Served

The assessment team's first recommendation is for USAID-Morocco to be clear about the population it is looking to serve with its investments. Clearly, the currently proposed *Support to Dar Chebabs* scenario has little likelihood of reaching marginalized youth at risk of disaffection, because of the many current constraints to Dar Chebabs programming described in section 4.4 above. Indeed, any investments, as proposed, on Dar Chebabs infrastructure and programming are likely to benefit current users – namely 8-14 year-old youth from vulnerable (though perhaps not marginalized) households – unless substantial system-wide reforms were made by SSY.

The assessment team believes that marginalized youth at risk of disaffection are a viable and important cohort to target with cross-sectoral programming, and recommends that their characteristics (as outlined in section 4.1 above) be taken into careful consideration at all levels of program design and implementation.

5.1.2 Reach Out to Youth In Their Current Environment

The assessment team strongly recommends that USAID considers an overarching program design that recognizes the key role of outreach services in building the relationships required to effectively program for marginalized youth at risk of disaffection. This population of youth live in more distant communities, spend time in informal community settings such as cyber cafes, the beach and neighborhood streets, and will need active engagement and recruitment before connecting with center based activities.

5.1.3 Work With Youth To Seize Opportunities in Their Immediate Environment

The assessment team recommends that USAID Morocco pay close attention to the report of the Aspirations, Assets and Priority Needs sub team. It provides a thorough description of the need to engage marginalized youth at risk of disaffection in activities that build from their existing assets and seek step by step opportunities for growth in their immediate environment. This approach will take discipline and considerable capacity building on the part of community associations used to being in problem solving mode and ever hopeful of rescuing youth from their immediate context. Groups like the Zakoura Foundation who are doing market research into the needs of young micro-entrepreneurs from poor communities understand that this approach is the only scaleable and sustainable way to proceed.

5.1.4 Link Youth to Holistic Livelihood Development Pathways

In section 5.3 below, the assessment team makes some specific recommendations vis a vis potential programmatic building blocks, but at this juncture it is important to emphasize the assessment team's overarching recommendation that USAID looks to support programming that link participating youth in step by step ways to ongoing livelihood development pathways. This means that project elements need to be seen to fit together in a logical and cumulative fashion. But it also means that programming need not be all or nothing intensive processes, rather they should build in the possibility of pauses, relapses burst of interest and enthusiasm on the part of participating youth.

5.2 Potential Partners

Since youth as a broad cohort are not currently served in Dar Chebabs (except to the extent that some youth work as volunteers in programs serving children), it is the assessment team's recommendation that USAID-Morocco considers partnering with a number of different government and non-government structures (including reformed Dar Chebabs centers where appropriate) in the pilot delivery of services for marginalized youth at risk of disaffection.

5.2.1 Engage a Number of Direct Programming Partners

Direct programming partners will likely need to be drawn from new or existing community associations or larger national NGO's. At this juncture apart from the reformulated roles of MORA supported Imans, civil service employees such as Dar Chebabs Directors and those working for the INDH or EN seem to be stepping back from direct service roles into more coordination and oversight focused day-to-day responsibilities.

5.2.2 Link Partners with Supportive Spaces and Structures

The *Support to Dar Chebabs* scenario was right on target in its emphasis on building strong links between programming for marginalized youth at risk of disaffection and existing government supported spaces and structures. The assessment team recommends that this continue to be a hallmark of USAID-Morocco supported investments – though that the Dar Chebabs be seen as one of many potential partners and that funding be linked to the target group and programming that addresses their priority needs, and not to potential host institutions for their general upgrade and upkeep.

5.2.3 Invest in the Capacity of these Partners to Deliver Programs

It is the assessment team's recommendation that capacity building will need to be a key feature of any USAID-Morocco investment in new programming for marginalized youth at risk of disaffection. This capacity building will be required to strengthen the technical, administrative and strategic planning capacity of these groups – most of whom will need to move from activity focused programming to project focused programming.

5.2.4 Strengthen Ties to Emerging Funding Sources

With new national and local funding sources coming on stream in Morocco, it is the assessment team's recommendation that USAID-Morocco look to strengthen the ties of direct service and host organizations to these government funding sources. This could be done through a matching grants approach to project funding, to the development of MOA's between USAID and/or its lead implementing mechanism and relevant national and local bodies, or to the creation of advisory committees involving these funders at the local regional or national level as appropriate.

5.2.5 Focus on Efforts to Develop Coherent Policies at the National and Local Level

It is the assessment team's recommendation that USAID looks to contribute to national level policy development by working with a cross-cutting mechanism such as the NIDH or the Prime Minister's Office to advance thinking in this area. Rather than focusing all of its efforts on a stove-piped entity such as the SSY which has demonstrated a wide appetite for new programming, a willingness to battle it out over turf with rival entities, but little capacity to advance broad public policy with regards to marginalized youth.

5.2.6 Create a Competitive Funding Model with Built-In Incentives for Innovation

One of the strongest recommendations of the assessment team is that USAID Morocco considers the use of competitive funding models to incentivize work of existing stakeholders with this new population of marginalized youth at risk of disaffection. This would involve linking funds to the target population vs to spaces or structures. Funds would need to be driven by proposals that focus not on generally increasing programming for youth (with the assumption that some disaffected youth will benefit – as SSY's national strategy and the Support to Dar Chebabs scenario imply) but by those that specifically and measurably target marginalized youth at risk of disaffection.

5.3 Programmatic Building Blocks

As USAID Morocco moves into its Program Design Phase, it is the recommendation of the Assessment Team that they consider some of the following illustrative programmatic building blocks.

5.3.1 Outreach Style Building Blocks

One of the clear findings of the Morocco CSY Assessment is that marginalized youth at risk of disaffection will need to be initially engaged via outreach style programming that works with them in their current community settings; focuses first on building a trusting rapport; and then gradually provides opportunities for livelihood readiness programming. It is worth noting that in many regards this

approach mirrors that of extremist groups (see section 4.2.1 above) and represents a key gap in existing youth services.

A number of illustrative examples of this outreach style programming were tested with a range of stakeholders during the second week of the Assessment activity. Illustrative examples included (i) project based learning in cyber café settings and (ii) sports driven outreach programming in beach and/or community open space settings.

Cyber Café Based Outreach

There is a growing experience base in a number of countries linked to the use of cyber cafes as a setting for project-driven ITC programming with harder to serve populations. This approach involves using outreach staff to run computer based learning activities in cyber cafes (with computer/internet access purchased from the internet café owner). This approach has proven to be less expensive than the establishment of stand alone computer labs in NGO or government centers, and has proven to be much more adaptable to the preferred hours, locations and content matter of harder to reach populations. The methodology employed builds on the existing experience youth have in using cyber cafes, and then adds in facilitated learning opportunities through the introduction of sequenced small group mini-projects on topics of interest to participating youth. This project-driven learning approach builds important livelihood readiness skills in areas such as communication, problem solving, and higher order thinking while breaking goals down into step-by-step activities.

Beach-Sports Based Outreach

Groups looking to engage harder to serve youth populations in marginalized urban and rural communities have often turned to sports based programs as a natural entry point. This work is most successful when it builds upon the informal leagues already in place (many of which will have longstanding traditions and customs). It then seeks to enhance the capacity of existing peer leaders and participants to further develop key components of ongoing sports activities. This might involve working with youth to organize a tournament among existing informal teams. It might involve building the capacity of informal coaches and referees. It might also involve working with older youth to set up a league for younger youth. The key factor for success is to build upon the existing “assets” of the target population of youth, versus to try and run a supply-driven competing structure. It is also essential to look for ways to gradually introduce capacity building in areas which will eventually develop foundational livelihood-readiness skills such as personal discipline, consequential thinking, team work, problem solving and mediation skills.

5.3.2 Cross-Cutting Programming Style Building Blocks

If USAID Morocco is looking to foster cross-sectoral outcomes among marginalized youth at risk of disaffection, then it is the assessment team’s recommendation that they explore the integration of a number of proven program modalities that are inherently cross-sectoral in both their methodology and their development impacts. Two good examples of this approach include: (i) Service Learning programs and (ii) Sport for Development initiatives.

Service Learning

Service learning programs involve linking opportunities for the development of basic education, livelihood readiness, and civic participation knowledge, skills, attitudes within a community service modality of programming. This approach links young people’s interest in being seen as a positive

community resource, with their need to develop some core competencies (often sector specific) along with some cross cutting developmental assets (usually cross-sectoral in nature). This methodology has proven to be effective with harder to serve populations who are unlikely to seek out literacy skills development in one setting, civic participation opportunities in a second and employability skills development in a third (as the Moroccan youth sector is currently structured). Instead, Service Learning projects use a community service platform to gradually integrate skills development in literacy, life skills and/or leadership as is appropriate to the cohort of youth being served. This approach has been used with hard to reach population in regions as diverse as the Balkans, Southern Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean and has been an attractive modality for GDA driven co-investments by private sector supporters.

Sport for Development

While many groups have piloted sports for recreation style programs for marginalized populations, it is only in recent years that more comprehensive Sports for Development initiatives have come into prominence. Like Service Learning programs, Sports for Development initiatives use a catalyzing activity with low barriers to entry and to high initial engagement – in this case sports – to serve as a platform for the introduction of other more traditional skill sets (in basic education, D&G and economic opportunities). This approach links young people's interest in belonging to a team, and being involved in positive competition, with their need to develop a range of sector specific competencies and cross-sectoral developmental assets (such as positive values, commitment to learning, enhanced community engagement and the development of supportive adult relationships). Sports for Development programs have proven to be very effective in post conflict environments as a means of re-engaging young people who have been out of schooling and/or involved as combatants. It has also worked well with marginalized urban populations of youth – such as those found in the poor neighborhoods of Casablanca, Sale and Rabat – who have become “unattached” from mainstream institutions. The key to success is to use sports programming less as a way of distracting youth, and more as a vehicle to develop key life and livelihood skills via young people's involvement in organizing, running and growing a full portfolio of community sports league activities.

5.3.3 Innovative Livelihood Pathways Style Building Blocks

While the above cited programmatic building blocks all contribute to the development of foundational livelihood skills, it is the recommendation of the assessment team that USAID-Morocco also consider a number of more livelihood specific interventions in their Program Design process.

Livelihood Readiness Programs

These programs focus on developing the knowledge, skills and attitudes that marginalized youth may need in order to be “ready” to access livelihood opportunities in their immediate context. Like Sports for Development or Service Learning interventions, these are most successful when grounded in hands on learning opportunities such as enterprise practicums (short 2-4 week business experiments), job-shadowing or enterprise internships (with collaborating micro-entrepreneurs) or livelihood coaching services (to youth already engaged in small business activities). These projects can be combined with literacy and numeracy components to re-engage youth lacking fundamental basic education competencies – and can be linked to Sports for Development and/or Service Learning programming.

Livelihood Access Programs

These programs focus on breaking down the barriers for marginalized young people to access mainstream livelihood development services and products – such as micro-finance (savings, credit, business development services), value chain development, or enterprise incubation programs. These initiatives are best delivered via partnerships between innovative microfinance organizations and youth serving organizations that are outreach oriented. These require considerable investments in market research and product development in order to ensure the scalability and sustainability of interventions. USAID's D.C.-based Micro Enterprise Development (MED) unit has recently funded a 3 year pilot program in this area with the Zakoura Foundation, and Planet Finance is similarly exploring products and services in this domain. USAID-Morocco could build upon these pilot activities and see which ones might be ready to go to further scale under the aegis of their planned program for marginalized youth at risk of disaffection.

5.3.4 Institutional Capacity Development Style Building Blocks

One final area of programming recommended by the assessment team relates to investments in building the capacity of both government and non-government actors to play a more proactive role in responding to the needs and aspirations of marginalized youth at risk of disaffection.

Challenge Grants Programs

Since the assessment team has recommended the use of incentives to drive the creative development of new programming options for marginalized youth, USAID-Morocco may well need to use a challenge grant style mechanism to encourage existing actors and/or new actors to pilot new programming streams. This kind of challenge grant program could involve co-funding new areas of work by community associations in partnership with existing government funders (at the national or local government level), or it might involve linking new funds to existing centers (such as Dar Chebabs) willing to offer new levels of access to marginalized youth populations.

Incubator Grants to Youth Led NGO's

One area of significant promise in the MENA region has been the use of "incubator" grants to youth-led NGO's to build their capacity to take on more substantial areas of work. Youth-led NGO's are often the best positioned to work with harder to serve populations, but they frequently lack the capacity to successfully gain government funding. USAID and funders such as the Ford Foundation have used incubator-style grants to youth led NGO's across the MENA region to draw new actors to the sector and to create new long term options for government funders looking to de-centralize and democratize social service delivery.

Standards-Driven Capacity Building Initiatives

A final area of ongoing innovation in the global youth serving sector has been the investment of funds in standards' driven capacity building for government and non government institutions working in areas such as youth livelihood development, or youth employability. This programming involves the use of external standards and related self-assessment or external-assessment processes to evaluate the effectiveness of existing youth livelihood interventions and then recommend areas for targeted capacity building. USAID has funded such work in settings as diverse as South Africa, Haiti, and the West Bank and in each case it has helped to raise the standards of programming significantly by ensuring that capacity building efforts are both systematic and carefully targeted to where they will have the greatest impact.

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