
Teaching practices, work environment, and professional attitudes in the Moroccan educational context: evidence from a document analysis.

Auteur 1 : BIYOU DA Samir.

Auteur 2 : ACHNID Jaouad.

BIYOU DA Samir (Docteur)

Mohammed V University in Rabat, FSJES-Souissi , Morocco

ACHNID Jaouad (Docteur)

Mohammed V University in Rabat, FSJES-Souissi, Morocco

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Abstract

Teaching practice constitutes a central lever for the transformation of educational systems, as it is constructed at the intersection of institutional prescriptions, organizational constraints, and psychosocial dynamics. In the Moroccan context, marked by successive reforms such as the National Charter for Education and Training, the Emergency Program, and the Framework Law No. 51-17, which operationalized the Strategic Vision 2015–2030, teachers are explicitly positioned as strategic actors in improving the quality of education. However, the actual conditions under which the profession is practiced reveal the persistence of structural and organizational constraints that may influence pedagogical practices and professional commitment. This article proposes a theoretical and descriptive analysis of teaching practice in Morocco through an articulated examination of two complementary dimensions: the work environment and professional attitudes. The research adopts a document analysis approach, drawing on national policy documents, institutional reports, and international scientific literature to provide a comprehensive understanding of teachers' working conditions and professional attitudes within the Moroccan education system. The research argues that understanding pedagogical practices and the performance of the Moroccan education system requires an integrated reading of organizational contexts and teachers' professional dispositions. By providing an analytical synthesis of existing studies, it contributes to informing academic and institutional debates on the sustainable improvement of the Moroccan school system.

Keywords - Moroccan education system; Teaching practices; Work environment; Professional attitudes.

Introduction

Teaching practice occupies a central place in the transformation of contemporary education systems. Far beyond the implementation of curricular prescriptions and institutional reforms, it is shaped on a daily basis at the intersection of professional, organizational, and psychosocial factors. In this respect, teachers' working environment and the attitudes they develop toward their profession constitute two essential dimensions for understanding the quality of pedagogical practices, the effectiveness of educational action, and, more broadly, the performance of school systems.

In the Moroccan context, educational reforms undertaken over the last two decades have consistently positioned teachers at the heart of change. Successive policy frameworks—most notably the National Charter for Education and Training, the Emergency Programme, and more recently Framework Law No. 51-17, which operationalized the Strategic Vision 2015–2030—have explicitly emphasized the central role of teachers in improving student learning, school quality, and educational equity. This reform trajectory reflects a growing institutional recognition that no sustainable educational transformation can be achieved without a clear understanding of the conditions under which teachers work and the professional dispositions that shape their practices.

However, despite this strategic recognition, the Moroccan teaching profession continues to evolve within a context marked by persistent structural and organizational constraints. Previous studies and institutional reports point to several recurring challenges, including work overload, large class sizes, insufficient pedagogical resources, administrative pressures, and the complexity of professional relations within schools. These factors directly affect the working environment of teachers, understood here as the set of material, organizational, relational, and symbolic conditions in which teaching activity is carried out. At the same time, they influence teachers' professional attitudes, including motivation, organizational commitment, job satisfaction, sense of efficacy, and attachment to the profession. These attitudes, in turn, play a decisive role in pedagogical choices, classroom management, professional engagement, and teachers' capacity to respond to the evolving demands of schooling.

Within this perspective, teaching practice in Morocco may be more fully understood by examining the interplay between the working environment of schools and the professional attitudes of teachers within the broader dynamics of educational reform. Such an approach makes it possible to bring together, in a structured and synthetic manner, the main insights provided by previous research, policy documents, and national and international reports concerning teachers' working conditions and the professional dispositions associated with their daily activity. Beyond a merely descriptive reading, this perspective helps to highlight the

dominant trends, tensions, and contextual specificities that shape teaching practice in Moroccan schools, while also contributing to ongoing academic and institutional reflections on the conditions likely to enhance teacher engagement and improve educational effectiveness.

This analytical perspective unfolds along three closely connected lines of inquiry. The first retraces the main reform orientations that have structured the Moroccan educational system, from the National Charter to the Strategic Vision 2015–2030, with particular attention to the place assigned to teachers in successive policy frameworks. The second turns to the working environment of Moroccan schools, considering the material, organizational, and relational conditions that frame teachers' professional activity. The third examines the attitudes of Moroccan teachers as reflected in the literature, including motivation, commitment, job satisfaction, and broader forms of attachment to the profession. Taken together, these dimensions offer a coherent lens through which teaching practice in Morocco can be interpreted at the intersection of institutional change, working conditions, and professional dispositions.

1. From the Charter to the Strategic Vision 2015-2030

With a view to making the Moroccan school a driver of development, Morocco has embarked on a vast project of ambitious reforms. These include the National Charter for Education and Training as well as the Strategic Vision 2015-2030. However, despite the efforts made, the expected results have not been achieved, which calls into question the efficiency of the education system as a whole.

Indeed, since the beginning of the third millennium, two strategic reforms have been undertaken with a view to a comprehensive restructuring of Moroccan schools. In 2000, Morocco adopted the CNEF, which describes the school environment of the teaching profession, the rights, duties and working conditions of teachers. In addition to the CNEF, the Emergency Programme for the period 2009-2012 was then adopted. The objective of this Programme was to breathe new life into the CNEF by accelerating its implementation, while paying particular attention to the reduction of geographical and social inequalities. However, the expected effects have not been achieved, particularly those related to professional development and the quality of student teaching and learning (CSEFRS, 2014); The progress achieved was mainly quantitative (e.g. the generalization of access to education and the reduction of the illiteracy rate). This is evidenced by the high rates of school dropout and school failure (CSEFRS, 2014). Both national and international reports are unanimous on the lack of mastery of the main skills by a large proportion of Moroccan students compared to their counterparts in comparable countries. The report drawn up by the National Evaluation Authority for the CSEFRS (INE-CSEFRS), entitled "The implementation of the National Charter for Education, Training and Scientific Research 2000-2013: the achievements, deficits and challenges", has put its finger on chronic and

structural dysfunctions, the main ones reflecting low efficiency and performance, a mismatch between the outputs of the education system and the labour market, as well as poor integration into the labour market. the knowledge and technology society (CSEFRS, 2014).

Aware of these challenges and the new roles that schools should play in interaction with the general context of societal development, Morocco has approved, since 2015, a structuring project, the Strategic Vision 2015-2030. In a logic of continuity and accumulation, this reform supports the achievements and puts the necessary breaks by proposing responses to the dysfunctions and challenges revealed. This promising strategy is based on three strategic choices: equity and equality, quality promotion and governance. These choices are translated into 23 levers and operationalized by 26 projects. Institutionally consolidated by the Framework Law 51-17, which enshrines the recommendations of the 2015-2030 Vision, the implementation of this reform is now mandatory insofar as it should not be affected by political changes. However, at the halfway point of the Vision 2015-2030, a series of evaluations highlight the persistence of chronic dysfunctions in the Moroccan education system (World Bank, 2018a, b; Ndela et al., 2016; OECD, 2023). Dysfunctions are manifested in particular in learners' achievements, the state of schools and pedagogical practices (CSEFRS, 2021). This is evidenced by the results of Moroccan students in various national and international surveys (Martin et al., 2012; Mullis et al., 2016a, b, 2017).

Indeed, according to the results of national and international surveys such as PNEA, TIMSS and PIRLS, Moroccan students rank lower internationally in terms of mastery of the various skills assessed. For fourth-grade students, for example, Moroccan students rank 48 (out of 50 countries) in reading, 46 (out of 49) in mathematics, and second-to-last in science (Mullis et al. 2016a, b, 2017). Similarly, for eighth-grade students, Morocco is among the bottom four countries. About 64% in reading, 59% in mathematics, and 65% in science, failed to reach the baseline level (Mullis et al. 2016a, b, 2017). These results are confirmed at the level of national assessments. At all school levels, the results of the "National Programme for the Evaluation of Learning" (PNEA) reveal scores far from the average score in both science and in Arabic and French languages (CSEFRS 2009, 2019). The international survey, which took place in 2022 as part of the Programme for Student Assessment (PISA), reveals that the results of participating Moroccan students scored far from the OECD average and are ranked in the bottom ranks in the three areas (mathematical literacy, reading comprehension and scientific literacy) assessed (OECD, 2023).

Over the past two decades, the regulatory framework relating to the status of Moroccan teachers has undergone a succession of reforms revealing a governance of human resources marked more by cyclical adjustments than by a real forward-looking and strategic management of

human resources (GPRH). In theory, HRPM aims to anticipate future skills and staffing needs, taking into account demographic, organizational and budgetary changes, in order to ensure the sustainable match between human resources and the organization's objectives (Wright & McMahan, 1992; Becker & Huselid, 1998). However, the evolution of the statutory framework of Moroccan teachers highlights a weak capacity for anticipation, particularly in terms of renewing staff and managing retirements.

Since 10 February 2003, the management of teaching staff has been governed by the special status of national education staff, which has been the subject of several changes relating to careers, training and advancement. This regulatory instability, combined with the multiplicity of actors involved in career management (central directorates, regional academies, decentralized services), has contributed to weakening the coherence of the management of educational human resources. From the point of view of public governance, this decision-making fragmentation has limited the state's ability to implement effective and integrated teacher workforce planning, which is essential in a sector that is highly dependent on demographic cycles and long-term public policies.

These limitations were particularly acute during the 2016-2017 school year, which highlighted a significant structural deficit between the needs of the education system and the available human resources. After a relative increase in the number of teachers during the Emergency Plan (2009–2012), followed by a period of stagnation between 2012 and 2015, the overall number of teachers fell significantly, from 230,307 teachers in 2012 to 213,199 in 2016–2017. This situation is mainly due to the rapid increase in retirements and other closures, which is not offset by a sufficient opening of budget items. The gap between departures and recruitments thus reached 11,134 teachers, reflecting a clear failure of the GPRH mechanisms.

Faced with this deficit, the Ministry has opted, from 2016-2017, for regionalized recruitment by contract through the Regional Academies of Education and Training (AREF). This orientation is part of a logic of new public governance, inspired by the principles of New Public Management, which favours flexibility, deconcentration and the empowerment of territorial actors (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992). Contractualization is also based on the National Charter for Education and Training (1999), which recommended the diversification of teacher recruitment methods (Article 135). However, while this reform has made it possible to respond in the short term to the quantitative needs of the education system, it has generated significant perverse effects, in particular the statutory fragmentation of the teaching profession and the emergence of strong social tensions, revealing the limits of a governance focused mainly on administrative efficiency.

In this context, the adoption of the unified special status of national education civil servants, in line with Framework Law No. 51-17 on the education, training and scientific research system, can be interpreted as an attempt to rebalance the requirements for flexibility resulting from the new public governance and the principles of stability and equity specific to the traditional statutory model. This current statutory framework aims to restore the unity of the teaching staff, while integrating a logic of professionalization based on continuing education, the evaluation of skills and pedagogical performance. From a theoretical point of view, this evolution reflects a gradual shift towards hybrid educational governance, seeking to reconcile the imperatives of GPRH with the objectives of quality, equity and sustainability of the Moroccan education system.

2. The working environment of Moroccan schools

In Morocco, the restructuring put forward in the context of the latest reforms has caused a series of problems that affect first and foremost the working environment and the conduct of the various actors towards the educational organization. The school environment of Moroccan schools did not receive the necessary attention in terms of research. Some empirical evidence indicates, however, a worrying situation in the working climate that prevails in Moroccan schools. Based on the statements of Moroccan school principals, the results of international surveys (TIMSS, PIRLS, etc.) reveal an unfavourable perception of the quality of discipline and safety: only 14% of the principals surveyed reported positive perceptions of these aspects. The National Observatory for Human Development (2012), based on a panel survey of Moroccan households, indicates that "not liking school" is a reason reported by about 40% of out-of-school children. The INE-CSEFRS, using a survey involving 2199 teachers, shows that more than 90% of respondents are skeptical about the approach adopted in the implementation of educational reforms (CSEFRS, 2014). More recently, based on a study of 697 primary and secondary school teachers, Biyouda and Zahid (2021) show that only 38% of teachers perceive the school climate positively, as it is operationalized by the immediate aspects of the work context and the relational aspect.

2.1. Working conditions

The INE carried out a field survey involving a sample of Moroccan teachers, school principals and educational inspectors, combining two methods: the focus group and the semi-structured individual interview. The analyses of the testimonies of this survey, entitled "the teacher's profession", reveal a worrying situation relating to several aspects related to school life. Moroccan teachers complain in particular about the physical environment, the overcrowding of classrooms, the profound inadequacy of teaching materials and the low academic level of students (CSEFRS, 2021).

The physical environment is a determining factor in the quality of working conditions. It is recognized that a good condition of classrooms, equipment, laboratories, sanitary facilities, grounds and various spaces promotes the school climate. Moroccan schools, according to teachers, suffer from a remarkable lack of teaching and teaching materials, the repercussions of which are mainly manifested on the learning of scientific subjects (CSEFRS, 2021). The statements of teachers in this survey confirm those revealed by the analyses of the PNEA (2016) where significant proportions of principals of secondary schools complaining about the lack of maintenance of classrooms (60%), libraries (57%), multimedia rooms (38%) and sports fields (8%).

According to the results of the PNEA survey, conducted in 2019, the situation is similar in primary schools. According to the CSEFRS (2021), 64% of schools do not have latrines, 44% of primary schools do not have access to drinking water and 70% of schools are not connected to the internet. In addition, the experience of teaching cannot be dissociated from the nature of one's territorial environment. Generally speaking, teachers in rural areas face problems related to displacement and finding decent housing. These difficulties are sources of demotivation for teachers and frequent reasons for absenteeism and tardiness.

Overcrowding in classrooms is a phenomenon that is unanimously recognized for its perverse effects on working conditions. The Households and Education Survey (CSEFRS, 2019) reveals that 40.7% of respondents are concerned about this situation. Numerous studies agree on the positive effects of any reduction in student numbers on both students and teachers. Reduced class size contributes positively to students' cognitive outcomes and skills (Mosteller, 1995), and to teacher satisfaction (Kamanzi et al., 2007).

Teaching materials are also of great importance to the teacher's work, as their lack may be the cause of negative perceptions. Moroccan schools, according to teachers' statements, show a significant lack of educational resources (CSEFRS, 2021). The shortage is general, and affects all kinds of equipment: computer and audio-visual equipment, scientific laboratory equipment, office equipment, equipment for extracurricular activities (theatres, premises for organising small shows, etc.). In addition to this lack of equipment, the poor state of the facilities in the establishments (canteens, latrines, grounds, fences, etc.). This lack of resources, however, does not generally affect teachers' perceptions of their principals' support. It is commonly recognized that these problems are beyond the competence of the principals, and that the latter can only intervene within the limits of the means available to the establishment.

Unlike OECD countries, where 68% of school principals said they have relatively large power in budget allocation (OECD, 2020), in Morocco, school principals do not have much room for improvement in their financial management. Although all the reforms of the education system

have emphasized the importance of implementing the school project as a decentralized management mechanism at the school level, the limited resources allocated to this system, compared to the needs in terms of materials and equipment, remain low or negligible.

The level of pupils' achievement is also an aspect that can be examined from the perspective of working conditions. In Morocco, the problem of low levels of student achievement has become structural because of the deficit accumulated by students as they advance in their school curriculum. The teachers' testimonies are in line with those of parents (64% of the households surveyed) who say that the ability of students to follow the course sessions (all cycles combined) is low (CSEFRS, 2021).

2.2. Teachers' workload: multiple tasks to manage

Workload refers to all the requirements and activities that the individual should meet in a well-defined period of time (Quemener et al., 2023). This definition assumes that the individual, in return, has adequate resources to carry out his or her activities. A possible situation of malaise at work would therefore be the consequence of the mismatch between his resources and his requirements. In the context of education, indicators such as the number of teaching hours, the number of pupils per class and the ratio of pedagogical supervision can be considered as important indicators to operationalise this aspect.

Generally, in Morocco, these indices record values far from the averages revealed in OECD member and partner countries¹. Regarding the weekly hourly volume of work of Moroccan teachers, it can be described as high compared to OECD countries. It is 30 hours in primary school, 24 hours in secondary college and 21 hours in qualifying secondary school, while it does not exceed, on average, 20 hours in primary school, 19 hours in middle school, and 19 hours in secondary school, in OECD countries. It should be noted that the nature of the teaching profession requires the performance of tasks beyond official hours. In addition to this teaching workload, there are other activities, such as course planning, in-service training, correction of pupils' homework and participation in administrative and pedagogical tasks (school councils, school projects, etc.).

As for the second index of workload, the average number of students per class in OECD countries is 21 students in primary school and 23 students in middle school (OECD, 2016). In Morocco, the average number of students per class is 29 students in primary school, 39 students in secondary school and 37 students in qualifying secondary school (MENFP, 2017). Although the size of Moroccan classes seems comparable to that of developing countries (Chile, for example, 29 students per class), it can be considered as a constraint that affects the working

¹ These include countries such as Argentina, Brazil, China and Colombia.

atmosphere perceived by teachers. In accordance with these findings, according to the Court of Auditors (2016), 2,239,506 students belonged to large classes, i.e. 38% of Moroccan students (which numbered 5,945,551). Overcrowding (more than 40 students) is mainly in the college cycle (49%, compared to 29% in qualifying secondary school and 16% in primary school).

In addition to the first two indices, the evolution of the education system's needs in terms of human resources, compared to the number of teachers hired, has affected the ratio of the number of students to the number of teachers. In Morocco, the number of students with whom the teacher is concerned is much higher than that recorded in all OECD countries (OECD, 2016; PNEA, 2019). According to the Compendium of Education Statistics (2023), established by the Ministry of National Education, Preschool and Sport (MENPS), the teaching profession represents the largest share of human resources under the MENPS (Table 1). In 2023, the total number of teachers reached 269,015 (of whom 133,749 are women), divided between 144,088 in primary education, 65,198 in secondary college, and 59,729 in qualifying secondary education. About 48.31% of them work in rural areas (MENPS, 2023). Each Moroccan teacher is responsible for about 27 students in the primary cycle (compared to 15 students per teacher in OECD countries), 28 in secondary college (compared to 13 students per teacher in OECD countries) and 18 in qualifying secondary schools (compared to 13 students per teacher in OECD countries). While this ratio was relatively stable in rural areas throughout the period 2009 to 2018 (about 25 students per teacher), the teacher ratio has been on an upward trend in urban areas. Elementary school teachers in urban areas, for example, were faced with an average of more than 38 students during the 2016-2017 school year, while they were only responsible for an average of about 30 students in 2009-2010.

Table 1. Pupil-teacher ratio by level of education

	Teachers			Students			Ratio s
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	
Primary	54 579	89 509	144 088	1 736 791	2 112 342	3 849 133	26,71
High school college	39 834	25 364	65 198	1 099 131	741 262	1 840 393	28,22
Qualifying secondary school	44 620	15 109	59 729	798 349	252 186	1 050 535	17,58
Total	139 033	129 982	269 015	363 4271	3 105 790	6 740 061	25,05

Source: *Ministry of National Education, Preschool and Sports (2023)*

2.3. The social climate of Moroccan schools: an ambiguous relational aspect and a source of social tensions

The social climate of Moroccan institutions is characterized by a lack of support, collaboration and mutual aid on several levels. Studies on the relational aspect of Moroccan teachers are rare, reflecting the difficulty of quantifying it. Some empirical evidence indicates, however, a worrying situation in the relational climate that prevails in Moroccan schools.

2.3.1. Student-teacher relations and disciplinary climate

In Morocco, despite the attention paid to this aspect, the problems of indiscipline still represent a threat to the quality of the working climate. The CNEF has devoted a large part to the identification of the rights of individuals. These guidelines were aimed, inter alia, at mitigating the levels of school violence by encouraging students to comply with school discipline, norms and regulations.

A second mechanism was established in 2015, the National Citizenship and Human Rights Education Program. However, unruly and inconsistent behaviour in Moroccan schools, which often turn into violence and aggression, is still a major source of discomfort for teachers (Benmansour, 1998). The statements of the principals reported by the two TIMSS and PIRLS surveys, carried out in 2011, corroborated this worrying situation of the Moroccan school climate. The two studies, which covered the period 2001-2011, indicate that problems related to discipline and security characterize the schooling environment of 49% of Moroccan students in the second year of college and 60% of students in the fourth year of primary school. The National Observatory for Human Development (ONDH, 2012), based on data from a panel study involving households, indicates that about 32% of dropout children, aged 6 to 17, say that they have interrupted their studies because they "don't like school". In 2017, the "United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization" recorded 1679 acts of violence against Moroccan teachers by students in 2013-2014.

Numerous studies indicate that the disciplinary climate in Moroccan schools is more difficult compared to many other countries (Biyouda et al., 2021; Biyouda & Touhami, 2025; OECD, 2018; CSEFRS, 2016; CSEFRS, 2021), which could be a risk factor for teachers' perceived level of satisfaction. The statements of the principals of Moroccan schools participating in the 2013 TALIS survey reflect a deteriorating disciplinary climate in their schools (OECD, 2014a; OECD 2014b). More recently, the results of the "Teaching Profession" survey, mentioned above, indicate that Moroccan students have a higher appreciation for teachers who are able to create an environment conducive to learning (CSEFRS, 2021). Being based on a qualitative approach, it is not, however, possible to draw an objective evaluation of the reality of this aspect in the Moroccan school.

2.3.2. Teacher-teacher relations

Several studies highlight the positive effect of collaboration and collective work on the improvement of teachers' practices. At the international level, pedagogical collaboration is institutionalized and requires, for example, in some countries (Sweden, United Kingdom, Australia, Austria), to present lesson sessions and participate in team meetings, at least once a month.

In Morocco, in general, the relational climate between colleagues is respectful, cordial, supportive and collaborative (CSEFRS, 2021). Interpersonal relationships are stronger, especially between teachers of the same subject, those who belong to the same class and between those who share the same interests and convictions. Professional relationships encompass two levels of collaboration: the first relates to the activities of the school councils, thematic school clubs and extracurricular activities, while the second is pedagogical in nature. Generally, according to teachers' statements, collaboration focusing on the first level is more supported by both teachers and students, while collaboration on pedagogical concerns seems to be infrequent. While the latter form of collaboration is possible during pedagogical councils, the limited level of interaction and sharing of classroom practices during these councils undermines their effectiveness. Thus, with the exception of professional support from more experienced colleagues to junior teachers, other forms of pedagogical collaboration (model courses, sharing of good practices, meetings, discussing student difficulties, etc.) are not widespread.

2.3.3. Teacher-school principal relations

Although professional relations in schools are governed by regulatory texts, several factors can intervene to affect the quality of the relational climate. The school principal is perceived by teachers as the representative of the administration at the school level and therefore serves as their primary point of contact when support is needed. Among the sources of tension highlighted, teachers insist on the lack of material, administrative and pedagogical support (CSEFRS, 2021). Regarding material support, the lack concerns in particular computer and audio-visual equipment, laboratory equipment, office equipment, equipment for extracurricular activities. In addition to this lack of equipment, the poor condition of the equipment.

With regard to administrative support, teachers deplore, in particular, the excessive authority of some principals, the lack of transparency and fairness, and the lack of collaboration. Moroccan teachers, according to this survey, are generally unfavorable in terms of the level of their involvement in decision-making. They argue that their participation in the majority of decisions is formal, as their proposals and opinions are not taken into account in the majority of cases. The effectiveness of the school's governance systems, according to the testimonies of teachers,

is hampered by the predominance of material and administrative aspects to the detriment of pedagogical aspects, insufficient communication, formalism and lack of autonomy.

In addition, in Morocco, school principals do not have the necessary resources to establish a relational climate that allows them to exercise school leadership. Managers suffer particularly from a lack of training, limited decision-making capacity and insufficient resources. At the international level, according to the 2018 TALIS survey, the rate of school heads having followed a training related to supervision reached 54% in OECD countries and 80% in countries with more efficient education systems (Finland, South Korea, Singapore; OECD, 2019). In Morocco, mandatory training for school heads was only implemented in 2015. As for decision-making power, according to the same survey, the testimonies of 63% of school heads in OECD countries and 90% of their counterparts in countries with an efficient education system (Denmark, England, New Zealand, Czech Republic, etc.) claim to have significant autonomy. Their decision-making power covers all aspects of the school, namely the management of staff (recruitment, dismissal, etc.) and the design of the school's own administrative (internal regulations), financial (salaries and budgets) and pedagogical policies (training, teaching materials, etc.).

2.3.4. Teacher-pedagogical supervisor relations

The relational aspect of teachers is also dependent on the relationship with the educational inspectors. According to the special status of the staff of the Ministry of National Education (10 February, 2003), the mission of the corps of pedagogical inspectors is the supervision, supervision and pedagogical control of teachers (Articles 4 and 10). The operationalization of this mission is nevertheless ambiguous, due to the large number of texts governing its interventions. Generally, educational inspectors are called upon to provide in-service training for teachers (pedagogical meetings, class visits, organization of model lessons, etc.), evaluate the performance of teachers and public and private establishments, and participate in the development and implementation of local, provincial and regional educational projects.

The investigation revealed a teacher-inspector relationship full of tensions. On the one hand, teachers are not satisfied with the quality of supervision. They argue that it is too theoretical and unsuited to their needs. Teachers question the credibility and legitimacy of the inspectors' grading and guidance, arguing that a short visit cannot provide a real estimate of their performance. The preponderance of visits for the purpose of monitoring and grading compared to meetings and visits with supervision leads to negative representations among teachers of the function of the educational inspector. In addition, some teachers dispute the low level of their inspectors. On the other hand, the inspectors report that teachers show resistance to change and

low motivation for the usefulness of pedagogical meetings. This lack of collaboration and trust makes the appraisal system less effective and creates an unfavourable working climate.

3. The attitudes of Moroccan teachers

Research on Moroccan teachers' attitudes to work, although scarce, shows a worrying situation.

3.1. Motivation to teach in Morocco: social prestige and attractiveness

The attractiveness of the teaching profession reflects its ability to attract the best graduates. A teacher who is motivated by the profession and has psychological, cognitive and ethical predispositions will tend to be more satisfied and more committed, and will show more perseverance at work (Berger & D'ascoli, 2011). Generally, the motivations that may be at the origin of the choice of the teaching profession are either intrinsic, extrinsic or referring to the altruist (the value of social utility; Biyouda & Touhami, 2023; Kyriacou & Coulthard, 2018; Watt & Richardson, 2008). At the international level, according to a study conducted by the OECD (2019), the motivations of about 90% of teachers in these countries stem from a desire to contribute to the progress of children and their nations.

In Morocco, the current experience of the profession calls into question its attractiveness and value in the eyes of society. Teachers' perceptions are more negative (CSEFRS, 2021). Teachers, in addition to the social decline of the profession, deplore the low importance given to the teacher in the various recent educational reforms. According to teachers, the introduction of the new regionalized recruitment policy, for example, has contributed to the devaluation of the teaching profession by developing a general feeling of precariousness of the new "contractual" framework compared to statutory civil servants. This is evidenced by the feeling of inferiority and perceptions put forward by the AREFs' senior teachers during administrative processing (CSEFRS, 2021). An inferiority felt, too, in the way they are treated by the parents of the students and in their daily lives.

The analysis of the interviews and focus groups conducted during the above-mentioned field survey shows that the choice of teaching profession is mainly motivated by extrinsic factors, followed by intrinsic factors, while altruism is rarely declared. Some teachers argue that access to this profession was determined by their socio-economic conditions and the desire to obtain a stable job that allows them to avoid unemployment, or by a previous bad work experience. In addition to these reasons, the teachers argued that the way in which working time was organised during the school year (working half a day a day and during school holidays) was decisive in their choice of profession. For them, such an organization allows them a great deal of leeway to ensure a balance between their professional and personal lives. It emerges, therefore, that being a teacher was, for many teachers, a necessity rather than a choice. This type of motivation is mainly mentioned by primary school teachers. Intrinsic motivation, although rarely

mentioned, was observed more among secondary school teachers. The intrinsic motivation of the latter takes a form of identification, either with a close person (for example, one of his parents or teachers) or with his specialty. Altruism, the third category of motivations according to Watt and Richardson's (2008) model, is rarely reported by teachers. The desire to be with small children, for example, was mentioned in the teachers' remarks only as a complement to other reasons. Numerous studies have shown that the preponderance of extrinsic motivations has negative effects on teachers' attitudinal and behavioural dispositions. Gundlach et al. (2010), for example, suggest that teachers who are motivated only extrinsically show less commitment and job satisfaction, as well as a high predisposition to leave the profession.

In addition to the attractiveness of the profession, social prestige is also being questioned. A result, which seems paradoxical, emerges from the survey. The testimonies of the teachers, although they acknowledge the improvement in working conditions as well as their incomes, they feel a deterioration in their social status. Young teachers denounce the degraded social status, while older teachers attest that working conditions and incomes have now improved. The results of the National Household and Education Survey revealed that parents' opinions were unfavourable to the social prestige of the profession, with little difference according to gender and social background. According to the results of this survey, only 8.8% of the parents questioned want their sons to choose the teaching profession at a later date. The latter is ranked fourth in terms of attractiveness. However, parents place the teaching profession in first place, when it comes to the desired profession for their daughters. This result, however, must be read with caution. As pointed out above, the preference for girls in this profession is essentially an extrinsic motivation linked to women's roles in conservative societies, in this case Morocco, where they are often called upon to choose a profession that allows them to reconcile professional and family life. Similarly, the teaching profession still enjoys more respect and social prestige in the eyes of parents in rural areas (35.2% of responses) than those in urban areas.

3.2. Teacher satisfaction and commitment

The implementation of a fair and incentivizing career management system is a concern of any public policy. In Morocco, according to the above-mentioned survey (CSEFRS, 2021), one of the contested characteristics of this system is the linearity of the evolution of the teaching career. Teachers deplore two main shortcomings. The first is the failure to take into account performance and yield. Indeed, the teacher evaluation system currently adopted links promotion mainly to seniority to the detriment of effort and performance.

The second category of shortcomings concerns the promotion system. The latter is perceived as frustrating. Progression from one grade to another is done either following the successful

completion of the professional examination or by reaching the seniority ceiling in the grade (set at 14 years). However, the quota system applied to these two mechanisms limits their incentive effects. Regarding the transition from one step to another, it is perceived by teachers as slow compared to the small salary bonus that results from it. In addition, according to the teachers' opinions, the evaluation mechanism, on which this transition from one level to the next is based, lacks clarity and efficiency. To address this shortcoming, the Strategic Vision 2015-2030 calls for the establishment of an evaluation system based on performance, merit and performance, through the development of evaluation grids for education personnel, including teachers. This requires, in the first place, according to Framework Law 51-17, to specify the relevant criteria for evaluating teachers' performance through the development of job and skills standards (Article 37).

This system of managing the career of the Moroccan teacher, according to teachers' perceptions, affects their satisfaction with their remuneration, due to the non-proportionality between rewards, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, effort and performance. Remuneration is a motivating factor. The salaries of elementary and middle school teachers are comparable both at the beginning of their careers and at the top of their careers. On the other hand, the starting salary of secondary school teachers with qualifications is relatively higher. The testimonies of teachers, all cycles combined, concerning the satisfaction of their salaries are generally unfavorable and demand the need for a review of their salaries which, according to them, do not accompany the price levels and the high cost of daily life. Another point that is a source of dissatisfaction for primary and college teachers is the lack of access to the non-scale grade like their colleagues in secondary schools.

Empirical studies on the engagement and satisfaction of Moroccan teachers have received less attention in terms of research. Benmansour (1998), in one of the few on job satisfaction, analyzing data from a sample of 153 Moroccan teachers, indicates that only 45% of teachers are satisfied with their work. More recently, based on a study of 697 primary and secondary school teachers, similar results were reported by Biyouda and Zahid (2021). The authors specify that the lowest levels of satisfaction were recorded among college secondary school teachers (42%), followed by elementary school teachers (45%) and finally those in qualifying secondary schools (50%). In addition, the average satisfaction score recorded is on average about three points on a five-point scale. When specific facets of job satisfaction are examined, research highlights that teachers are more satisfied with interpersonal relationships with colleagues and students, and less satisfied with their social status (Benmansour, 1998).

As for teacher engagement, Biyouda and Zahid (2021) report proportions of involvement that vary according to its dimensions. While 52% of the teachers surveyed show an emotional

identification with the work they do, 41% express a normative commitment to their work, only 38% of respondents show involvement based on perceived costs.

Conclusion

The teaching profession is the cornerstone of any education system, not only because it represents one of its main human capital resources, but also because of its central place in the teaching-learning process. The quality of education thus depends to a large extent on the conditions in which teachers practise their profession and the attitudes they develop towards their work. As such, dimensions such as organizational commitment, job satisfaction and motivation at work appear to be determining factors in the quality of teaching practices. Among the levers likely to influence these attitudes, the school environment in general, and the school climate in particular, occupy an essential place, insofar as they shape the daily professional experience of teachers and their relationship to the profession.

In the Moroccan context, the documentary analysis carried out in this article highlights a contrasting reality. On the one hand, the educational reforms undertaken since the beginning of the third millennium have reaffirmed the strategic role of the teacher in improving the quality of the education system and have placed the teaching profession at the heart of institutional priorities. On the other hand, existing work and national and international reports highlight the persistence of several dysfunctions that affect the working environment of teachers. The overload of work, organizational constraints, the relative inadequacy of educational resources, as well as the complexity of professional relations contribute to shaping an environment that is sometimes perceived as unfavourable to the optimal exercise of the profession. These difficulties are also manifested in the limited attractiveness of the profession and academic performance that remains below expectations in various national and international assessments. These observations confirm that the work environment is not a simple peripheral framework, but a structuring dimension of teaching practice. By influencing teachers' professional attitudes—including their motivation, satisfaction, and commitment—it indirectly affects the quality of teaching and, more broadly, the effectiveness of the education system. Teachers thus develop forms of adaptation and professional positioning that reflect both their capacity for resilience in the face of constraints and the tensions inherent in the transformations that the Moroccan education system is experiencing. This reality underlines the need to consider teachers as central actors in reform processes, whose perceptions and attitudes largely condition the effective implementation of education policies.

In addition, this article highlights the interest of an integrated approach, articulating the organizational and psychosocial dimensions, to understand teaching practice. Such an approach makes it possible to go beyond analyses focused exclusively on structures or individuals, by

highlighting the dynamic interactions between the conditions of practice of the profession and the professional dispositions of teachers. It also underlines the importance for public decision-makers to act simultaneously on improving working conditions, strengthening institutional support and enhancing the value of the teaching profession, in order to promote the development of positive and sustainable professional attitudes.

Finally, by offering an inventory based on a documentary analysis, this article contributes to a better understanding of the frameworks in which teaching practice is carried out in Morocco and the issues associated with it. It highlights that improving the quality of education inevitably requires a thorough consideration of teachers' working environment and professional attitudes. This synthesis thus paves the way for future empirical research aimed at analysing more precisely the relationships between the school climate, teaching attitudes and the quality of pedagogical practices, with a view to shedding light on actions likely to effectively support the transformation and development of the Moroccan education system.

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