



Co-funded by the
Erasmus+ Programme
of the European Union



**THE ROLE OF ACADEMIA
IN PROMOTING GENDER AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS
IN THE ARAB WORLD AND THE EUROPEAN REGION**

**Erasmus+ project “Gender Studies Curriculum: A Step for Democracy and Peace in EU-
Neighboring Countries with Different Traditions”,
No. 561785-EPP-1-2015-1-LT-EPPKA2-CBHE-JP**

UDC 305(063)

Dépôt Légal : 2019MO2902

ISBN : 978-9954-692-05-9

The Role Of Academia In Promoting Gender And Women's Rights In The Arab World And The European Region // Edited by Souad Slaoui, Khalid Bekkaoui, Kebir Sandy, Sadik Rddad, Karima Belghiti. – Publ. Société Générale d'Équipement & d'Impression, Fes, Morocco, 2019. – 382 pp.

This book contains articles by participants in the Forum " The role of academia in promoting gender and women's rights in the Arab world and the European region " (Morocco, Fez, October, 1-5, 2018). In the articles, the actual problems of gender identity, gender equality, gender education, gender and politics, gender and religion are raised. The materials will be useful to researchers, scientists, graduate students and students dealing with the problems of gender equality, intersexual relations, statistical indices of gender equality and other aspects of this field.

Technical Editors: Natalija Mažeikienė, Olga Avramenko, Volodymyr Naradovyi.

Acknowledgements to PhD students Mrs.Hajar Brgharbi, Mr.Mouhssine El Hajjami who have extensively worked with editors on collecting the abstract and the paper at the first stage of the compilation of this Conference volume.

Recommended for publication: Moroccan Cultural Studies Centre, University Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdallah, Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences Dhar Al Mahraz, Fez.



ERASMUS+ Project "Gender Studies Curriculum: A Step for Democracy and Peace in EU-neighboring countries with different traditions – GeSt" [Ref. Number: 561785-EPP-1-2015-1-LT-EPPKA2-CBHE-JP



Co-funded by the
Erasmus+ Programme
of the European Union

This project has been funded with support from the European Commission. This publication reflects the views only of the author, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein

ISBN 978-9954-692-05-9

© Authors of articles, 2019

© Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah University

CONTENT

PREFACE

Fatima Sadiqi Gender at the Intersection of Academia and the Sociocultural and Political contexts in Arab World and European region..... 6

INTRODUCTION

Sadik Rddad (*Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University*).....8

KEYNOTE SPEAKER

Rajaa Nadifi (*Université Hassan II de Casablanca, Morocco*) Le Genre et L’université au Maroc : Cas de l’Université Hassan II de Casablanca 20

GENDER AND EDUCATION

Tetiana Lisova (*Nizhyn Mykola Gogol State University, NMGSU, Ukraine*). Gender Differences in Students' Aspiration and Their Attitudes to Mathematics and Sciences..... 29

Iryna Lupan (*Volodymyr Vynnychenko Central Ukraine State Pedagogical University, Ukraine*). Samples in Gender Studies 32

Souad Slaoui and Karima Belghiti (*Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, Morocco*). The Role of Gender Studies in Instilling Democracy and Gender Equality: The Case of Cultural Studies Master Students at Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah University 36

Hayat Naciri (*University Sultane Moulay Slimane, Beni Mellal, Morocco*). Challenges Faced by Sultan Moulay Slimane University Students: A Gender Perspective 53

Boutheina Ben Hassine (*University of Sousse, Tunisia*). Role of publications in Gender to promote Women’s rights in Tunisia 67

Mohamed Fadel (*Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, Morocco*). Roles of academia in gender equality: the case of Morocco..... 74

GENDER AND IDENTITY

Lamprini Frosi (*School of Psychology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*). We were” versus “they are”: Teachers Talk about Contemporary Adolescent Femininity..... 89

Larysa Zahrai (*Vasyl Stefanyk Prekarpathian National University Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine*). Thematic Analysis of Research Experience Gender Identity..... 98

Oksana Shchotka (*Mykola Gogol Nizhyn State University, Ukraine*). Self-Presentation in Online Communication of Women-Winners of The TV Project "New Leaders Of Ukraine” 102

GENDER, DISCOURSE AND IDEOLOGY

Meriem Ouahidi (*Sultan Moulay Slimane University*). Gender Bias in Moroccan Proverb 106

Nidal Chebbak (<i>Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, Morocco</i>). European women in Al-Hajjoui's ar-Rihla al-Ouropia 1919.....	118
Nourdine El Khiyati (<i>Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, Morocco</i>). Against the Current: A Western Female Writer Celebrating Moroccan Women's Agency.....	126
Chemlal Said (<i>Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, Morocco</i>). Negotiating Gendered Spaces in Zakia Tahiri's Film Number One (2008)....	134
Bitari Wissam (<i>Mohamed First University, Oujda</i>). Gender and Migration in Academia and the Change in Perspectives of Empowerment: A Critical Reading in some Arab Migrant Literary Texts	144
Mouhcine El-Hajjami (<i>Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, Morocco</i>). Women and Subalternity in Moroccan Contemporary Cinema: Yasmine Kassari's Erraged (The Sleeping Child) (2004).....	157
El Ouardi Fettah (<i>Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, Morocco</i>). Destabilizing Patriarchal Paradigms in Saudi Arabian Society Rajaa AlSanea's Girls of Riyadh (2008) As a Case Study	164
El Houssine Khadiri (<i>Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, Morocco</i>). Resisting the Double Oppression and the Quest for Home and an Identity the Case Fadia Faqir's My Name Is Salma.....	184
Imane Ismaili Alaoui (<i>Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, Morocco</i>). Feminine Orientalism: Western Female Travelers Journeying across the Land of the Moors	198
Yasmine Zerrouki (<i>Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, Morocco</i>). Gendered Spaces Revisited: Femininity Conquers Masculinity in <i>Casanegra</i> and <i>Number One</i>	205
Manal Dao Sabbah (<i>USMBA, Fes</i>). Islamic Feminist Methodologies of Reading the Sacred Text: Empowering and Apologetic Perspectives	219
GENDER AND RELIGION	
Yurii Hurtovyi (<i>Volodymyr Vynnychenko Central Ukraine State Pedagogical University, Ukraine</i>). Gender stereotypes and roles in traditional religions	233
Abdelmjid Kettioui (<i>Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, Morocco</i>). Islam's Blonde Conquests on the Barbary Coast: The Geopolitical, Spiritual and Sexual Stakes of Female Captivity in Elizabeth Marsh's The Female Captive (1769).....	237
Hamid Masfour (<i>University Sultane Moulay Slimane, Beni Mellal, Morocco</i>). Deconstructing Religious Misinterpretations of the Female Body for Promoting Arabo-Moslem Women's Rights	256
Zakaria Laghnam (<i>Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, Morocco</i>). The Sexualized body of Muslim Women in Hirsi Ali's Submission	265
GENDER AND POLITICS	
Kebir Sandy (<i>Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, Morocco</i>). Women in the Moroccan Political Arena: A Struggle for Identity Confirmation.....	277

Farida Mokhtari (<i>University Sultane Moulay Slimane, Beni Mellal, Morocco</i>). The Status of Moroccan Women in the new Socio-political Society.....	282
Tariq Bekkaoui Laila Lalami: Politics, Religion And Identity In The Journalistic Writings of A Moroccan Woman In America	292
Salma Takky (<i>USMBA, Fes</i>). Women’s Representation in Moroccan and international Law-CEDAW convention ,The Moroccan Family Code (Moudawana) and The Moroccan Penal Code as case studies	300
Kateryna Akbash, Olga Avramenko (<i>Volodymyr Vynnychenko Central Ukraine State Pedagogical University, Ukraine</i>). Statistical Analysis of the Constituent Indicators of Global Gender Gap Index in Ukraine (2006-2017) .	310
Hoyan I.M. (<i>Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, Ivano- Frankivsk</i>). Gender Tolerance as Axiological and Ideological Process.....	318
Fatima Zahra Ermiki (<i>Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, Morocco</i>). Women’s Political Participation in an Islamist-Led Government	323
GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT	
Sofiene Mnedla , Zeineb Zerai and Hafsi Bedhioufi (<i>Mannouba University, Tunisie</i>). Sports Challenge and Educational Goal of Tunisian Sportswomen..	331
Chedlia Fitouri, Zerai Zaineab, Hajer Ben Jomaa, Monia Lachheb (<i>ISSEP de Ksar-Saïd, Tunisie</i>). L’entrepreneuriat au Feminin en Tunisie.....	335
Chuyko Oksana (<i>Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, Ukraine</i>). Gender Equality as a Precondition for Female Career Development	346
Lamiae Azzouzi, Jihane Benmassoud (<i>Moulay Ismail University, Meknes, Morocco</i>). Gender and Development: the Case of Moroccan Women in Leadership Positions	350
Oleksandr Boyko, Oleksandr Samoilenko (<i>NizhynMykola Gogol State University, Ukraine</i>). Influence of Gender Stereotypes on Personality’s Development.....	359
Larysa Semeniuk, Oleg Semeniuk (<i>Volodymyr Vynnychenko Central Ukrainian State Pedagogical University, Ukraine</i>). Gender and Geographical Aspects of the Employment in Ukraine (on the example of the Kirovohrad Oblast).....	363
Chedlia FITOURI (<i>Université de la Manouba, TUNISIE</i>). Genre Leadership Travail Et Motivation Dans L’administration Sportive	371

PREFACE

Fatima Sadiqi

Gender at the Intersection of Academia and the Sociocultural and Political contexts in Arab World and European region

This volume pulls together a number of topics that revolve around the discipline of Gender Studies either as a subject matter on its own or as a conduit to understanding gender in its relation to language, culture, education, psychology, media, politics, human rights, or literature. In both cases gender is used as an analytical tool and a springboard to deepen our understanding of how things are the way they are in Arab World and European region. The choice of the topics attests to the centrality of gender in knowledge-production and the choice of the regions attests to the transformative role of gender in improving men-women relationships outside the family and in the public spaces.

The authors of the papers underline that as a subject matter on its own, the discipline of Gender Studies is transforming higher education in the regions at hand. More and more students of both sexes are engaging with gender as a tool of analysis and, interestingly, challenging taken-for-granted ideas in scholarship, as well as in research training and methodology. Significantly, more and more young men and women have come to the understanding that Gender Studies is not about women only but about men and society as well. As such the discipline of Gender Studies does not only democratize higher education, it decolonizes and liberates it. Other papers have shown that the field of Gender Studies has problematized concepts of hegemony, injustice, and identity; other papers have provided conditions that give rise to the damaging effects of exclusion and marginalization. Taken together, the papers provide a new grammar and vocabulary of thought that transcend the traditional geographical and disciplinary limits in ways that highlight the critical power of non-Western-based paradigms of knowledge, hence foregrounding subaltern voices from North Africa and the global South as the actors and agents of globalized modernity.

As a conduit to understanding other domains of scholarship, gender is a creative tool of balancing knowledge-production and underlining the beneficial impacts of inter- and trans-disciplinarity in search of answers for questions that have remained untapped for too long.

In addition to the relevance and scope of this volume, its heterogeneity and diversity are two supplementary characteristics that make it unique. The authors of the papers constitute an interesting mix of established and emerging female and male scholars with diverse cultural and intellectual backgrounds. This heterogeneity and diversity bridge the generational and cultural gaps and opens new vistas of theory-making and reflection. Indeed, it is in such encounters that conversations may become complex and difficult at times, but always conducive to creativity.

In terms of readers, this volume addresses a wide audience, ranging from students, researchers, experts in various fields, to curious laymen and laywomen. This makes the volume a unique resource for collaborative work and curricular-building across cultures, religions and political contexts.

Finally, by including the values of peace and democracy, this volume rethinks gender within the larger context of current global events and aims to consider what we might gain from global analysis, beginning from spaces of tension to foster dialogue and collaboration between universities and individuals.

INTRODUCTION

Sadik Rddad

This volume wraps up several years of intellectual collaboration and exchange between a constellation of scholars and academics from a wide range of European and North-African countries, including Lithuania, Hungary, Greece, Ukraine, Morocco, and Tunisia. The debates touch upon a diversified set of disciplines such as education, political science, religions, cultural pedagogy in their relation with gender politics. One of the major objectives of such productive academic exchange is to promote the values of democracy and gender equality as foundational vehicles of development. The rapprochement between the EU and the neighbouring countries is articulated over the intellectual engagement of “Gender Studies as a step for democracy and peace in EU-Neighbouring countries with different traditions.”

In “Gender and the Moroccan University, Hassan II University, Casablanca as a Case Study, RAJAA NADIFI points to the growing importance of gender equality in teaching and research in the Moroccan university. Based on a survey of gender studies in Morocco and on studies conducted by academics and institutional and civil society actors, it stresses the role of the university in promoting gender equality, the challenges it encounters, and suggests solutions for the future.

“Gender Differences in Students' Aspiration and Their Attitudes to Mathematics and Sciences” by TETIANA LISOVA Nizhyn Mykola Gogol State University, NMGSU, Ukraine is a comparative study of 8-grade pupils from 10 countries (England, Sweden, Italy, Japan, Georgia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Hungary, Ukraine, and the Russian Federation) with different levels of economic development and different educational traditions. The paper analyses the pupils' responses to the questions from TIMSS 2007 and 2011 Student Questionnaire, which relate to their educational aspirations in the future and their attitude to mathematics and the natural sciences. Given that STEM education is still not popular among women, special attention is paid to gender differences in the points of view of the pupils on their future education and to the identification of possible reasons for their choice.

In the paper entitled “Thematic Analysis of Research Experience Gender Identity,” LARYSA ZAHRAI Vasyl Stefanyk, Prekarpathian National University Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine focuses on the description of feminist methodology and qualitative method of thematic analysis. She explores the relevance of the feminist methodology of research as an alternative in the study of women's experience, highlighting the gender experience of the personality. The article argues that feminist

methodology offers an accessible and theoretically-flexible approach to the analysis of qualitative data. It shows how thematic analysis is used at a wide scale as a qualitative analytic method in the field of psychology and points out to the lack of agreement on how to apply it. LARYSA ZAHRAI suggests ways of using thematic analysis in psychology and in the study of gender experience, indicating its disadvantages and advantages.

In his article “Gender in Language Education,” MUSTAPHA ZANZOUN, University Sultane Moulay Slimane, USMS, Beni Mellal, Morocco, stresses the impact of gender on the process of education, learning, and on the institutions’ strategic choices in building a new identity congruent with new situations and circumstances. Basing his findings on the theoretical developments in the field of gender in its relation with language, MUSTAPHA ZANZOUN underscores the ways in which gender in language education impacted both the educational and social sectors within the process of empowering women and enhancing their contribution to national development.

Based on examples of samples used in a master course “Sampling in Psychology, Sociology and Pedagogy” for students of “Educational Sciences” and “Educational Measurement” in the Master’s Program Gender Studies: Scientific Aspect” affiliated to the Volodymyr Vynnychenko Central Ukraine State Pedagogical University, Ukraine, “Samples in Gender Studies” by IRYNA LUPAN Volodymyr Vynnychenko Central Ukraine state Pedagogical University, Ukraine, Kropyvnytskyi highlights the specificities and difficulties of using sampling in gender studies. This article reviews the samples used in gender investigations, indicating that they are nonprobability haphazard or fortunate sample, quota sample or expert sample and that conversely in the case of gender studies in the field of education it is possible to design probability sample: stratified, cluster, or multistage.

The article entitled “Gender Determination of Choice of Behavior’s Strategy by Students in a Conflict Situation” by LYUDMILA JAROSLAV Nizhyn Mykola Gogol State University, Ukraine addresses the problem of finding modified personality determinants of human behavior in interpersonal conflicts, relying on a detailed analysis of the factors that determine the choice of individual behavioral strategies in conflict. It attempts to foreground the specificities of the influence of gender identity of students of pedagogical specialties on the choice of behavior strategies in interpersonal conflicts. Within the analytical framework of modern theories of gender, this paper deals with the concept of the masculinity/feminine symptom complex as a combination of masculine and feminine features that determine the sex-role behavior of the individual and separated types of gender identity. It presents the results of the experimental study of the conditionality of the choice of strategy of behavior in conflict by gender-based guidelines are

presented to conclude that the androgynous gender identity allows for more opportunities for choosing behavioral strategies in different situations for personal manifestation, while masculinity dictates the domination in relationships, the choice of active strategies in conflicts, and femininity - dependence, the choice of a strategy of avoidance.

In "We were" versus "they are": Teachers Talk about Contemporary Adolescent Femininity" LAMPRINI FROSI, School of Psychology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, probes the way teachers describe contemporary hegemonic adolescent femininity based on their observation and interaction with girls in school. Six Greek teachers employed at senior high schools participated in personal semi-structured interviews. Data thematic analysis reveals that, according to teachers, the adolescent femininity of today has been expanded and includes aspects deriving from traditional masculinity. The main argument of this paper is that these aspects have to do with girls' goals, opportunities, behaviors, and relationships. Some of them are presented as positive changes, while others as a loss of part of femininity. The new aspects of femininity are assigned to the claim of girls themselves, as well as to the parents' and the society's changing perceptions. They do not relate school or even the teachers themselves to the changes in aspects of femininity or to the social change they refer to.

Adopting a qualitative approach based on the interview of 10 MA students from the Cultural Studies Master's Program in Fez, the paper entitled "The Role of Gender Studies in Instilling Democracy and Gender Equality: The Case of Cultural Studies Master Students at Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah University" by SOUAD SLAOUI AND KARIMA BELGHITI Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, Morocco explores the extent to which the introduction of gender courses in the Moroccan University can be conducive to the promotion of the values of democracy and gender equality among the students. It concludes that the level of education is a significant factor in the construction of positive or negative attitudes towards gender studies and its contribution to the promotion of democracy and gender equality. More importantly, the paper stresses that the question of gender equality outside academia is not applicable in Moroccans' daily routine due to the patriarchal mindset deeply rooted and calls upon researchers to address gender equality in a more local context-especially, in traditional societies which are characterized by sharply differentiated gender roles.

"Challenges Faced by Sultan Moulay Slimane University Students: A Gender Perspective" by HAYAT NACIRI University Sultane Moulay Slimane, Beni Mellal, Morocco discusses the challenges faced by university students. Based on data collected through a questionnaire that was distributed to a sample of randomly selected 200 students from different departments of Sultan

Moulay Slimane University during the academic year 2017/2018, the study identifies and examines four categories of challenges faced by the students: academic, administrative, economic, and psychological. The students’ attitudes are analyzed from a gender perspective. The paper ends by providing recommendations to effectively manage and overcome these challenges as a basis for the improvement of the quality of education.

Departing from the condition of discrepancy between the remarkable participation of Moroccan women in education and the rampant gender imbalance in Higher Education and inequality in positions of power, “Gender Equity in Higher Education” by MERIEM OUAHIDI University Sultane Moulay Slimane, Beni Mellal, Morocco probes the question of gender inequity and bias within academia. On the one hand, it outlines the obstacles behind the underrepresentation of women in Higher Education, and on the other hand, it provides some recommendations that would help overcome long-anchored traditions and practices of discrimination in this field.

In her paper “Fighting Cross-Cutting Ideologies – Forging Strategies of Transformative Action,” BARÁT ERZSÉBET, Central European University, Budapest, explores how the emergence and institutionalization of discourses of feminism have been received in Hungary since the wake of the transition in 1989. The trajectory spans from the initial sporadic media hostility in the 1990s through mainstreaming in the first decade of the 21st century to a systemic discrediting that articulates ‘feminism’ as an empty signifier of ‘legitimate hate’ shaped and circulated by the Hungarian Government in the past eight years. Basing her findings on over twenty years of research experience and expertise, BARÁT ERZSÉBET argues that the task is not simply one of praxis, to ‘connect’ research and the social/political world but to find discourse strategies to negotiate that connecting on our feminist term, including the moment of the research design, analysis, and distribution.

In her paper “The Elimination of the Critical Concept of Gender from Current Hungarian Education,” DOROTTYA REDAI from Central European University, Budapest inquires into how the stigmatization of the concept of gender as ideology has made its way into the state regulations of educational content. She provides a critical analysis of school curricula for compulsory education, focusing on how the concept of gender has been eliminated from curricula. Besides, she discusses the short life of the first Gender Studies Master Program at the state university of ELTE, Budapest. She examines ministerial decrees as tools to ‘eliminate gender’ from the respective educational scenes. REDAI’s central argument is that the strategic stigmatization/demonization of the notion of gender equality and diversity and its replacement by a familist gender ideology which offers women and men extremely narrow and complementary gender ‘roles’, approaches young

people's sexuality from a purely moralist basis, and makes gender and sexual diversity completely invisible, is part of a systemic effort by the current government to recreate traditionally oppressive gender divisions, to impose male dominance and an exclusionary heteronormativity, and to eliminate opportunities for acquiring knowledge and skills to use gender as a category of critical analysis.

In "The Future of Sexuality Studies as a Feminist Decolonial Field in West Asia (Middle East)", ADRIANA QUBAIOVA Central European University, Budapest opines that Sexuality studies in the Middle East (hereafter West Asia) are continuously caught between Western/Eurocentric academic imposition, inauthentic expression, and an accusation of Western mimicry on the one hand, and a local silencing and oppression of sexual and gender non-normativity, on the other. Reviewing the status of academic knowledge production on sexuality in the region, with a specific focus on the fieldwork she conducted on gendered non-normative sexualities in Beirut, ADRIANA QUBAIOVA indicates a major gap in the historicizing of gendered nonnormativity and sexual desire. She argues that filling this gap equips us with an indispensable feminist and de-colonial tool to help us rethink the Westernization/Eurocentrism of sexuality studies frameworks and overcome the contradictions in employing this field's own tools and concepts. By reclaiming sexual pasts and contemporary local practices, crucial localized knowledge is produced to serve as a decolonization tool.

In her article "Political Reforms of Women's Rights in Morocco: Polarities and Ambivalence," MANAL DAO SABBAH, PhD Student at Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes addresses the polarities and ambivalence in the political discourses on women's rights in the Moroccan law. She argues that in spite of the advances in the 2004 reformed Family Code and the 2011 constitution in favor of the Moroccan woman and family, the huge inconsistencies within the reformed laws represent a stumbling block to the actual progress of women's rights. She stresses that while Morocco is celebrated by international observers for its ratification of international conventions like the UDHR and CEDAW, it failed to fully adhere to them because of Morocco's reservations to some laws that contradict the country's "constants" (*thawabit*). Polarities and ambivalence reside in the discrepancy between what reforms stipulate before the international community and the actual situation. The article provides a close examination of the 2004 Family Code and of the 2011 constitution in relation to how they are (mis-applied) in the Moroccan context.

In "Women's Representation in Moroccan and international Law-CEDAW Convention, the Moroccan Family Code (Moudawana) and The Moroccan Penal Code as Case Studies," SALMA

TAKKY, PhD Student, Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, attempts to evaluate women’s representation and access to equality and justice in Morocco through the lens of 2004 family law (Moudawana). In the light of the latest developments and reforms of the Moudawana, the penal code, and the 2011 Constitution, and Moroccan adherence to human rights as recognized universally, this paper examines the disparities in women’s access to justice due to the way reforms are written and/or implemented. Particular emphasis is on discrepancies of women's access to justice between urban and rural areas, more particularly, Amazigh areas.

FATIMA ZAHRA EL HAJJI PhD Student, Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes discusses in her article “Women’s Political Participation in Current Islamist Government” the cultural factors which contributed to the limited role of women in political participation. Basing her study on interviews with PJDist female MPs and academics in political sciences along with a theoretical framework, she argues that the public space in Morocco is constructed as male, which leads to the visible limitation of women’s contribution to public affairs and electoral campaigns.

In his “Roles of Academia in Gender Equality: The Case of Morocco,” MOHAMED FADEL PhD Student, Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, stresses the importance of education in human development and women’s empowerment. He investigates the ways and the reasons why education is the key to gender equality and how reformed education system can offer equal economic and social opportunities to both young females and males.

In “Refashioning Moorish Women on the Romantic Stage: Politicizing rather than Romanticizing” ZAKARIA IDRISSE PhD Student, Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, explores the dramatic shift in the construction and connotative dimensions of the image of the Moorish women in the romantic period (1790-1830). He argues that the female Moor is refashioned and reconstructed to fit to politics and romanticity of gender Romantic politics. Based on the works of playwrights such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Sophia Lee, and Lady Dacre, he shows that gender romantic politics intervenes to redefine the Moorish woman whose figuration is different from her previous counterparts. Tracing her development as a free and rebellious, he concludes that the female Moor is politicized rather than romanticized.

In her paper “European women in Al-Hajoui’s *ar-Rihla al-Ouropia* 1919” NIDAL CHEBBAK PhD Student, Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, explores the travel narrative *ar-Rihla al-Ouropia* of Moroccan traveler al-Hajoui. She provides a brief account of his observations and comments on cultural politics and the status of women in France. She focuses mainly on the discursive anxiety in al-Hajoui’s representation of French women. The article argues that al-Hajoui’s discourse of Europe is based on a combination of admiration and fascination. His

representation and criticism of European women reveals a state of confusion; his account being an indication that no matter how tolerant the traveler tried to be of the other's difference, his cultural and religious background would often interfere.

In the article entitled "Against the Current: A Western Female Writer Celebrating Moroccan Women's Agency," PhD Student, Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, addresses the representation of Moroccan women in contemporary American novel. Applying Sara Mills' theory on a contemporary American novel, NOURDINE EL KHIYATI rethinks the Western tradition premised on the description of Arab women as uneducated, lacking agency, submissive sexual objects, and victims of patriarchal society. He argues that against the Orientalist tradition, contemporary American novel *The Free Woman* by Carol Malt celebrates the memory of an unprecedented Muslim woman, who governed the city of Tetouan during the beginning of the sixteenth century. Malt commemorates the life of Sayyida al-Hurra, which appears as a counter discourse to the Western stereotype that Arab women have no agency.

"Islam's Blonde Conquests on the Barbary Coast: The Geopolitical, Spiritual and Sexual Stakes of Female Captivity in Elizabeth Marsh's *The Female Captive* (1769)" by ABDELMJID KETTIOUI PhD Student, Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, explores the geopolitical, spiritual, and sexual stakes that attend Elizabeth Marsh's *The Female Captive* (1769). Framing female captives as Islam's blonde conquests, this article investigates how Marsh enacts and negotiates what Anthony Ashley Cooper calls "Moorish Fancy" and what Michel Foucault dubs "the image of the imperial prude." Beyond clichés of Muslim sexual prurience and forced conversions, it argues that the Self is forged in the interstices of personal ambition and imperial pursuit, sameness and difference, desire and sense of belonging, fact and fiction.

This paper "Feminine Orientalism: Western Female Travelers Journeying across the Land of the Moors" by IMANE ISMAILI ALAOUI PhD Student, Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, discusses *My Life Story* (1911) by the English expatriate, Emily Keen, the Shareefa of Wazzan, whose work was borne out of her cultural involvement in Moorish culture as she was married to the Shereef of Wazzan and spent more than four decades amongst the Moors. The paper argues that Keen's position as an English writer affiliated to Western hegemony and as the wife of the powerful Sidi Al-HadjAbd al-Salam, the Shareef of Wazzan made her sustain her hegemonic position from a double perspective. Within this framework of power relations, Keene tends to reiterate an orientalist discourse which sketches Otherness in a structure compliant with imperialist interests. Keene discloses an ambivalent discourse in her fascination with Otherness which contrasts with her nationalistic and imperialist adherence. The colonial rhetoric is, accordingly, weakened by

conflicting discursive configurations which allow native agency to produce itself as an alternative to imperial narratives.

Based on research conducted in Moroccan royal archives, AZIZ NOUHAIIDI’s paper “North African Female Slaves Performing Sexual Services in Europe” investigates the experience of North African females snatched by European slavers and hauled to various slave markets scattered all over Christendom throughout the early modern period. It is a reflection on how slaveholders of high and middle-ranking social levels found Moorish young female slaves more useful than male slaves, which should be regarded as a display of sexual exploitation. On the hand, it provides examples from the early settlers of the Americas who established many Casas Públicas (brothels) where Mujeres Moriscas were induced to lie carnally with the conquistadores. On the other hand, it argues that some North African slave women utilized sexuality as a weapon to dismantle the masters’ power by exploiting their sexual desire to gain freedom.

HAMID MASFOUR’s “Deconstructing Religious Misinterpretations of the Feminine Body for Promoting Arabo-Moslem Women’s Right” adopts a deconstructive method to address the role of reforming the religious misinterpretations of the feminine body in promoting women’s rights in the Arab world. It argues that the male imaginary on the feminine body based on misinterpreting Islam oppresses Arab women and restricts their visibility. The paper aims at pointing out the crucial role of academic research in promoting women’s rights through raising awareness about the connections between religious misinterpretations and women’s subordination.

Based on a comparative comment on Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, YURII HURTOVYI Volodymyr Vynnychenko’s article “Religious Traditions and Gender Stereotypes” engages the influence of religious beliefs on stereotyped attitudes towards gender roles. He argues that these beliefs have a great practical influence on the regulation of direct interaction between representatives of various religious beliefs, as well as for the establishment of a peaceful relationship between the sexes, built on the principles of harmoniously coexisting social groups that unite people of different religious beliefs.

Adopting a postcolonial and feminist approach, KEBIR SANDY’s article “Women in the Moroccan Political Arena: A Struggle for Identity Confirmation” engages the different strategies of patriarchal dominance and women’s resistance in Morocco. He argues that beside the patriarchal culture and the ancient traditions which crush women’s identity, there seem to exist also a hidden agenda and ideology aiming at keeping women under the control and tutorship of men and even turning them into “political figures” with a patriarchal mindset. Similarly, he argues that the Moroccan woman’s identity is still colonized not only by the social and cultural shackles but also

through the political process of disempowerment and containment that is governed by patriarchal system.

FARIDA MOKHTARI's article "The Status of Moroccan Women in the new Socio-political Society" briefly traces some of the major transformations relative to the status of women in Morocco since the 1990s. It explores the opportunities and political progress that women have achieved by challenging the power relations between man and women in Morocco.

"Post-revolution Tunisia: A History *au féminin*" by ZEINEB ZERAI, CHEDLIYA FITOURI, and HAFSI BEDHIOUFI tracks the short history of social movements, institutional changes, and female presence in Tunisia since December-January 2010-2011 to the present day. It shows that the Tunisian revolution is articulated by and around the female body. It analyzes the trajectories of Tunisian women in public life in a way that does not stigmatize the female body. It argues that gender shapes the whole process of the democratic transition in Tunisia.

In her paper "Role of publications in Gender to promote Women's rights in Tunisia," BOUTHEINA BEN HASSINE explores the role of academic publications in the promotion of women's rights in Tunisia. She examines the Tunisian university's contribution to the political and cultural dynamics of women's studies evolution.

Using Zakia Tahiri's debut feature film *Number One* (2008) as a case study, SAID CHEMLAL's paper "Negotiating Gendered Spaces in Zakia Tahiri's Film *Number One* (2008)" deconstructs the private-female/public male dichotomy from a feminist approach. Chemlal argues that *Number One* attempts to subvert the private/public spatial duality, which still exists in the contemporary Moroccan society, yet it does not manage to offer its female characters solid alternatives that can help them out.

Examining Ayaan Hirsi Ali's documentary film *Submission* (2004), "The Sexualized Body of Muslim Women in Hirsi Ali's *Submission* by ZAKARIA LAGHMAM explores the debates on the questions of the veil, the place of Islam, and the situation of Muslim women in the Netherlands and Europe in general. It exposes the sexualization process prevalent in the documentary. This paper argues that the display of the naked body enforces the colonial discourse and at the same time objectifies Muslim women's bodies.

By engaging the representation of woman in contemporary Moroccan cinema, with particular focus on *Erraged* 2004 (the Sleeping Child) by Yassmine Kassari, MOUHCINE EL-HAJJAMI's "Women and Subalternity in Moroccan Contemporary Cinema: Yassmine Kassari's *Erraged* (The Sleeping Child) (2004)" argues that film discourse constructs and maintains fixed stereotypes on gender roles and women in Morocco. Hajjami deploys a critical film analysis to explore the socio-

cultural deterrents that influence the portrayal of woman on screen turning her into a subaltern other.

Deploying an analytical textual methodology, and drawing on a postcolonial feminist perspective, El OUARDI FETTAH’s “Destabilizing Patriarchal Paradigms in Saudi Arabian Society Rajaa ALSanea’s *Girls of Riyadh* (2008)” as a Case Study” probes Rajaa AL Sanees’s *Girls of Riyadh* with regard to the sociocultural and historical context of women’s status in Saudi Arabia. Besides, this article examines the gender bias women have been subjected to in their patriarchal society. El Ouardi argues that ALSanea launches scathing criticism against the patriarchal paradigms that are deeply rooted in Saudi Arabian cultural mind-sets.

TARIQ BEKKAOUI’s article entitled *Laila Lalami: Politics, Religion and Identity in the Journalistic Writings of a Moroccan Woman in America*” discusses the lesser-known journalistic writings of Moroccan expatriate writer, Laila Lalami. Bekkaoui considers her as a diasporic gendered voice that emerged during the Arab Spring; he focuses on politics, religion, and identity in Lalami’s newspaper articles. He argues that as a Muslim, Woman, Moroccan, Lalami she tackles subversive topics that serve as a voice to the politically and culturally oppressed.

Based on an analysis of some Arab literary texts such as Leila Hallaby’s *West of the Jordan* and Fadia Faqir’s *The Cry of the Dove*, WISSAM BITARI’s “Gender and Migration in Academia and the Change in Perspectives of Empowerment: A Critical Reading in some Arab Migrant Literary Texts” engages the changes that gender roles undergo when humans are marked by movement and explores the ways in which migration serves as a liberating phenomenon especially for women who are offered the opportunity to rebel against patriarchal norms prevalent in their countries. The article rethinks the concept of empowerment that is most often equated with gendered migration.

Focusing on studying Houda Benyamina’s feature film *Devines* (2016, KHALID EL AATEFI’s “Broken (Im)Mobilities and Transgressive Identity Politics in HoudaBenyamina’s *Devines*: Multi-ethnic Solidarities and the Politics of Interrupted Hyper-femininity” examines feminine forms of identification and auto-representation of identity by Maghrebi filmmakers in diaspora, and how identity is configured or constructed as changing and flexible experience, where Maghrebi protagonists share a sort of transnationalised spirit of identification, resistance and transgression with other ethnics. Using an inversed form of the “scopophilic Foucauldian gaze” EL AATEFI argues that *Devines* is flawed by a hyper female agency that essentialises the gendered gaze of the feminine.

Deploying postcolonial, feminist, and Cultural Studies theories, HOUSSINE KHADIRI's paper "Resisting the Double Oppression and the Quest for Home and Identity the Case Fadia Faqir's *My Name is Salma* engages women's appropriation of diaspora space to subvert the stereotypical images of Muslim women and to retrieve their agency, equality, and resistance.

Based on in-depth interviews in which women discussed how they acquire information relative to their particular circumstances and concerns during their experiences of pregnancy and childbirth and using a feminist critique of women's health care, NATALIJA MAŽEIKIENĖ AND EGLĖ GERULAITIENĖ's joint article "Challenging Medicalized Childbirth Knowledge System and Politics of Reproduction in Lithuania: A Role of Digital Technologies and Online Communities" explores the latest developments in the politics of reproduction in Lithuania. It underscores the increasing role digital health technologies are playing in healthcare, health education, voluntary self-surveillance, self-quantification, and self-care practices. More importantly, this article discusses pregnant women's performance of their pregnancies on internet, using various web pages, blogs, and apps. It is hoped that the findings of this research contribute to an understanding of the changing nature of support and information seeking practices for women in the transition to motherhood.

Applying axiological, systemic, and comparative methods, I.M. HOYAN's study "Gender Tolerance as Axiological and Ideological Process" clarifies the axiological prerequisites of gender tolerance and identifies the core values which underlie tolerance toward gender identities diversity. The scientific of this study resides in its development of the ideas of the processes and mechanisms of gender tolerance formation on the basis of the axiological aspect of gender relationships; it proves that gender tolerance is articulated on the different axiological and world view criteria including equality, respect, and humanity.

SOFIENE MNEDLA, ZEINEB ZERAI and HAFSI BEDHIOUFI's paper "Sports Challenge and Educational Goal of Tunisian Sportswomen" traces the evolution of Tunisian women in the field of sports from 1956 to the present time. It examines the annual report on sport (2007) to highlight sportswomen's remarkable qualitative and quantitative achievements in a variety of sports, education, and literacy.

In their joint paper, "Female Entrepreneurship in Tunisia," CHEDLIA FITOURI, ZERAI ZAINEB, HAJER BEN JOMAA, MONIA LACHHEB points out to the paradoxical situation in Tunisia whereby women represent more than two-thirds of higher education graduates, but their participation in the labor force is only 26%, compared to 70% for men. This applies to entrepreneurship indicators. Based on the last censuses of the Tunisian population of 2014 and on a

field survey, carried out by the International Labor Organization in 2016, this study aims at raising awareness as to the significant gaps between men and women in terms of entrepreneurship.

Analyzing primary indicators of gender inequality with regard to employment, such as gender segregation, glass ceiling effect, gap in wages, dual employment of women (family and work), gender stereotypes, gender-based harassment, and violence, CHUYKO OKSANA’s paper entitled “Gender Equality as a Precondition for Female Career Development” explores issues of gender equality in the light of gender inequality manifestation and its influence on female career opportunities. OKSANA suggests strategies of reducing gender in the job market, such as legal and gender-sensitive education, challenging gender stereotypes, developing personal expertise, implementing gender equality policy into various sectors.

Based on the analysis of the personal pages of women leader’s virtual conversation with subscribers, OKSANA SHCHOTKA’s article “Self-Presentation in Online Communication of Women-Winners of the TV Project “New Leaders of Ukraine” presents the findings of the study of online self-presentation of women leaders in social networks. SHCHOTKA argues that in women’s traditional leadership spheres, women are freer to build virtual identities, while in other areas they are rigidly tied to the norms of masculine leadership.

Applying an inductive approach, using an in-depth qualitative open-ended interview, LAMIAE AZZOUZI AND JIHANE BENMASSOUD’s paper “Gender and Development: the Case of Moroccan Women in Leadership Positions” explores women’s motivations, objectives, and aspiration towards leadership. The results of the study show that the factors contributing to the success of women leaders are social status, cultural differences, and a strong belief in better Morocco.

Finally, OLEKSANDR BOYKO’s and OLEKSANDR SAMOILENKO’s article “Influence of Gender Stereotypes on Personality’s Development” discusses the controversial and ambiguous nature of the influence of gender stereotypes on society and the process of personality development. On the one hand, they accumulate collective experience, ensure the integrity and stability of the social system, promote group identification of a personality, and simplify the decision-making process. On the other hand, they support gender inequality and discrimination in society, constrain the development of human potential, hindering the self-realization of individuals, and cause communication tensions between men and women.

KEYNOTE SPEAKER

RajaaNadifi

Le Genre et L'université au Maroc : Cas de L'uh2c

(Université Hassan II de Casablanca, Marroco)

La formation et la recherche sur le genre peuvent avoir des implications sur les modes d'organisation de la société. Pour comprendre le caractère crucial des études sur les femmes et le genre, il faut cerner le contexte général de la société marocaine.

Il semble fondamental de s'interroger sur ce qui se passe actuellement au Maroc où l'on enregistre des avancées, des acquis et un mouvement historique forts imprègnent la société, mais aussi des régressions de plus en plus marquées ces dernières années (Taux d'activité des femmes en baisse constante qu'a révélé le dernier recensement général de la population du HCP, *Enquête sur la prévalence de la violence* a montré la recrudescence de la violence à l'égard des femmes, etc.).

Le principe de l'égalité homme/femme est consacré par les cadres normatifs nationaux, au Maroc, y compris dans la loi suprême, la Constitution. De plus, les Objectifs de développement durable (ODD) stipulent clairement les droits de l'homme et la paix ne deviendront une réalité qu'une fois que les femmes et les hommes se verront offrir les mêmes droits, davantage de chances et de choix, sur un pied d'égalité, et qu'ils seront en mesure de vivre libres et dans la dignité.

Sur la question des femmes le sens commun a du mal à intégrer la valeur de l'égalité homme/femme. En l'absence des sciences humaines et sociales ou par leur affaiblissement, c'est le sens commun qui triomphe. Ce sont, selon Bourdieu, « les évidences immédiates et souvent illusoires » qui l'emportent sur l'argumentation. L'enquête IMAGES sur « les masculinités et l'égalité de genre réalisée dans la région Rabat-Salé- Kénitra en 2016¹ qui visait à mieux comprendre les causes profondes des inégalités entre les sexes. Les questions visaient notamment à évaluer les connaissances et les attitudes des hommes et des femmes concernant l'égalité entre les sexes.

Les résultats de l'enquête montrent que si l'on assiste à un véritable *empowerment* des femmes dans toutes les situations sociales, toutefois, pour différentes raisons, ni les hommes ni les

¹ Résultats de l'enquête IMAGES sur les hommes et l'égalité des sexes menés dans la région de Rabat-Salé-Kénitra. Résumé exécutif, février 2018. Ami-Promundo-ONUFEMMES. Auteurs de l'enquête qualitative: RajaaNadifi et GaëlleGillot

femmes ne sont encore en capacité d’assumer cette nouvelle donne ni de se positionner de façon claire. Un mouvement puissant, de fond, est en marche dans lequel, au-delà des structures sociales et institutionnelles, les hommes et les femmes produisent leur individualité et leurs relations grâce à des pratiques de libertés qui ne sont pas encore admises, mais témoignent d’un changement en profondeur des modèles. Les attitudes et les lois changent, les normes de genre bougent et chacun, homme et femme cherche sa place. Ceci entraîne pour beaucoup de personnes une forme de désarroi sur les rôles sociaux de chacun.

Ainsi même si depuis les années 2000 le Maroc a intégré le concept genre dans l’élaboration et la mise en œuvre des politiques publiques, même si la législation a été modifiée aussi pour lutter contre les inégalités entre les sexes et les discriminations, même si le genre est donc devenu un concept-clé au sein d’une société marocaine en forte mutation, les freins ou les résistances à l’égalité sont importants.

Une question importante se pose alors : L’égalité des sexes étant une priorité stratégique et politique, quelle production de savoir, quelles structures de recherche, et quelle formation des citoyens sont-elles nécessaires ? Autrement dit, quels doivent être le rôle et la responsabilité des universités dans ce domaine, au vu de l’impératif sociétal et normatif ? Par l’analyse des « études de genre » dans l’université au Maroc et, à titre d’exemple, à l’université Hassan 2 de Casablanca, nous verrons quelle place elles y occupent, la dynamique qu’elles ont permis, les obstacles et les freins qu’elles rencontrent et les politiques et les stratégies qu’il s’impose à l’université d’adopter par vocation même. Sachant que sa responsabilité sociétale se traduit par l’intégration de toutes les préoccupations culturelles, socio-économiques et environnementales dans les activités de l’université et ses relations avec les composantes du territoire et de la société et son inscription dans la démarche de développement durable.

I Les études de genre au Maroc

Etat des lieux

Quel que soit le domaine, une société qui veut se construire comme démocratie doit s’appuyer sur un savoir qui lui permet de prendre des décisions et d’accompagner les processus sociaux en toute connaissance de cause. Pour penser de façon novatrice la politique de la santé, la politique économique, la politique de l’éducation, pour prévenir les distorsions possibles de la société, une compréhension préalable de la manière dont les rapports de sexe se construisent et se reproduisent est nécessaire.

Autant dire que l'université n'a pas d'autres choix que de s'impliquer dans le monde qui l'entoure. Cependant, a-t-elle les moyens matériels et humains pour le faire ? Jusqu'à quel point s'est-elle impliquée et comment ? Qu'a-t-elle déjà entrepris et comment ?

La recherche sur le genre au Maroc reste encore peu visible et fragile, alors qu'elle possède de grandes compétences et que des publications et des événements scientifiques de très bonne facture existent. Son renforcement, sa structuration et son institutionnalisation apparaissent comme cruciaux... La question aussi qui se pose, avec acuité, est de savoir quels efforts il faut déployer dans le milieu de la recherche pour cela et resserrer le lien recherches/politiques publiques.

C'est dans cet esprit et après ce premier constat que l'Université Hassan 2 de Casablanca², en collaboration étroite avec l'UNESCO³ et l'IRD⁴, s'est lancée dans l'analyse de la situation de la formation et la recherche sur le genre au Maroc. L'objectif de ces états des lieux a été de faire, dans un premier temps, le point sur l'existant en matière de recherches et formations dans le domaine du genre ; car ce n'est que sur la base d'une connaissance exacte de ce qui a été accompli à l'université, que pouvaient être formulées des propositions pour l'avenir et orienter les recherches et la formation qui puissent répondre à la demande sociale.

Le premier objectif de l'état des lieux fut de dresser un panorama le plus exhaustif possible des filières de formation, cours, modules ou diplômes consacrés à l'étude du genre et de constituer un répertoire des équipes, groupes, laboratoire ayant au moins un axe de recherche affiché et actif sur le genre. Cette première étape de recensement a permis la constitution d'une base de données⁵. Les premiers groupes de recherche sur les femmes ont été créés à partir de la fin des années 70 à l'initiative de Fatima Mernissi⁶. Il a fallu attendre le début des années 90 pour voir apparaître de nouvelles structures de recherche, une vingtaine⁷ dont seules une douzaine fonctionne à ce jour. Elles sont renforcées par des structures de formation sur les femmes et le genre à partir de 2006 avec notamment le premier Master, Genre, Sociétés et Cultures. Cette mutation d'études sur les

² En particulier l'Equipe de recherche *Education Territoire Culture et Genre* et l'équipe pédagogique du Master *Genre Sociétés et Cultures* structures toutes deux coordonnées par Rajaa Nadifi de la FLSH Aïn Chock

³ Représenté par M. Phinith Chanthalangsy, responsable du Secteur des Sciences Sociales et Humaines à Rabat

⁴ Représenté par Gaëlle Gillot (Paris 1- IEDS)

⁵ Pour élus de détails, consulter la publication *Le genre et l'université au Maroc. Etat des lieux, enjeux et perspectives*, ssdir. Gaëlle Gillot et Rajaa Nadifi, Publication de l'UNESCO et l'UH2C, Rabat, 2018, pp.23-24

⁶ A l'époque F. Mernissi parlait de la "chaînée créatrice", un groupe de chercheur-e-s qui ont un leurs compétences pour travailler ensemble sur la question des femmes

⁷ *Le genre et l'université au Maroc*, p.29

femmes en études sur le genre correspond à celle constatée au niveau international⁸. Entre 2000 et 2010, 7 formations ont été créées, mais depuis 2010, aucune autre n’a été créée. Seuls 3 masters continuent d’accueillir des étudiant-e-s : le Master *Women’s and Gender Studies* (FLSH Dhar El Mehraz Fès, 2007) le Master *Genre et droits des femmes des deux rives de la Méditerranée* (FSJES de Tanger, 2008), et le Master *Genre, Sociétés et Cultures* (FLSH AïnChock Casablanca, 2006).

Le second objectif de l’état des lieux, en cours, est de recenser les thématiques de recherche et d’enseignement et de les analyser à l’aune des transformations de la société et de la législation marocaines. Ce travail reste très fastidieux en l’absence de fichier national des thèses⁹. Il a été demandé aux responsables des structures de formation et de recherche¹⁰ de participer à ce recensement.

Recensement de la FLSH AïnChock de Casablanca

Un recensement des mémoires et des thèses ayant traité, de 1985 à 2005, directement ou indirectement le genre¹¹, a débuté en 2011¹². Il a concerné les thèses en français et les mémoires de licence de plusieurs départements¹³. L’inventaire devrait être complété pour la période 2006-2018 et généralisé aux autres départements.

Les données quantitatives montrent que sur un total de 724 mémoires du département de LLF, 87 soit 12,7% traitent les thématiques du genre. Sur les 110 thèses répertoriées, seules 3 répondent aux critères retenus.

Au département de LLA, 73 mémoires sur 350 ont été répertoriés, soit 20,82 % (dont 21 portent la mention « genre »). Sur les 50 thèses, 2 portent sur le genre.

Au département d’EI, sur les 513 mémoires recensés, seuls 8 témoignent d’un intérêt sociologique (thèmes récurrents concentrés sur la vie des théologiens, leurs analyses et celles des textes coraniques). Sur les 96 thèses enregistrées, 5 thèses s’inscrivent dans l’orientation de l’inventaire, soit 5,20%.

⁸ *Le genre et l’université au Maroc*, ibid p.26

⁹ Il faudrait fréquenter les bibliothèques universitaires au niveau national

¹⁰ Lors de *Etats généraux de la formation et la recherche sur le genre au Maroc* qui ont eu lieu en avril 2015 à la FLSH Aïn Chock de Casablanca

¹¹ Ont été retenus aussi les travaux dans lesquels figurant les termes “femme”, “homme”, “fille”, “garçon”, “famille” et “sexualité”

¹² Mené sous la direction de Rajaa Nadifi par des étudiant-e-s du Master GSC : Leila. Benchouikh, Malika Mekouar, Toufik Souabni

¹³ Histoire, Langue et littérature anglaises (LLA), françaises (LLF), Etudes islamiques (EI), Histoire et Civilisation (HC).

En HC, absence de mémoires répertoriés sur les thématiques de genre. Néanmoins sur les 41 thèses enregistrées en HC, 14 d'entre elles, soit 34,14% renvoient à une ouverture du champ à des perspectives sociologiques et anthropologiques.

Un autre recensement¹⁴, celui des mémoires du Master GSC soutenus de 2008 à 2014, au nombre de 116, montre que 70% des lauréats sont des femmes contre 30% d'hommes. Mais le nombre d'hommes sélectionnés augmente chaque année. Actuellement, l'étude des thèmes récurrents dans les mémoires du Master GSC est en cours de finalisation dans le cadre d'une thèse¹⁵.

Enfin une étude¹⁶ visant à faire l'état des lieux du genre à l'UH2C, a été menée dans 6 établissements, depuis 2014, dans le cadre de cette même thèse et des activités de recherche des doctorants du Laboratoire GELM.

Ces différents recensements, permettent de dresser un premier état des lieux et plus encore donne un paysage exhaustif de la recherche et de la formation sur le genre au Maroc qui sera complété par la thèse en voie de finalisation, sur le genre à l'UH2C.

Dans le cadre d'un partenariat entre l'université Hassan 2 de Casablanca (FLSH AC) et l'IRD/UMR 201 Développement et sociétés, un ouvrage a été publié avec pour objectif de diffuser des travaux de recherche de qualité effectués dans le cadre des mémoires de Master. Ainsi, des articles de synthèse des mémoires sous la double signature de l'étudiant-e qui a réalisé la recherche et de son directeur-trice de mémoire ont été publiés. Ces travaux sont sélectionnés par les enseignant-e-s-chercheurs du Master *Genre, Sociétés et Cultures* qui constituent également le comité scientifique d'édition. La première publication d'une série est parue sous le titre : *La marche vers l'émancipation ? Travail et éducation des femmes au Maroc*¹⁷

Cette publication permet de valoriser et diffuser de nouvelles recherches qui gagneraient à être connues et reconnues et réalisées par les jeunes chercheurs du Master GSC et des doctorants. Un deuxième ouvrage est sous presse.

2- Les états généraux de la formation et de la recherche sur le genre au Maroc

Après cet état des lieux, les trois partenaires (UH2C, UNESCO et IRD) ont décidé (après consultation des acteurs concernés¹⁸) de convier à une grande rencontre qui a eu lieu à la FLSH

¹⁴ Menée sous la direction de RajaaNadifi, par les étudiantes : HananeToumi et IbtissamEttoumi

¹⁵ Celle d'ImaneEnnabili sous la direction de RajaaNadifi

¹⁶ *Le genre et l'université au Maroc*, ibid p.33

¹⁷ Sous la direction de Gaëlle Gillot et RajaaNadifi, Casablanca, Afrique Orient, 2018

¹⁸ Représentants universitaires de recherche et la formation en genre au niveau national, ministère de la solidarité, de la femme, de la famille et du développement social, le Haut Commissariat au Plan, les ONG international etc. se sont réunis en atelier à Rabat pour préparer les Etats généraux du genre.

AïnChock(où plusieurs structures de formation et de recherche en matière de genre sont en place)¹⁹, les *Etats généraux sur la formation et la recherche sur le genre au Maroc*. Il était vital de faire le point sur l'existant afin d'améliorer la réflexion en matière de genre, la mutualisation, de renforcer la crédibilité et la légitimité du concept dans les Sciences Humaines et Sociales et généraliser son usage dans la formation et la recherche. Cela devait se réaliser avec les autres structures de recherche et de formation, au niveau national, lors d'un grand rassemblement, le premier du genre, sur le genre.

Organisées les 16-17 avril 2015, cette rencontre visait à (re)créer une dynamique autour de la recherche en harmonisant les dynamiques éparpillées qui existent bel et bien au Maroc. Il s'agissait aussi de dépasser un sentiment de piétinement au niveau de l'institutionnalisation qui, malgré la constitution et les diverses actions menées çà et là ne semblait pas déboucher sur une évolution tangible de l'acceptation du concept et de l'outil. Ses objectifs spécifiques étaient de créer des traits d'union, faire le bilan et pérenniser l'existant.

Pour la première fois au Maroc, l'ensemble des structures de recherche et l'ensemble des formations se sont retrouvées ensemble à réfléchir, à partager leurs connaissances et construire ensemble des outils pourvoyeurs de traits d'union non seulement entre les différents acteurs académiques de la recherche et des formations sur le genre au Maroc, mais aussi en faisant converger et en articulant les efforts des différents partenaires : universités, ministères, organismes nationaux, organismes internationaux, chercheurs, fondations, associations etc. dans leurs initiatives pour l'égalité.

La très forte mobilisation des différents acteurs à ces Etats Généraux a montré la vitalité des études de genre au Maroc et la volonté ainsi que la conscience de la nécessité de s'organiser pour affirmer l'utilité sociale de la recherche sur le genre dans un contexte où l'égalité des sexes est affichée comme priorité nationale, malgré les résistances.

Les travaux de ces EGG ont été publiés²⁰ par l'UNESCO et l'UH2C et rendent compte de la dynamique existante mais aussi des difficultés et entraves que connaissent ces structures de formation et de recherche.

Au cours des 4 ateliers organisés qui ont réuni un grand nombre de chercheurs de toutes les universités marocaines et quelques-uns des universités françaises, des cadres du ministère, des organismes internationaux, des associatifs. Voici ce qui s'en dégage de manière très succincte.

¹⁹Etudes doctorales, Equipes de recherchesur le genre, Laboratoire Genre, Master Genre

²⁰*Le genre et l'université au Maroc*, cité précédemment

Un premier Atelier consacré à la « formation » a posé la question du référentiel comme moyen de consolidation de la formation au genre et à l'égalité et soulevé les questions suivantes : Quels types de formation privilégier et comment insérer le genre dans la formation?

Au cours du deuxième Atelier « Recherche » la recherche sur le genre au Maroc a été présentée comme une des composantes des sciences humaines et sociales, partageant toutes les difficultés « structurelles » communes à l'activité de recherche dans les universités au Maroc.

Lors du troisième atelier sur le « Renforcement des partenariats » réunissant universités, ONG, organisations internationales et de coopération, a été l'occasion pour les différents acteurs de souligner le repli de l'université sur elle-même et son manque de communication avec la société civile, le monde politique et économique.

Le dernier atelier « Genre et développement »

Le genre, en tant que perspective transversale, a été perçu comme lié à l'ensemble des problématiques de développement. Et le rôle de l'université dans les questions de développement a été rappelé quant à l'élaboration de nouveaux concepts et l'analyse critique des actions de développement menées par des grandes ONG et dans processus social de développement en général.

Conclusions et recommandations des EGG : la « Déclaration commune », une feuille de route

De ces ateliers ont été dégagés les principales recommandations.

Une déclaration, issue des EGG, signée par tous les participants aux EGG, ainsi que le président de l'UH2C, son vice-président à la recherche, le doyen de la FLSH Ain Chock, le président de l'université Moulay Ismaïl, et par près de 200 participants à la rencontre. Elle a été présentée à la presse le 14 novembre 2015 à Casablanca, avec la participation du président du CNDH, des responsables universitaires, des chercheurs...

Nous reprenons ici les grandes recommandations de cette déclaration commune :

« La mise place de mesures concrètes et urgentes pour mettre fin à des fermetures/suppressions très regrettables de certaines formations... »

« Le déploiement d'efforts d'information, de sensibilisation et de reconnaissance en matière d'études sur le genre... »

« L'institutionnalisation et le cadrage du domaine... »

« L'élaboration d'un référentiel conceptuel commun... »

« La participation de l'université à la diffusion et à la mise en application de l'analyse genre... »

« L’ouverture de l’université sur son environnement social... »

« La création d’une structure nationale fédératrice... »

« La visibilisation et la reconnaissance de la littérature scientifique... »

« Le soutien des programmes de recherche sur des thématiques d’actualité sociale, politique et de développement... »

Le soutien à l’élaboration et à la diffusion de grilles de lecture et de grilles d’observation... »

Conclusion

Étant donnée la position privilégiée des universités dans le champ de la production intellectuelle et scientifique, le travail d’analyse et de proposition ne peut se faire sans elles. En la matière, les universités ont donc une forme de responsabilité sociale évidente.

Ceci semble être indispensable pour que les acteurs sociaux et politiques disposent de connaissances scientifiques solides, y compris sur le genre. Les études genre analysent en effet les rapports sociaux de sexe, de manière pluridisciplinaire et dynamique. Cet éclairage scientifique se fait d’autant plus nécessaire que les sociétés évoluent à grande vitesse, et connaissent des mutations profondes qui, si elles sont insuffisamment analysées et pensées, peuvent être la cause de nombreuses violences.

Comment impulser une politique nationale en faveur de l’égalité? Sachant que l’université est en souffrance et qu’on a un gouvernement peu favorable à l’égalité... mutualiser les efforts et travailler en réseau, collaborer scientifiquement au niveau national et international, mettre en place une structure de l’égalité, des inégalités femmes/hommes...? Valoriser les études, enquêtes (publications à mettre en avant) sur les questions les plus cruciales, les problèmes de l’heure... La feuille de route est toute tracée dans la déclaration commune²¹.

²¹ Voir la déclaration commune in *Le genre et l’université au Maroc*, p.33

GENDER AND EDUCATION

Tetiana Lisova

Gender Differences in Students' Aspiration and Their Attitudes to Mathematics and Sciences

(Nizhyn Mykola Gogol State University, NMGSU, Ukraine)

The paper analyzes the responses of 8-grade pupils from 10 countries (England, Sweden, Italy, Japan, Georgia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Hungary, Ukraine and the Russian Federation) with different levels of economic development and different educational traditions on the questions from TIMSS 2007 and 2011 Student Questionnaire, which relate to the aspirations of students to the desired level of education in the future and their attitude to mathematics and the natural sciences. Given the fact that STEM education is still not popular among women, special attention is paid to gender differences in the views of the eighth graders on their future education and to the identification of possible reasons for their choice.

In 2007, most (from 36% in Slovenia to 58% in Russia) students in all countries (except Sweden with 31% and England with 33%) answered for the question «How far in school do you expect to go?» that they plan to receive education at the level of bachelor and higher. In 2011, the popularity of higher education has decreased significantly. Here, on the contrary, in almost all countries (except Russia, Japan and Italy) the share of eighth graders who reported that they plan to get an education below the bachelor level was higher (from 43% in Sweden to 59% in Ukraine). The proportion of those who have not yet decided was declined significantly in all countries from 20% in 2007 to 12% in 2011 on average. At the same time, both in 2007 and in 2011, among students who plan to receive education at the bachelor's level and above, girls have dominated significantly in all countries, except Japan. The difference reached 21% in 2007 in Russia and Ukraine (Fig. 1). In all countries, except Japan, girls who plan to receive education at the bachelor's level and above more often agreed with the statement «I need to do well in mathematics to get into the university of my choice». But only in Japan, such girls in mathematics have higher scores (616) than boys (609,5). In all other countries, more girls than boys agree that they need mathematics to enter the university but have at the same time lower average score (regardless of what the overall results are for the country).

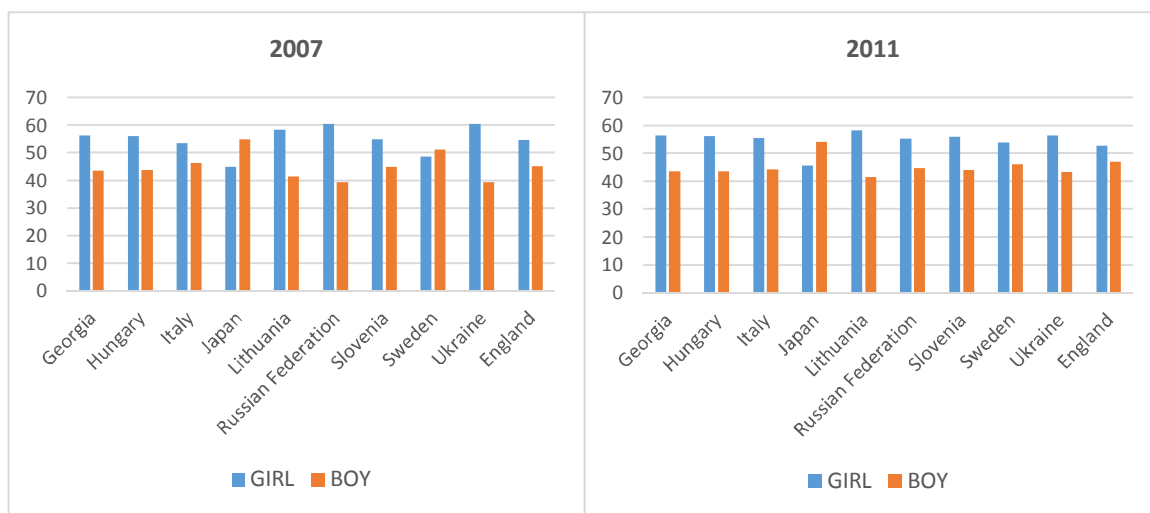


Fig.1.

To investigate how students feel about mathematics, TIMSS 2007 created an Index of Students’ Positive Affect Toward Mathematics (PATM), based on students’ responses to three statements about mathematics: «I enjoy learning mathematics», «Mathematics is boring», «I like mathematics». In countries with high levels of economic development (England, Sweden, Italy, Japan), the number of girls who have a high level of the index (i.e., have a positive attitude toward mathematics) is lower by almost 10% than boys. But these girls have a slightly higher average score. The positive attitude of girls to mathematics prevails in post-socialist countries.

In all countries, a larger proportion of girls than boys agree with the statement «I need to do well in biology to get into the university of my choice». Among students who plan to obtain a bachelor's degree or higher, girls have higher mean scores in biology in Georgia, Japan, and Sweden. The number of girls with high index B-PATS (Biology -Positive Affect Toward Sciences) is higher than that of boys in all countries, in addition, such girls have higher average scores(except Russia).In Russia, students with low values of index B-PATS have higher grades.

Only in Sweden in 2007, more boys than girls agreed with the statement «I need to do well in earth science to get into the university of my choice». Only in Georgia, among those who want to get a Bachelor level and above, girls had a higher average scores than boys in earth science. The share of girls with a high index E-PATS (Earth Science - Positive Affect Toward Sciences) is higher in Ukraine, Russia, Georgia. But only in Georgia, these girls have a higher average score. Here we do not compare the data of Japan and Italy, because geography and chemistry in these countries are not studied separately.

Girls do not like chemistry and physics in Sweden and Slovenia. For example, in Slovenia, the high index P-PATS (Physics - Positive Affect Toward Sciences) has 40% of girls and 60% of boys. But only in Georgia, girls who want to obtain a bachelor's degree or higher level, have higher

average scores in physics and chemistry. So, among the natural sciences, biology is the most «girly» subject.

Thus, in 2007 and 2011 a larger proportion of girls than boys had more ambitious plans in grade 8 for their further education (except Japan and Sweden). This trend has already emerged even in these countries in 2015. Girls more often agreed that mathematics and science would be required for them to enter the chosen university, but they had slightly less scores from all subjects (with the exception of Georgia). Although in most of the countries considered, girls more often showed a positive attitude toward mathematics and science, their average scores on these subjects was often lower than that of boys. This is similar to known TIMSS the Enjoyment-Achievement Paradox, when high scoring countries tend to have high levels of students who do not enjoy learning mathematics, while low scoring countries have larger proportions saying that they enjoy learning the subject. Only a positive attitude is not enough to achieve high results.

References

1. Mullis I.V.S., Martin M.O., and Loveless T. (2015). *20 Years of TIMSS: International Trends in Mathematics and Science Achievement, Curriculum, and Instruction*. Publishers: TIMSS & PIRLS International Study Center, Lynch School of Education, Boston College and IEA.
2. *ASPIRES: Young people's science and career aspirations, age 10–14* (final report, 2013). King's College London. Available at: <https://www.kcl.ac.uk/sspp/departments/education/research/aspires/ASPIRES-final-report-December-2013.pdf>

Iryna Lupan

Samples In Gender Studies

(Volodymyr Vynnychenko Central Ukraine State Pedagogical University, Ukraine)

Abstract

Sampling is the selection of a subset (a sample) of individuals from within a target population to estimate characteristics of the whole population, because the census is impossible, expensive or requires long time survey. However for gender studies there are some difficulties of using sampling: it is impossible to create a population frame, so frequently nonprobability sampling would be created.

The main objective of this article is to make a review of samples used in gender investigations. Often it may be nonprobability haphazard or fortunate sample, quota sample or expert sample. But in case of gender studies of educational sphere it is possible to design probability sample: stratified or cluster one- or multistage sample.

All examples of samples done in this article used in a master course "Sampling in Psychology, Sociology and Pedagogy" for students of Specialty "Educational Sciences" and Specialization "Educational Measurement. Gender Studies: Scientific aspect" in the Volodymyr Vynnychenko Central Ukraine state Pedagogical University (Ukraine).

Key words: probability sample, nonprobability sample, gender studies.

Introduction

Gender studies study gender and sexuality in the fields of literature and language, history and political science, sociology, psychology and anthropology, cinema and media studies, human development, law, medicine, and others.

Each of them has its own specific research methods, but many social sciences use sample surveys.

Sample survey is a survey that describes the following features:

- the survey refers to a finite set of elements called the target population;
- from the population a sample of elements is selected, that is, some subset of the population;
- in most surveys, the population elements form a selective basis or scheme, that is, there is a rule of matching between the elements of the population and the sample units;
- the value of the studied variable is measured for each sample item;

- on the results of measurements calculate estimates of the parameters of the target population.

Methods of sampling design can be probable and nonprobable. For probabilistic samples, one can estimate and describe the probability of selecting a particular element from the general population and estimate the confidence intervals for the obtained estimates of population parameters. However, the selection of elements should be based on a frame, for example, on the phone book, mailing list, etc. Unfortunately, such a frame does not always exist.

Nonprobable methods are used in cases where a probabilistic selection is impossible (due to lack of resources, lack of time, lack of sampling frame, refusal of respondents to participate in the survey or nonresponse) or the lack of necessity for its conduct. Nonprobability methods are based on individual judgments of the researcher on the inclusion of elements in the sample, so it does not allow to objectively assess the accuracy of the study results.

The main part

So in our course “Sampling in psychology, sociology and pedagogy” some examples of samples used in gender investigations are described.

In Gender impact survey ([GIS],2007) investigators hoped to conduct a full survey. However, not all employees have agreed to participate in the survey or have not completed it. Moreover, it was not possible to form a simple random sample. Therefore, researchers pointed out that the findings may not be suitable for the employees of the university.

For the survey of transgender people (Bauer et al., 2017), the sample was formed in two stages. At the first stage, as a spontaneous one: the questionnaires were sent through social networks (in particular Facebook); and on the second - from those who agreed to participate in the survey, a posteriori a quota sample was formed, taking into account demographic indicators - age, province of residence, language status, etc. The sample size was 588 and 311 persons, respectively, in the first and in the second stages.

But spontaneous (or haphazard) sample can be very large. For example in the National Transgender Discrimination Survey (Grant et al. 2011) the final size of the sample was more than 6 500 participants. Nevertheless, it was impossible to apply methods of probabilistic selection in this case, hence the sampling was still spontaneous.

Often, when it is not possible to make the sampling frame and objects of survey consists a very small part of the population, a snow-ball sample may be useful. In the investigation, described in Scheim et al. (2015) at the first stage only 16 people were surveyed. Each of these individuals three coupons was given to interview three additional participants and gift cards in case of

involving the same persons. Thus, in total, 433 people with an unconventional orientation were involved in the survey.

If studies are conducted in the economic sphere or in the field of education, then the sampling frame can be a list of enterprises or educational institutions, lists of teachers and students, etc. Consequently, probabilistic samples can be used.

For example, the study (Falahati et al., 2012) examined the impact of gender on the relationship between financial attitudes, financial socialization and secondary socialization subjects facing financial problems among students in Malaysian universities.

At the first stage, the list of all public and private universities in Malaysia was received. Then five public and five private universities were selected randomly. In each university 350 students were randomly selected from the general list. That is 3850 questionnaires were distributed, of which 2519 questionnaires (65%) were filled completely. To study the investigated effect from the original sample randomly 461 students were selected.

In the investigation of Matherly et al. (2017) available and stratified sample were combined. Researchers who studied attitudes toward higher education in male and female students and their parents (male and female) in the United Arab Emirates (OAU) sought to obtain a representative sample, but they were able to engage in the survey only universities that voluntarily agreed to participate in the study. In general, three state and two private universities have agreed to take part. Then, university administrators randomly selected 100 students. The survey should be done for these students and their parents. However, the final sample size was 461 sets (student, mother and father) or a total of 1383 questionnaires.

The most probabilistic sample was used in the investigation of Suleman et al. (2018). The purpose of the study was to compare the level of satisfaction with the work of heads of secondary schools (men and women) in one of the provinces of Pakistan.

The population of the survey was made by the heads of secondary schools. In the province, all government secondary schools for boys are headed by men, and all secondary schools for girls are headed by women. At the time of the study in the province there were 2108 state secondary schools. Accordingly, the number of heads of comprehensive educational institutions was 2108 people, of which 1386 were men and 722 women.

It was impossible to create a simple random sample for a number of reasons. Therefore, researchers applied a multi-stage sampling. In the first stage, 10 out of 25 districts were selected by simple random sampling. At the second stage, 60% of men's and 60% of women's secondary schools were selected from each district (cluster). In the third stage, 75% of male and 75% of

female school-heads were randomly selected from school samples. The final sample consisted of 402 heads of secondary schools, of which 260 men and 142 women. Nevertheless, researchers note that the results may differ from the results obtained in other areas.

Conclusion

Consequently, in gender studies more often non-probabilistic samples are used to detect and investigate certain phenomena, but probabilistic samples are also used, in particular, in gender studies in the field of education.

Referencics

1. Gender impact survey (2007). Interim Report Submitted by The Center for Gender and Development Studies The University of the West Indies. Retrieved from <https://www.mona.uwi.edu/managementreports/studiesandsurveys/stt-gender-impact-survey.pdf>
2. Bauer GR, Braimoh J, Scheim AI, Dharma C (2017) Transgender-inclusive measures of sex/gender for population surveys: Mixed-methods evaluation and recommendations. *PLoS ONE* 12(5): e0178043. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0178043>
3. Grant, Jaime M., Lisa A. Mottet, Justin Tanis, Jack Harrison, Jody L. Herman, and Mara Keisling (2011). Injustice at Every Turn: A Report of the National Transgender Discrimination Survey. Washington: National Center for Transgender Equality and National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. Retrieved from <https://transequality.org/issues/resources/national-transgender-discrimination-survey-full-report>
4. Scheim, A. I., & Bauer, G. R. (2015). Sex and Gender Diversity Among Transgender Persons in Ontario, Canada: Results From a Respondent-Driven Sampling Survey. *Journal of Sex Research*, 52(1), 1–14. <http://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2014.893553>
5. Falahati, L. & Paim, L. Hj. (2012) Experiencing financial problems among university students: An empirical study on the moderating effect of gender. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 27 (5), 315-330. doi:10.1108/17542411211252633
6. Laura L. Matherly, Sheikha Shamma bint Sultan bin Khalifa Al Nahyan & Nadia Amin (2017) An investigation of gender and generational differences in attitudes toward the importance of a college degree in the UAE. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 32 (8), 535-553. doi:10.1108/GM-01-2017-0015
7. Suleman, Q. & Hussain, I. (2018) Job Satisfaction among Secondary-School-Heads: A Gender Based-Comparative Study. *Education Sciences*, 8(1):28. doi:10.3390/educsci8010028

Souad Slaoui and Karima Belghiti

The Role of Gender Studies in Instilling Democracy and Gender Equality: The Case of Cultural Studies Master Students at Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah University

(Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, Morocco)

Abstract

Since gender equality is viewed as a significant component in the development process and the growth of any country, and since equality between women and men is an essential component for democracy, the main objective of the present paper is to investigate the extent to which the introduction of some gender courses in the Moroccan University can help inculcate the culture of democracy and gender equality among young university students. The paper equally aims to investigate the perceptions and attitudes of Cultural Studies MA students towards gender democracy and equality after being subjected to gender studies courses. The main hypothesis underlying this study suggests that the teaching of gender studies can raise awareness among Moroccan students whether males or females about democracy and gender equality. The Cultural Studies Master Students at Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah University are taken as a case study. The qualitative approach has been adopted whereby 10 MA students from the Master Programme mentioned, including First year and Second year Master students were interviewed. Added to this, the technique of observation has equally been utilized to elicit everyday life concrete experiences of teaching and dealing with young Master students at the aforementioned Master programme. The paper comes out to the conclusion that the sex and the level of education are very significant variables and factors in the construction of positive or negative attitudes towards gender studies and towards its role in promoting democracy and gender equality. The paper also comes to the conclusion that the concept of gender equality outside academia is not applicable in Moroccans' daily routine due to the patriarchal mindset deeply rooted in the Moroccan society. Hence, the paper alleges that gender equality must be studied in a more local context- especially, in traditional societies, which are characterized by sharply differentiated gender roles.

Key words: *Democracy; Gender Equality; Teaching Gender courses.*

Introduction

This paper aims to investigate the extent to which the teaching of different gender courses can help promote gender equality and democracy. The paper particularly targets Sidi Mohammed

Ben Abdellah Cultural Studies Master students, who have been exposed in a period of four semesters to different gender courses such as Gender and Development, Gender and religion, Gender and Diaspora, Women and Writing, Women’s Movement in Morocco and Gender and Media Analysis. The main objective of these courses is to promote gender equality and democracy in academia by stressing on the experiences and point of views of gender in relation to domains such as religion, diaspora, writing, media, and activism. This is, on the one hand, what these courses are meant for; on the other hand, the paper studies whether this objective of promoting gender equality finds its way inside students’ way of thinking and mentality. The paper argues that “the impacts of taking gender courses can be considered as a process which starts from the initial stage of becoming aware of the issue of gender to the stage of reconsidering one’s beliefs and others, through reconsidering one’s perceptions of the other sex up to the final stage of changing others’ beliefs and deconstructing stereotypes”(Slaoui & Belghiti, 2018). As such, gender courses are not only taught for the sake of teaching, they are a process with different stages that aim at deconstructing gender stereotypes. This deconstructionist approach is done through first raising awareness about the issue of gender inequity; then, reconsidering the gendered assumptions that a specific gender has towards the opposite gender to the stage of changing those assumptions and unraveling and debunking the gender stereotypes-thereby, promoting gender equality.

However, gender equality teaching is a reciprocal stage that involves not only students but also teachers. In the light of this idea, Llorent -Bedmar et. al (2017) argue that “While gender inequity is indubitably a highly important issue, its repercussion and effects among university teaching staff will be even more among students who are the future leaders of their country. For this reason, women in universities are a crucial tool for social change.” As such, gender equality is an essential component that should be taught in all universities not only for students but also teachers so as to eradicate gender inequality. Indubitably, women in universities as argued in the quote should be the agents of change for they are the transmitters of the concept of equality in education. Gender equality implies equal human rights, opportunities and obligations for both women and men. This indicates that both women and men must benefit from all kinds of human rights in the scope of achieving social justice. Equality should be achieved in different fields such as education, the work place, media, business, to mention but a few. In these different fields, all genders should be treated equally with no discriminatory practices nor stereotypical beliefs; this is what gender studies is about. That is to say, the promotion of equality and a social belief that all humans are created equal and should benefit from the rights and responsibilities that guarantee social justice and treat genders fairly with no discrimination or gender segregation. This is a first step towards

creating democracy and, consequently, universal peace in the world and towards promoting a culture of coexistence and tolerance.

The present paper is structured as follows: The first section provides definitions of some key concepts such as gender equality and democracy that lay the ground for the discussions in the sections to follow. The second section is concerned with the extent to which gender equality is achieved in Morocco. The third section has to do with the question whether gender equality has any role in achieving democracy in Morocco. The fourth one deals with how the teaching of gender courses help promoting gender equality and democracy.

Analysis

2.1. Theoretical Background

2.1.1. Gender Equality and Democracy

Gender equality and democracy are mutually dependent and closely intertwined which means that a democratic society is a society that works towards the empowerment of women who are often politically and economically marginalized and aspires to their inclusion in the democratic institutions. A democracy has also to ensure women full access to their citizenship rights which should allow them to have a say in their society and bring about changes and to reinforce women's agency as a core concern as Piccone (2017) asserts in his explanation of the correlation between gender and democracy:

Possible explanations behind the relationship between democracy and gender equality are wide-ranging. The most prominent view is that democratic systems tend to strengthen gender equality through increasing civic space for women's activism, expanding women's engagement in the political process through voting and or decreasing arbitrary constraints against women's political representation. Others, however, reverse the link, seeing gender equality as a driver of democratization through increased economic and political empowerment by a broader sector of society

Here we can also add from the above statement by Piccone that a democratic system is a system that includes women in the political representation be it either formal or informal form of politics without any restrictions or constraints and women have to be part of any democratization process which supposed to be gender-blind in order to succeed. Furthermore, democracy needs women if it is to be an inclusive and representative form the government which takes into account all citizens regardless of any difference otherwise it is certainly not a democracy at all. Most importantly, some societies tend to look at man and women in dichotomous way, which,

unfortunately, results in unequal gender relations which treats women as second-class citizens, incompetent and unequal individuals and thus excludes women from any form of participation.

For democracy to be set up, a state has to disallow any form of marginalization or discrimination on the basis of gender or race and treat all its citizens as free and equal citizens providing them with capabilities, equal opportunities and empowerment agency as Ruíz (2017) argues:

Democracy leads towards greater gender equality; one might wonder what the final outcome would resemble. This does not mean that one predicts a determinate future, but that one analyses a possible future scenario in which all the substantive inequalities between men and women are drastically reduced or eradicated completely.

It should also be noted that for a state to be democratic, it has to promote gender equality which is part and parcel of any democracy and endorse women’s inclusion and participation in society, politics and economy so we can have an equalitarian society where everyone is equal and has the right to aspire to the positions of power and pursue their interests. Furthermore, gender relations in democratic regimes should be equal excluding any forms of marginalization or subordination, which are often culturally and religiously reinforced and normalized.

In the light of all the above we can also add that democracy as an ideal that has to guarantee a kind of parity between genders and equal presence of both genders in politics which is one of the main sources of representation and decision-making as Ruiz and Marín (2008) assert “Democracy and equality require, nonetheless, that each gender have a minimum level of representation and, in fact, that they be comparably represented.”

The conclusion to be drawn from this section on gender and democracy is that gender equality is a prerequisite condition for democracy as women’s participation in politics is central to democratic development. The virtue of democracy should be determined by the political and economic equality between genders.

2.1.2. Gender Studies, Gender Equality and Democracy

Recent studies of gender and political representation emphasize the vital role that the cultural context plays in shaping democratic bodies. Interest in the democracy on the part of gender studies has been slim. In fact, democracy concerns a problem that has been identified as critical to contemporary gender studies. To a large extent, the growth in gender studies can be attributed to a natural diffusion of ideas within a scholarly community that focused on democratic theory and gender equality.

In accordance with gender studies, democracy and gender equality form a mutually reinforcing relationship in which higher levels of liberal democracy are necessary. Higher levels of gender equality are strongly correlated with a nation's relative state of peace, a healthier domestic security environment, and lower levels of aggression toward other states (Piccone, 2017). Similarly, strategies and efforts of this field aimed at achieving gender equality should emphasize more inclusive societies, including attention to such factors as race, age, ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation. The need of strategies prioritize policies designed to mainstream gender equality across the board are of crucial importance to emphasize democracy.

Within the context of education, democracy education has surely an essential role to balance gender issues. If properly taught, democratic principles and ideals would saturate the culture in such a way that gender dominance one way or the other would not be tolerated. Ideals of equal opportunity and share of teacher attention would come natural (Chilambo, 2007). For example, while students are thought to practice democratic ideals, it would be tremendously a strong witness of respect for the need of students' participation in class. Through participatory strategies, students learn to participate and accommodate dissenting views. Moreover, as they are given the opportunity for group work and debate, they will be able to voice their rights and contribute freely in the discussions. It is through such strategies that students experience human dignity, which does not discriminate on the basis of gender, age or intellectual capacity. They learn how to act, become responsible, and how to make informed decisions through training in decision-making skills. As a result, they will be able to clarify their values through value clarification activities.

Eventually, the political ground and the work place are also no exception for gender studies. Thus, it is encouraging to note that Gender studies aims to counteract gender inequalities in the world of work because one could not talk about democracy when half of a country's population did not participate in its work. In this essence, strategies for gender equity must create an enabling environment for equal participation of both men and women. Simultaneously, the equal participation of women and men in public affairs is one of the fundamental tenets of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). However, more than 20 years after the signing, with 165 ratifications by states and at the dawn of the millennium, women in all parts of the world continue to be largely marginalized and underrepresented in politics (op.cit). As a result, women's participation in politics on equal footing with men is still a challenge for democracy.

In this regard, much efforts in gender studies are made to work very hard to help achieve purposeful democracy education. Gender balanced political participation and representation is

essential for the reshape of the decision -making and priority setting that continues to be largely in the hands of men. The most prominent view is that democratic systems tend to strengthen gender equality through increasing civic space for women’s activism. There must be more quality education that promotes gender equality and prepares girls and women for a productive life. The use of quota system is felt to be an important instrument for breaking down barriers and furthering women’s political participation and integration.

In essence, Gender studies tend to explore power relations within gender systems. To this, gender equality is seen as a driver of democratization within increased economic and political empowerment by a broader sector of society drives cultural change. It promotes progressive liberal values, including democracy and gender equality (Maloutas, 2007). Reinforcing mechanism between democracy and gender equality recreates gender relations that are inherently dichotomous. Thus, it reshapes social categories of superior and inferior status. Inglehart et. al (2000) assert that modernization leads to cultural changes that produce both democracy and gender equality.

2.2. Research Design

In this study, it is assumed that the teaching of gender studies can raise awareness among Moroccan students whether males or females about democracy gender equality. Accordingly, the study attempts to answer the following research questions:

To what extent are Gender equality and democracy-achieved in Morocco?

Does Gender equality have any role in achieving democracy in Morocco?

How does the teaching of Gender Courses affect Gender Equality and Democracy ?

Cultural Studies Master Students at Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah University were the targeted population for this study. 10 MA students from the First year and Second year were randomly selected to participate in the study.

The research approach adopted for the study is the qualitative one. Data was collected using interviews with 10 Cultural Studies MA students who have been subject to gender courses throughout their two years of study. In addition to interviews, the technique of observation was equally used in order to elicit everyday life concrete experiences of teaching and dealing with young Master students at the aforementioned Master programme.

2.3. Results

2.3.1. Gender Equality in Morocco

The discussion about the extent to which gender equality in Morocco has been achieved was very controversial among the interviewees. No male or female interviewee denies the fact that Morocco has not achieved gender equality at all, yet very interesting variations have been observed,

which reflects the heterogeneity of the Moroccan society. The majority of interviewees agree that there is a certain percentage in the achievement of gender equality; no one of them denies the existence of gender equality in the Moroccan society, but most of them provide excuses and arguments for the non-existence of a genuine gender equality in Morocco. While one male interviewee claims that gender equality cannot be claimed to be fully achieved in all domains in Morocco, he at the same time expresses his aspiration that “*full achievement of gender equality is a long process that needs time, hard work and perseverance*”. On the opposite side, other four interviewees claim that there is a certain percentage in the achievement of gender equality in Morocco, but it is yet to be achieved. One male interviewee illustrates this saying that “*politics is a domain where gender equality has been achieved thanks to the positive discrimination of the Quota System and also human rights projects*”. This view does not seem to be approved by a female interviewee who argued that huge strides have been made in gender equality over the last years, but women's status is still lagging behind in many spheres especially in the cultural and political settings. She debunks the male interviewee's claim that gender equality has been achieved in the political domain because for her “*women's presence in politics [thanks to (sic)] to the quota system is inadequate*”. She says that

Women need to reach higher positions where they can have more influence and make decisions of great impact. Their presence should not be limited to fulfilling the quota or to show that there is gender equality in politics. Their presence should bear fruits and bring about change in Morocco.

For her, she conceives of the quota system as a form of discrimination on the grounds that women have to prove their credibility more than men. A view that is corroborated by another interviewee who reiterates this idea as she arrogates that the political sphere is still dominated by males and that women are not encouraged to be political leaders.

Moreover, this interviewee takes over that women resort to jobs where they feel at ease and not scrutinized by their male co-workers and not engaged in competition with men. Thus, society jobs and work positions are gendered, since we do have some positions where women cannot be trusted in, and some positions that men believe that women are too feminine to enroll in.

The same interviewee points out the field of entrepreneurship where she notices the absence of women. To illustrate, business women, in fact, face legislative challenges, and are often provided with limited access to capital through laws denying their rights. Therefore, women entrepreneurs find great difficulties in accessing credit. This is partially due to a lack of confidence, as well as a gender bias towards women.

In the fields of education and medicine, one female interviewee supports the idea that gender equality has been achieved to a great extent as she states that women participate in all domains, but she highlights women’s particular success in the aforementioned domains saying:

I think that gender equality in Morocco has a higher level of achievement since we find that women are part and partial of every domain now; since they are doctors, they are teachers, they are educators, they are part of every domain.

However, this respondent thinks that women still need to make extra efforts to access other domains, which are exclusive for males such as military forces.

Another male interviewee considers this issue as being problematic to judge. He even avoided answering either because he doesn’t know, or he does not want to fall into ideological issues. All his answers were based on what he has read during his gender courses, emphasizing how the discourses he had been reading give the impression that women are always suffering from problems.

It seems that though the interviewees are aware of a number of projects, reforms and strategies that were put forward in order to promote gender equality, this awareness remains theoretical .He knows about pioneers who defended women’s status and called for gender equality, like Dr. Asmae LAmrabet. He was introduced to her through his course on Gender and religion. Similarly, other interviewees gave the example of constitutional reforms, campaigns in social media, the quota system, Family Code, CEDAW, and the projects of several associations that work for the benefit of women, but as another interview notices that what he means by gender studies is not only reading previous literature of scholars who deal with gender issues, but also looking at our everyday life practices and examining our everyday life consuming behaviors.

In a nutshell, it can be concluded that Moroccan society has known progress as far as Gender equality is concerned as shown through a number of political, legislative reforms , international conventions cited by the last interviewee, but the extent to which those students view the concretization of gender equality remains a matter of controversy depending on the gender variable and the patriarchal mindset of Moroccan society that is deeply conservative despite the apparent openness to modernization and western waves.

Another interesting theme that cropped up while discussing the issue of gender equality has to do with whether the aforementioned reforms done for the sake of promoting gender equality serve men and women equally. Different discourses concerning this issue seem to crop up through the interviews conducted with the same MA Moroccan Cultural Studies students. On the one hand,

some interviewees consider these reforms as serving society as a whole regardless of gender (Feather 2017).

For this category of interviewees, women are not seen as individuals since their rights are usually perceived as family rights. Accordingly, women are serving their family, and their rights can only be associated and identified within their families.

As for another category of students interviewees, the projects and reforms should work for the benefit of both men and women to guarantee the rights for women and exhibit the duties of both. A third category of interviewees argues that these projects and reforms would most likely serve women as a priority since men are believed or assumed to face no gender based-issues, and their status is unequal to women. For this category of interviewees, they see that men have already their rights, they are the responsible for the family and are not in need of any rights. It is women who are subordinate and who are in need to be given their own rights.

A quite different view was revealed by a male interviewee who stresses on the idea that those reforms and projects should target women in rural areas like in Rif and Atlas Mountains more than women in urban areas because these women are suffering in silence and their voice is not heard.

By and large, this issue of gender equality in Morocco is still a debatable question depending on the way gender equality is perceived and the attitudes held towards this concept.

2.3.2. Democracy in Morocco

Before dealing with the role of gender equality and gender issues in achieving democracy, it is worth mentioning that there are many challenges facing genuine achievement of Democracy in Morocco.

The results of the study confirm that democracy in the Moroccan society encounters various obstacles that differ according to gender. For instance, 3 female interviewees claimed that gender segregation is the major challenges that affect the achievement of democracy. In fact, one of the female interviewees asserted saying: "I strongly believe that social stratification and gender segregation are the two key factors challenging the achievement of democracy in Morocco." Unlike female interviewees, 3 male interviewees provided other challenges such as corruption and the monopoly of powers. One male interviewee says that "the main challenge in my view are the centralization or the monopoly of all the significant powers in the hands of the king and his surroundings. That is, monarchy exercises a kind of monopoly over who rules in Morocco." However, 2 of the interviewees (one male and one female) reported social stratification as a major challenge that hinders the achievement of democracy in the Moroccan society. These findings represent two view points. Firstly, there are various pressures that threaten the democratic system.

In other words, Morocco is far away to be considered a democratic country. Second, females seem to be more concerned with gender segregation as a crucial influence that affects the process of democracy. This premise calls into question the process of gender equality, and it confirms the close cause-effect relationship between gender issues, gender equality and democracy and the role both gender issues and gender equality have in achieving democracy.

2.3.3. The Role of Gender Issues and Gender equality in Achieving Democracy in Morocco

Concerning the role of gender issues in achieving democracy, 6 interviewees, both males and females, reported that gender issues have an impact on the achievement of democracy. In contrast, 2 male interviewees claimed that gender issues do not have an influence in achieving democracy. These percentages assure that gender issues represent an inherent challenge to democracy. Interestingly, one female interviewee states that: “Gender issues are inherently influential in the achievement of democracy. Focusing on gender roles, activities and responsibilities assigned to men and women nullifies gender equality and democratic values” wherein a male interviewee reports that: “Equality should be given to both genders on the basis of expertise and professionalism.”

As for the role of gender equality in achieving democracy, the findings confirm that gender equality has a fundamental role in attaining democracy. Except for one male interviewee who reported that gender equality does not have any role in fostering democracy, four out of five interviewees indicated that gender equality, indeed, has an inherent role to make progress in terms of democracy. While a male interviewee says that: “I don’t think gender equality can have any role in achieving democracy since there are many societies around the world where women and men are enjoying the same rights, equal opportunities, but their regimes are not democratic,” one female respondent mentioned that: “Gender equality promotes equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of men and women. It is a developmental goal in its own. It is a critical factor for achieving democracy and sustainable development. In fact, societies need equal participation of men and women to initiate social change.” Similarly, another male respondent claims that: “gender equality can benefit the achievement of democracy or a successful democratic system by being fair and just to the population regardless of its genders.” In the broader context of societal transformations, opportunities are often limited based on individual criteria beyond gender; however, these results show that gender equality promotes a higher degree of democracy.

At this point, growing emphasis on gender equality seems to be a central component of the process of democratization. The interviews’ evidences support the conclusion that the process of gender equality drives social change which addresses and encourages equal opportunities of men

and women across all sectors of society, including economic participation and decision-making when the different behaviors, aspirations and needs of women and men are equally favored and valued. In brief, achieving the goal of shared-decision making between men and women would reflect the composition of society and strengthen the democratic processes of governance.

2.3.4. Gender Studies and the Promotion of Gender Equality and Democracy in Morocco

Gender Studies is an interdisciplinary field of research that dates back to the 60's. According to Caroline Beer (2009) the field of Gender Studies is responsible for raising the awareness of women about their rights and, hence, making them aware that no democracy is valid without their full integration in the whole societal fields. In this connection, Caroline Beers questions the validity of democracy before the involvement of women which means that there was never a democracy when women were subjugated. She also claims that the field of gender studies is responsible for raising the awareness of women about their rights and, hence, making them aware that no democracy is valid without their full integration in the whole societal fields. Gender studies helped women to understand the term democracy and then re-describe it to serve their agendas

The main focus of this section is to highlight the importance of gender studies in promoting gender equality and democracy among university students in general and among the Moroccan Cultural Studies Master Students in particular. Since 1999, which marked the succession to the throne by king Mohammed the sixth, Morocco started its democratization phase through the 2004 family code and the 2011 constitution, which was initialized with the late King Hassan the Second in the 1980's and 1990's. Yet, it still needs more time to reach democracy. Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah Ben Abdellah University was among the first universities in Morocco to democratize the academic field by launching almost the First Gender Studies Programme in Morocco, so called Undergraduate Research and Training Unit (referred to as URF), which produced the first PhD cohorts in Gender Studies in Morocco, and created the First Center for Studies and Research on Women (called CERF) in April 1997, by one of the Moroccan pioneer scholars Professor Fatima Sadiqi (Sadiqi 2018), along with Mohamed V University of Rabat who had the first Women Studies Master Programme in Morocco. Relying on data collected via interviews and observation this section focuses on the impact of teaching gender studies on promoting gender equality and democracy among students.

a. Males and Females Interest in Gender Studies

Concerning men and women's interest in gender studies, interviewees' responses express different gendered perspectives. Two male and one female interviewees arrogate that men will be

interested in gender studies to learn about the other gender and their difficulties and to create new strategies to behave with women as equal agents in the society. However, women, these interviewees further pointed out, would be interested in learning gender studies so as to be aware of the traditional gender roles dictated to them and fight and resist these roles. In this respect, a female interviewee stated that:

For women I think this will help them to be aware of the fact that they are not only made for cleaning, cooking and washing dishes, but they can do more with their lives, they can be good mothers and educators at the same time.

The other interviewees argued that men and women would be interested in learning gender courses to understand and respect each other and thus boost gender equality.

When asked about who would be in favor or not in favor of teaching gender courses, one interviewee stated :

Yeah actually I would say that progressive people who aspire for change will definitely be for teaching gender but people who feel the need to safeguard their interest in a male favored hegemony will be against, but here we should not over generalize

According to his answer, the interviewee divided people into those having progressive and regressive mindsets and mentalities, but he stressed the fact that such division is not representative of the Moroccan population because it is more complex than this simplistic division. The other interviewees indicate that both genders would be in favor for teaching gender because it is beneficial for both men and women as they can both profit from gender equality courses.

With regard to the introduction of gender courses at an early age, the interviewees’ answers were contradictory because four out of six interviewees were for the introduction of gender course at an early age while one male interviewee was against the early introduction of gender courses arguing that “we should preserve the innocence of childhood”. This argument implies that gender courses would harm the innocence of children. He then suggests that the convenient time is when they reach a postgraduate level since at this time they start to develop a kind of critical thinking. As such, children –according to this interviewee- at an early age do not have the critical tools whereby they would analyze gendered discourses. The other participants, who are for teaching gender courses at an early age, support their allegation by asserting that students’ mentality is fresh and can easily grasp gendered concepts. Others state that the earlier gender courses are implemented in the teaching curriculums, the better it will be. An interviewee supports this idea saying:

Age is a crucial factor when it comes to education and shaping a person's character and personality. Otherwise, it will be too late to educate them about gender equality, since they will already have other beliefs and ideologies about it.

This interviewee is self-aware of the gender roles that society teaches at an early age to children from the day they are born. She tries to come up with a new approach to fight those gender roles through an early age education. As to the level that would be more adequate to introduce gender courses, three females out of six participants choose primary school. A female participant defended her choice by asserting that it is a great idea to include gender equality as a basic course from primary schools; this way young students would be able to learn how to respect each other; hence, boosting gender equality.

Another female interviewee emphasizes that education starts even before kids go to school. That is to say, gender education should start from home where parents lay down the basics of gender equality so that when kids are introduced to this concept at school, it will not appear to them as being strange. For example, the vocabulary and the topic should be adapted to their age and level, insists this interviewee. Along the same lines, the third female interviewee thinks that introducing gender courses at an early age (i.e. primary school) is important because children are still "in the process of developing and formulating their personalities", which will give us a generation whose individuals do not discriminate each other.

One male interviewee chose middle school because he thinks that the adequate level to introduce gender courses is middle school, and that student would be mature enough to get a grasp on gender equality, and it will still be early to mold their comprehension around the matter. Another interviewee did not specify the level, but he only accentuated on the early age teaching of gender and early implementation of gender teaching in schools. He equally pointed out that education should not try to convince the students but teach them how to think, introduce new perspectives and ideas, and let them be creative by asking questions. One final interviewee chose the postgraduate level as the convenient time since for him at this time students start to develop critical thinking.

c. Promoting Gender Equality through Teaching Gender Courses

All the interviewees' answers unanimously agree on the importance of gender course for achieving gender equality. Teaching gender is considered by our interviewees an important source for eradicating gender stereotypes and promoting gender equality. All the interviewees expressed their favorable opinions regarding teaching gender because they claim that it is a discipline that will help in understanding gender equality, benefiting from it and sensitizing people about its importance. Teaching gender courses would also tackle gender issues and spread the cultural

awareness of equality. Such awareness can only be achieved through teaching and engraving values that are based on justice, freedom, and equal treatment between genders.

d. Promoting Democracy through Teaching Gender Courses

As far as this issue of promoting Democracy through Teaching Gender course, it has been observed that 6 out of 10 students stated that different courses on gender in relation to religion, Diaspora, Media and human rights have all analyzed and discussed the challenges and issues that may influence directly or indirectly the process of democracy. Accordingly, one female interviewee said:

I have learnt that democracy is described as self-government of people...it can be said that democracy is directly associated with human rights because human rights are all about the basic principles of democracy. Teaching gender issues definitely aim to protect and improve students' personality and value in all aspects. In all, democracy is the concretized form of freedom.

However, unlike the elicited positive relationship between gender studies and gender equality, the findings revealed that the interviewees are not convinced that Gender studies would really install democracy in Morocco; they argue that democracy is an ongoing process that needs time, perseverance, and resilience to be genuinely implemented. They also argue that the problem in Morocco concerning democracy is the educational system, and that we always read and study things, but we never practice them. Moreover, -according to them -nothing will change in Morocco if dictatorship and injustice are not challenged as being among the reasons why gender equality does not exist in the Moroccan society. For the interviewees, we cannot say that MA courses on gender studies can help increase democracy in Morocco because democracy needs serious determinations and political activism to be enacted; we should move to the practical stage of democracy and not stay restricted to theories in academia. One male interviewee for whom Gender courses do not have a role in promoting democracy stressed that saying:

When I was an MA I do not think we had any course discussing the relationship between gender issues and democracy, yet in general as I said before, political issues like democracy cannot be easily realized through such courses and the like, but need a serious political will and a determined vision for the future. Also, foreign monopoly and the intervention of the ex-colonized world hinder any real attempts to achieve democracy. The real question is not when or how shall we be democratic or are we going to be democratic, the question for me is ‘is the west ready to have democratic societies in our countries’. I think the question of democracy is a very complex one, and has many nuances that make it necessary to invoke many historical, geopolitical, economic and cultural factors that bear on its meaning and achievement.

Such opinions, however, do not undermine the role gender studies can have in increasing students' consciousness about different issues in the world and in increasing awareness towards social justice and human rights- both fundamental for achieving democracy. For instance, 9 interviewees claim that courses on Gender studies can have a positive impact on the future generation in Morocco because Gender studies can help improve the values and beliefs of all students.

e. The Impacts of Studying Gender Courses

Gender courses were found to generally have a strong impact on students. One female interviewee asserted that studying about gender will have a different impact on each gender as women will be more influenced by it; studying gender courses will give them more power to integrate into more domains and become more successful in their lives since they will assume that they have the same power as men, and they can have the same jobs men have. For men, she thinks this will be beneficial in the sense that they can cooperate with women in order to participate in the development of our society. However, a female and a male interviewee assume that the impact of studying gender courses would be similar as it is beneficial for them both. This actually can be illustrated through the interviewee's answer when she states that:

When women are studying about gender studies, they would know about the basis of equality between men and women and the same goes for men; hence, they would learn to get to know women's traits and men's traits, so through this kind of thought they would try to understand each other. We wouldn't say a total understanding of one another but at least they would be able to accept each other's flaws and strengths, and this would make them understand more about how they perform gender roles and also to introduce themselves to new gender roles, that are specified to men and the same for women and also they would know about gender issues that they might not notice.

Consequently, for this interviewee, it is of paramount importance to study gender courses given the fact that they put emphasis on gender issues and help students from different genders to understand each other, and to reflect on the gender differences, norms and roles that were set by society.

Another impact of gender courses is unveiling the unconscious patriarchal mindset, which manifests in several aspects of gender equality, like contesting and changing the perception of women within this traditional society and preventing violence and discrimination against them too. For instance, one female interviewee thinks that the students' mindsets are highly affected because gender courses change the preset stereotypes bestowed upon women. Moreover the mindset of a person can, to an extent, partly start distinguishing between the real and natural behaviors and the

patriarchal society's expectations. That is to say, that gender studies, have the power to alter both men and women's understanding of the treatment of one gender to another.

When asked about whether gender courses affect males and females in a similar way, female and male interviewees reported different opinions. A male interviewee claims that women would learn more than men because of their lived experiences; however, since men are not experiencing discrimination they will learn less. According to him, we need men as well to learn so as to achieve gender peace. Another female participant stressed the idea that the impact would be different saying:

Males and females are already different to begin with. Their situation, attitude towards gender, mindset and interests are very different. So, it would only be fair to say that the way gender courses impact women would be different as well. The impact might even vary from one person to another despite having the same gender. Each individual has her/his own perception and understanding of things.

For this interviewee's answer, it is clear that one's experience influences one's perceptions. Thus, a person's perception and attitude towards studying gender courses can only be understood in relation to his/ her mindset and ideologies; However, it can be said that studying gender courses might cause one's gender to alter his/her path to accommodate the perceptions of others. The way in which people perceive the world also affects their general emotional state. So, it is not a female's trait rather it is a general trait. Another male interviewee stressed the fact the people are different in general regardless of their gender, for he assumes that

[...] even people who are from the same gender are different from each other... so I think that it is better to say that people in general, with disregard of gender might be impacted differently[by gender courses]”

3. Conclusion and Implications

The main objective of the paper was to investigate the extent to which the introduction of some gender courses in the Moroccan University can help inculcate the culture of democracy and gender equality among young university students. The paper equally aimed at investigating the perceptions and attitudes of Cultural Studies MA students towards gender equality and democracy after being subjected to gender studies courses, viz., Gender and religion, women in Diaspora, and Gender and development (during their two year Master studies 2015-2017 and 2016-2018) and how the teaching of these courses can promote gender equality and democracy.

One of the major findings this paper has reached is the extent to which gender courses have made students question some beliefs and assumptions linked to gender equality and democracy that

were taken for granted for them prior to taking those gender courses. These findings confirmed the hypothesis underlying the study and which suggested that the teaching of gender courses to Moroccan Cultural students can raise both female and male students' awareness of gender equality and democracy. One conclusion that this paper has come out to is the fact that the two concepts – gender equality and democracy—are closely interconnected as gender equality can positively affect the success of a democratic transition. Another conclusion that can be induced from the paper is the fact that although the concept of gender equality is to a great extent understood by students, -outside academia- this concept is not applicable in Moroccans' daily routine due to the patriarchal mindset deeply rooted. Hence, the paper calls for the study of gender equality in a more local context—especially, in traditional societies which are characterized by sharply differentiated gender roles. The paper also calls for the Moroccan government and its officials to take gender issues and gender equality seriously in their resolutions for a genuine democratic endeavor away from corruption and self-serving tendencies, which will make the impacts of teaching gender courses extend outside the realm of academia and reach our everyday life in the Moroccan society.

References

1. Ginger, F. 2017. Women's Learning Partnership: Advocacy Based Research on Family Law Reform to Challenge Gender-Based Violence: Moroccan Case Study. Moroccan Feminists: The Innovators and Drivers behind the Push to Equality: Accomplishments, Shortcomings, and Future Priorities. University of Kansas. (Unpublished PhD Dissertation).
2. Inglehart, R and Pippa, N. 2000. The developmental theory of the gender gap: Women's and men's voting behavior in global perspective. *International Political Science Review* 21 (4): 441–462
3. Maloutas, De Maro P. 2007. *The Gender of Democracy: Citizenship and Gendered Subjectivity*. London: Routledge.
4. Llorent-Bedmar, V., Llorent-Vaquero, M., & Navarro-Granados, M. 2017. Towards Gender Equality in Moroccan Universities: Female University Teachers from a Gender Perspective. *Women's Studies International Forum* Volume 64, September 2017, Pp. 34-40.
5. N Chilambo, M. 2007. Democracy and Gender Issues. In *Learning Democracy- A Resource Book, Chapter 10*, pp. 163-169. [Ille-et-Vilaine](#): Montfort Media.
6. Ruiz, R., & Rubio, M. 2008. The Gender of Representation: On Democracy, Equality, and Parity. *I•CON*, 6(2) pp. 287–316 doi:10.1093/icon/mon007. Retrieved from:
7. academic.oup.com/icon/article-abstract/6/2/287/737053 on 21 September 2018
8. Ruíz, Felipe J. 2013. Power, Gender and Democracy: From Domination to Gender Equality. *Sección Derechos Humanos y Derecho Internacional Humanitario*. 11 (12), Pp. 107-125.
9. Sadiqi, F. 2018. The Role of Academia in Promoting Gender and Women's Rights Issues in the Arab World and Southern and Central Europe. Spain: European Institute of the Mediterranean.
10. Slaoui, S, & Belghiti, K. 2018. Promoting Gender Equality in Moroccan Educational Institutions: Reality or Illusion? *KULTŪRA IR VISUOMENĖ. Socialinių tyrimų žurnalas*. 9 (1), pp. 31-49.
11. Piccone, T. 2017. *Democracy, Gender Equality and Security*. Washington D.C: The Brookings Institution.

Hayat Naciri

Challenges Faced by Sultan Moulay Slimane University Students: A Gender Perspective

(University Sultane Moulay Slimane, Beni Mellal, Morocco)

The present study is intended to identify the challenges faced by university students. For the purpose of the study, the data were collected through a questionnaire that was designed and distributed to a sample of randomly selected 200 students from different departments of Sultan Moulay Slimane University during 2017/ 2018 educational year. The findings indicated that the challenges faced by the students were classified into four main categories: academic, educational, economic, and psychological problems of a very large degree. The students’ attitudes about the problems are investigated according to the variable of gender. In this regards, some vital coping strategies are recommended to be able to effectively manage these challenges and improve the quality of education.

Keywords: university, university students, challenges, academic problems, educational problems, social problems, psychological problems.

Introduction

The universities are perceived as change leader in the modern world while they play a crucial role in the development of a country. They are supposed to be the home of policy advice and guidance for the political, social and economic progress. However, even though universities are considered as excellent centers for education, some students are unable to obtain its full benefits due to various reasons (Furieux, 1961). Several educationists and sociologists pointed out that diverse student problems severely affect their learning process (Arline & Regina, 2004). Within university life, students of today are faced with many pressures and challenges, many actually suffer from both health and emotional issues (Ross, Niebling, & Heckert, 1999; Townsend et al., 2013), while others have too much pressure in achieving academic success (Staley, 2009). Some worry because of their low self-esteem and financial problems (Crocker & Luhtanen, 2003), while others are afraid that they cannot reach their study goals (Malpass, O’Neil, & Hovevar, 1999). It can be said that the complexity of the problems students face nowadays is but increasing.

Going from a familiar environment like high school to the new atmosphere of college poses a lot of striking challenges for students around the world. It is a movement that assimilates a great deal of stress and challenge. These problems students encounter have a negative effect on their performance. They can be related to the transition process, educational complications, limited

financial support and emotional conflicts. Although some students are able to experience transition as a challenge and personal growth, other students are overwhelmed by the changes and experience emotional maladjustment and depression.

This study, then, is conducted to explore the major issues and problems in higher education in the perspective of students of Sultan Moulay Slimane University, Beni Mellal, Morocco. The findings of study may help the management of university to focus on identified areas, upgrade its processes and meet the requirements of its students.

1. Literature review

University is known to bring about emotional issues that represent obstacles in the student's life while affecting their academic performance. The literature on student learning problems shows that motivational and skill deficits make reading, study, and other coursework effortful and frustrating and those students often give these activities lower priority as a result. By referring to Gillani (2000) it is concluded that constructivist-inspired interventions emphasize re-examining student-centered choices in teaching and learning that "place students' needs at the heart of the design process and take their backgrounds into consideration".

Universities as the highest educational and research institutions have been serving humanity at universal scale as centers where every kind of material and spiritual problems are examined and investigated at the highest level and obtained finding are transferred again through teaching and publication (ortas, 2002). The main functions which universities are supposed to carry out have been listed as follows: 1. Carrying out scientific research studies, 2. Producing solutions to the problems of humanity and a country, 3. Training the human force which a country needs, 4. Teaching information, skills, emotions and intuitions which they obtain to other people, making publications, 5. Setting examples in every area (Sonmez, 2003).

Using Maslow's need hierarchy, some writers have well described that the needs from the lowest level to the highest and shows how each need ought to be met before the next higher need and thereby it is emphasized that the lowest level of needs i.e. physical needs, are highly important because without fulfilling them an individual cannot go ahead (Arnold & Feldman, 1986). Therefore, it is necessary to provide basic needs for better learning at the university. As Maslow mentioned, without having sufficient basic needs, university students cannot achieve higher education goals.

2. Objectives of the Study

The purpose of this paper is to identify undergraduate students' perspectives for the encountered challenges at the university, and to compare the difficulties experienced by the female

students to their male counterparts at Sultan Moulay Slimane University, Beni Mellal, Morocco. This study provides an opportunity for university professors, administrators, and policymakers to gain insight into the challenges that threaten the successful completion of university female and male students. For the reasons provided, this article makes a compelling contribution to the literature.

3. Significance of the Study

The word ‘problem’ is defined as an undesirable state in the society or something perplexes or disturbs an individual; a constant dissatisfaction nibbles at one’s peace of mind until one can locate precisely the source of the trouble and find some means of solving it (Deobold:1978).

This study aims at shedding the light on the university students’ problems. These latter could affect their overall learning development. The significance of the study stems from the fact that studying these problems thoroughly is essential because these students would participate in determining the future of the coming generation. Therefore, the results of this study will bring to the attention of the authorities of the university the main problems facing undergraduate students and also help in identifying those problems that are peculiar to only male or female students and those common to both sexes. The results will, therefore, help the university authority in taking significant steps and suggesting lasting solutions to the problems identified and ranked high by the students. The finding will also help students to have a better understanding of the reasons and sources of their problems, confront realistically these problems, and evolve more pragmatic ways of dealing with these problems. Hence, it is hoped that the current study is able to provide various important implications not only to the academic community, but for the society as well. Another important reason for the significance of the study is that it is regarded as an area that needs further research.

4. Research Method

This study covers a stratified random sample of Moroccan first, second and third year university students from different departments of humanities and social sciences. The study adopted a qualitative approach to collect and analyze data of challenges faced by undergraduate students at Sultan Moulay Slimane University. In this study, open-ended questions are used in the questionnaire. The sample population comprised 200 undergraduate students enrolled in different departments during 2017/2018 academic year to investigate into problems that university youth are faced with. In the study, the students’ points of views about problems are analyzed according to the variables of gender. In this context, of the selected students, 50% were female, and 50% were male students.

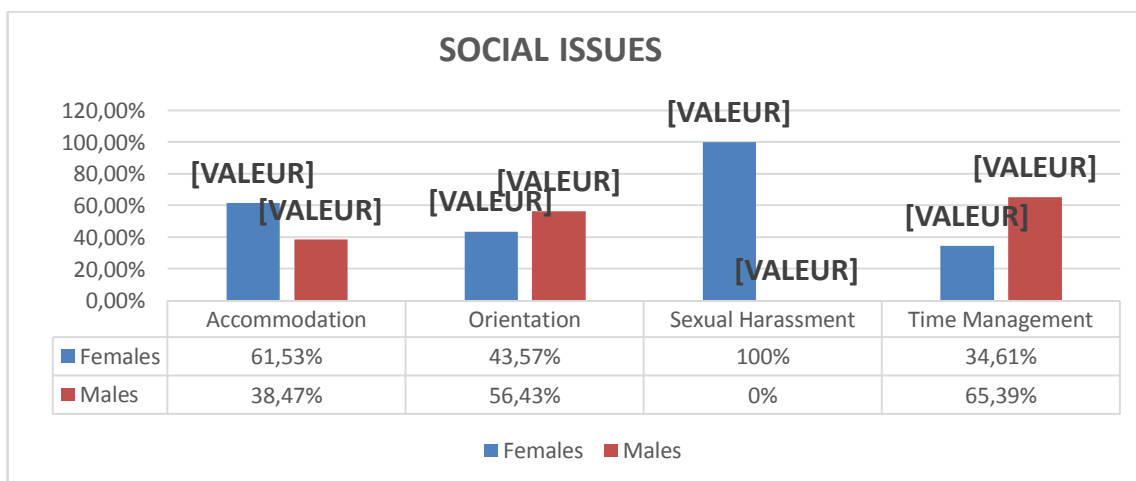
The questions were simple and the details provided by the respondents were confidential, this led to having sincere opinions from the students. However, there were factors that limited the research; namely, the use of a single site, Sultan Moulay Slimane University, which results in findings that may not be representative of all students. And only a number of 200 respondents of both sexes were used. The study was conducted in only one area/region of Beni Mellal so generalizability of results is limited. It is recommended that future research studies should be conducted with miscellaneous sample (other regions) to increase the credibility of the results of the study. Valuable information was obtained, but at the same time it was less accurate.

5. Analysis of Data

Most of the problems identified are conspicuous in the students. Lack of understanding of learning styles and mismatch between teaching methods and learning styles is an evident factor. Absence of proper counseling and guidance, lack of goal oriented learning process, financial problems, lack of enough knowledge among students about educational rules are the most serious issues expressed by the students. These students saw their major life problems revolving mainly around their university.

The answers provided by the respondents indicated that there are five main common categories of challenges faced by students at the university; namely, social, educational, academic, personal and financial.

I.Social Issues



I.1. Accommodation

An important problem identified by 117 students as affecting their achievements is the problem of accommodation. Accommodation, thus, is the first problem encountered by students leaving their villages and moving to the city to get higher education. A great majority of university youth are left no choice but to leave their families to get education. However, in recent years, due to

the increase observed in the number of university students, yet not parallel to this, student dormitories having fallen short of meeting needs make the problem of accommodation more serious for university students (kaya et al, 2005). Similarly, since Sultan Moulay Slimane University does not have adequate accommodation facilities for all its student intakes, students have to find private accommodation closer to their university. However, a large number of students are unable to find suitable accommodation due to economic problems and other reasons.

I.2. Time Management

50% of students pointed out that lack of time management is one of their problems in the questionnaire. Even though this problem was raised by not working students, however, it is more critical among part-time or full-time working students. The latter stated the biggest challenge they encounter was to strike a balance between coursework and their work.

I.3. Orientation

45% of students complain about adjustment to university life and vague uneasiness about the program. And as indicated in the chart, female students represent the majority of those who are affected by the lack of orientation because of shyness and dependence on other family members in their daily life before. In the early days of the university period when students leave their homes and lives which they have been leading and start a different life, students undergo a process of “adjustment”. During this process, to be able to help them, it is important and necessary to provide them with orientation (adjustment training) services. Orientation services will contribute to their getting information about possibilities and services provided by university and also about university principles and rules. It is guidance services which are to help university students to solve these problems (Kutlu, 2004). As Krause emphasizes

[s]tudents from disadvantaged backgrounds typically lack the social and cultural capital required to 'talk the talk' and 'walk the walk' at university ... They lack the social networks which provide avenues for participating in casual out-of-class conversations. (2005: 9)

Therefore, orientation meetings must be held for first year students explaining to them the rules and regulations for the institutions of university and all other information regarding the system of giving lectures, the student’s role in the class, the system of examination, the way of evaluation, facilities available and resources provided.

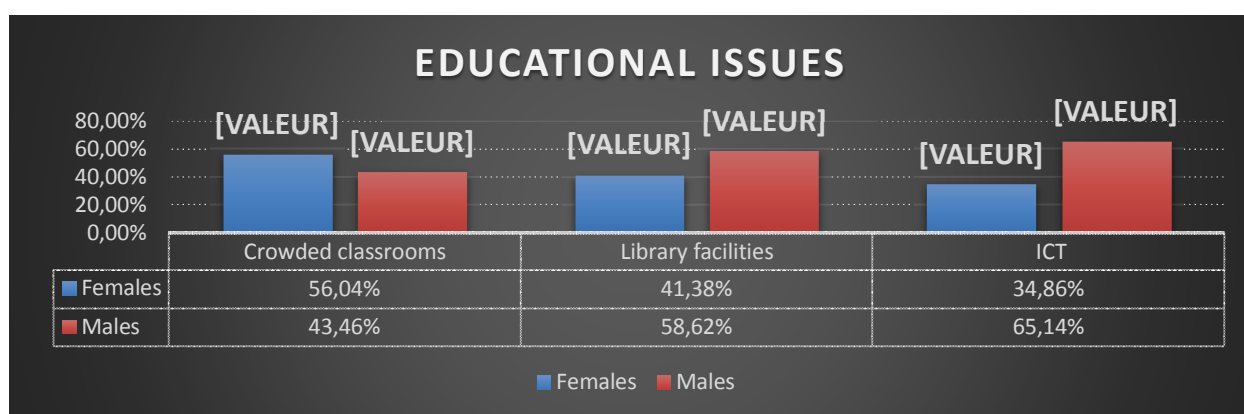
I.4. Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is another problem that was identified in the research. The study has portrayed that 30% of female respondents reported that they have been victims to sexual abuse or attempted sexual assault by male classmates or administrative staff or teachers. Of the 100 Female

respondents, 64 reported having experienced one or more sexual harassment behaviors during their university life. And the most frequent type of harassment reported was student-to-student harassment. Female respondents identified "made sexual comments, jokes, gestures, or looks" as the most frequent type of sexual harassment experienced.

There are many consequences of sexual harassment in universities. When harassment occurs, the large proportion of victims are affected emotionally and often lose their academic self-confidence, experience difficulty concentrating on academic work or suffer lowered self-esteem (Bank and Bank, 1997). Another result of sexual harassment within social institutions may point to a serious social problem of sustained gender stratification. Hoffman (1986) has written: uncritical tolerance of sexual harassment has perpetuated inequality between men and women, reinforced the sexual objectification of women, and encouraged the privatization of relationships which exploit economic and cultural inequality for sexual gain.

II. Educational Issues



While mentioning the problem of quality education, it is possible to state such matters as qualified educators, qualified students, physical conditions of universities (access to information, crowded classrooms, social possibilities) (Ortas, 2002).

II.1. Crowded Classrooms

The problem of over-crowded classrooms is listed as another factor that affects education as well. 50% of students revealed their non-satisfaction about the lack of physical facilities including seating, density, noise, privacy, air quality, etc. over-crowdedness diminishes the quality and quantity of teaching and learning with serious implication for attainment of education goals. This leads to not paying attention, not participating in activities, unmotivated and indolent learners, and no time for proper lesson presentation and classroom assessment due to unmanageable learners. In this context, some veiled female students revealed that over-crowdedness is difficult for them as they feel uncomfortable when there is no enough space between them and other male classmates. Thus, the university needs to provide more and better classrooms with adequate heating, air

conditioning and seating to cater for the numbers of students; more up-to-date computer technology and other equipment are deemed necessary for the students’ achievement.

Today with the increase in the number of students continuing higher education, the populations of universities have become crowded and present physical conditions have fallen short of meeting the demand. For decades studies have shown that there is an explicit relationship between the physical facilities and the students’ academic performance. It has found through different researches that students’ academic performance is greatly affected by the physical characteristics of classroom. According to Earthman, G 2004:18, School building in which students pass considerable time has great influence upon students’ academic performance. However, the learning environment ought to support learners’ motivation to participate in group or individual learning activities. When learners are placed in classes with small numbers, they are more involved and academic achievement increases. The researchers stress that in overcrowded classrooms less attention can be given to individual learners and it is difficult to motivate them. Overcrowded classrooms tend to be teacher-centered. In the same vein, Imtiaz (2014:251) agree that overcrowded classrooms are unsupportive learning environments, and may even affect the learners’ physical health. They point out that overcrowded classrooms are unhygienic, because if one learner has a contagious infection, then others can be easily infected.

Most experts agree that in crowded classrooms fewer students perform well; In contrast students get more benefits in small classes; especially minority group is the most benefiting; students are paid individual attention in small sized class; there is friendly and congenial atmosphere in small classes; discipline problems are reduced to the maximum; individual attention is paid and students are more actively involved in different activities.

II.2. Library Facilities

A university means a place where the knowledge is generated, gathered and disseminated. A library is the place which facilitates such functions. The Library is seen to be an integral part of the academic process, and not a mere appendage or free bookshop. The findings of the study, however, revealed that the majority of university students do not use the library. 50% of students express their annoyance at the lack of resources that they have to use at the Library. This study found that there are some problems in the use of library such as the large number of books available in the main library are old, missing some pages, important maps, and information etc. in books and periodicals. Only a few copies of resources are available compared to the huge numbers of students who have to share them. Many latest and important books are only for reference. But students have lack of opportunities to use them being in the library. Some latest and important books are only in the

catalogue as lecturers borrow them and keep with them for a long time. As limited space in study room a higher number of students cannot get a place in the main library during the examination period. Therefore, the university authorities need to be aware that students need to acquire more than the crude factual content set out in the syllabus.

Physical conditions of universities are among the factors affecting quality education as well. To be able to produce information and carry out research studies, there is a need for preliminary information, and therefore sources of information, and institutions to be able to put these sources into service in an efficient way (Celik, 1991). In this respect, university libraries have a role much more important than that of other units on research activities. University libraries should have every kind of update printed or electronic resources to meet all information needs of academic units (Odabas and Polat, 2011).

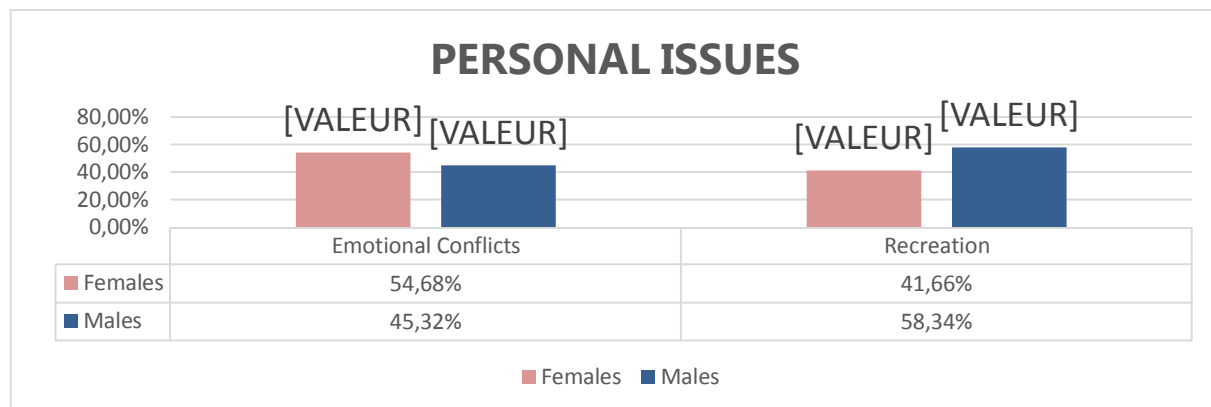
In this context, John E. Burchard listed the objectives of libraries as: 1. To arouse a continuing and burning curiosity; 2. To suggest the tools which will help to satisfy the curiosity; 3. To establish the notion that personal activities are inconsequential save as they affect others; 4. To develop a sense of morality so that these effects will be aimed in favor of humanity and not against it; 5. To create the beginning of a sense of the first-rate so that what is favorable to humanity may be reasonably clear; 6. To provide some particular skill so that the man or woman may in fact hit the target suggested in the above. This last is specialized or professional or vocational education. Nothing less than all of these can really be called the objectives of a higher education (Burchard, 1967, p. 42). Accordingly, the Victorian Institute of Colleges has published the view that: It is the hallmark of tertiary education that it prepares students not only to think for themselves, but also to acquire the intellectual techniques and practical skills to discover and critically examine the facts on which their thinking must be based. The prime function of the university library is to ensure that the students learn how to find out (Victoria Institute of Colleges, 1971, p. 3).

II.3. Information and Communication Technology Skills

Competence in Information Communication and Technology (ICT) is expected from university students as they have to use ICT frequently as an essential tool of their learning. ICT skills help to enhance students' subject knowledge and their analytical skills. Yet, 51% students revealed that the university does not have sufficient physical structures with respect to foreign language education. In order to develop four basic skills (listening, reading, speaking and writing) in language education and to get them acquired effectively, using visual and auditory elements is important. However, the technological possibilities of the faculty are very limited in this respect.

Thus, lack of ICT skills creates many problems not only for students’ current academic activities but also for their future in various ways. Therefore, The University as a higher education institution has to face problems in improving quality and the relevance of the degree programs.

III. Personal Issues



A big number of the problems mentioned by the students fall into the large grouping usually described as "personal problems." These include family worries, loneliness, physical and emotional complaints.

III.1. Emotional Conflicts

As illustrated in the figure above, the most influential issue is found to be emotional conflicts with a percentage of (52%). These emotional issues include: missing family which has the highest impact on students' psyche, and living with new roommate while living in dorms presents a new challenging environment for them after leaving a more stable environment which is home. Eventually, these changes in students' life bring about a depressed psychology and raise the stress level of a student.

Students from rural areas who have to move to the city of Beni Mellal to pursue their higher education stated that they had felt 'significant amounts of loneliness'. In the same vein, Godden discusses, among a number of factors affecting rural participation in higher education, the 'culture shock' of transitioning alone to independent living, the city and the institution, and says that 'every focus group, and 30% of the interviewees, reported that some rural young people experience homesickness and depression' (2008: 5). Woodlands, Makaev and Braham report that 'anxiety' about not having a support network in the city and on campus is a key barrier, among other factors, for rural high school students considering university study (2006: 25-6).

So, emotional conflicts and stress are the most influential issues leading to a decrease in overall performance. However, there were significantly more problems in female students compared to their male counterparts. Gender differences in psychological distress, however, are evident with females reporting more psychological distress than males. And this might be related to

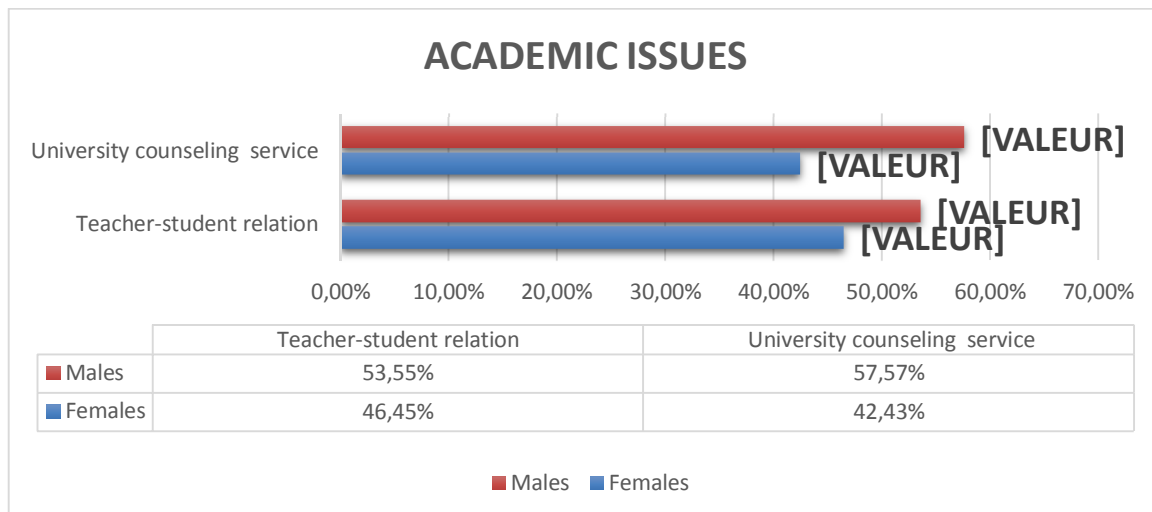
the social structure of the Moroccan society where males are supposed to go out and be independent from the family, unlike girls who are expected to be more attached to home, parents and family most of their time.

III.2. Recreation

The study found around that of the students do not engage in any entertainment activity. Students claim that football and basketball are the only sporting activities available. Sports and social facilities also need upgrading and the university should offer a wider choice of sporting activities. Students would also like to see more student union-organized events. They also hope that the professors be more flexible with academic workload during the week and not pressurize the student with several tasks as this will burden the student mentally and physically. They also hope that administration can help the student council in this matter by organizing more events and trips that do not conflict with academic schedules.

Universities all over the world not only give the formal education but also provide facilities for recreation and relaxation which are highly essential to maintain a healthy life. As a result of engaging in recreation and relaxation activities, students can reduce their mental pressure and stress created due to high workload.

IV. Academic Issues



IV.1. Teacher and Student Relationship

The findings of this study show that the majority of students have less or no relationship with their teachers. According to the students’ point of view, the main barrier to build closer relationship with teachers is correlated with some characteristics of teachers’ personality, and the image of the lecturer established among the past students, teachers’ kindness, eagerness to help, teaching skills, subject knowledge, politeness, etc.

The Interaction Theory draws attention to study individuals and how they act within society. Accordingly, Education Sociologists attempt to understand the interactions between groups, peers, teacher, on students’ attitudes and achievements, on students’ values, self-concepts and their effects on aspirations; and on socio-economic status as it relates to students’ achievements (Ballantine, 1997).

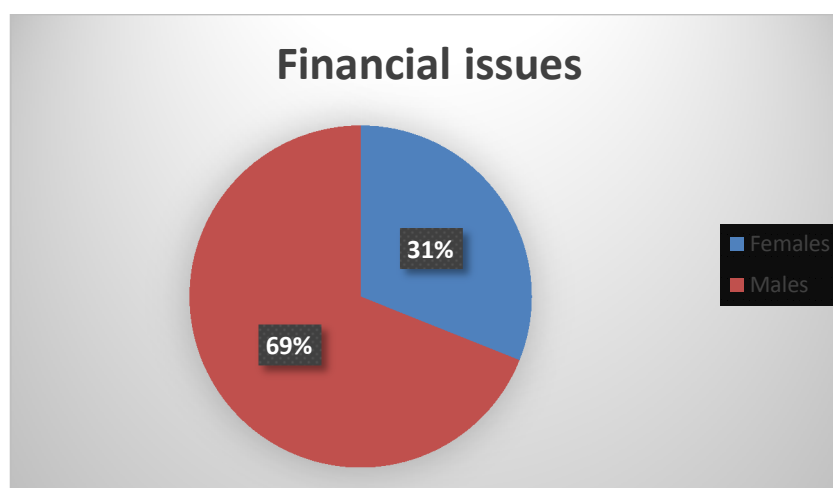
The study revealed that the students in the Department of English do not have confidence in themselves regarding English language. The reason behind this is lack of proficiency in English language which is considered as the basic barrier in students’ academic adjustment process. Interacting with the professors in the department is a challenge for most of them. Also, the educational system in higher institutions is different from students’ expectations about the student-teacher relationship, the classroom behavior, and different styles of teaching-learning process.

IV.2. University Counseling Service

As indicated in the figure, students complain about the lack of counselors and advisors at the university. The main objective of establishing a counseling center at the university is to deal with students’ grievances, to identify their problems and help them to solve such problems in its primary stage. However, that objective does not seem be fulfilled due to several reasons. Therefore, the university can consider providing counseling services so that the student can benefit from this opportunity. The student council should give students incentives to join clubs and organizations to allow better socializing among students as this will avoid these problems to occur in the first place.

These factors fostered the problems relating to stress and strain, emotional imbalance, lack of confidence, examination fear, misunderstandings among peers, absence of healthy academic sharing, jealousy and self-centeredness. Most of the students fail to cope up with these problems in the absence of sufficient support from the families and counselors.

V. Financial Problems



Students indicated that financial worries affect their academic performance. The money problems of most students are pressing. Lack of financial support is an important issue itself, while part-time work is almost nonexistent in the city of Beni Mellal. The findings suggest that students from low income families have higher score on financial stress questionnaire. This generates a large amount of pressure on the student in addition to the existing load. Low family income, large family size with more siblings, personal health issues, and bad parental relationships, death of a parent, peer pressure, new fashion trends, unhealthy coping behaviors and demands of university education pose a high risk regarding whether the student will continue his/her education or drop-out at a certain level. Yet, accommodation, transportation, food, and leisure add up to the life expenses of university. This is likely to jeopardize students' academic pursuits and tends to dissuade them. In the same context, the students who have scholarship reveal that the latter is still unable to prevent them from facing financial stress.

Based on gender, males and females have different spending patterns. Differences in their financial behavior may be attributed to specific family and individual characteristics. It was indicated that females purchased clothing and make up while males purchased electronics, cigarettes, entertainment, and food away from home. Female students are expected to be less involved in these financial problems of smoking and other activities generally done by men. The financial problem of spending a lot of money for female students is low as expected. Male students on the average have higher financial problems compared to female students. A big difference in percentage of respondents occurred for certain financial problems. There are three financial problems that have large differences between male and female students, spending on cigarette, internet addiction and food. Most of the students agree that financial stress affect negatively on their academic achievement. And consequently, some female students, in their worst cases, resort to prostitution to afford the expenses of education.

Research regarding sources of stress confirms the influential role that personal financial problems play in the lives of college students. Financial difficulties are often cited among college students as sources of stress (Northern, O'Brien, & Goetz, 2010; Ross, Niebling, & Heckert, 1999). A report found that four of the top five stressors among college students involved problems related to personal finances (Trombitas, 2012).

Conclusion

The paper attempted to investigate and analyze contributing factors of university learning environment on undergraduates' problems and issues. The results gathered using the survey were

quite intriguing. They helped discovering more on the students’ performance and how it is affected by the academic, personal, educational and financial issues they face.

The most important conclusion that emerged from the analysis of data was that students of Sultan Moulay Slimane University encounter myriads of problems. Yet, the problems encountered by female students are significantly different from those experienced by male students. Some female students reported having experienced sexual harassment by both teaching and non-teaching staff, and from male students. The finding supports the claim by Massanja and colleagues (2001) that the problem of sexual harassment of female students in African universities is yet to be addressed.

The study revealed that of students face education institutional related problems particularly accommodation, library facilities, financial issues and teacher- student relationship. As a whole it seems that though the university has been taking considerable efforts to maintain a favorable environment for higher education, there are certain obstacles to be overcome by students as well as the university authority. Moreover, the university should pay attention to improve these areas, which is basically neglected by the management that is responsible for providing academic support facilities that assist the students in learning and teaching process. The negligence in providing educational support material hinders the quality of education lower the overall learning outcome rate.

References

1. Arline, A.M.M.R., & Regina, M.S.P. (2004). School family relationship: Some lessons from a teacher professional development program, Harvard family research project. Retrieved on December 22, 2006, from <http://www.gse.harvard.edu/hfrp/projects/fine/resources/digest/sch>.
2. Arnold, H. J., & Feldman, D. C. (1986). Organizational behavior. New York: McGraw Hill.
3. Ballantine, J. (1997). The sociology of education: A systematic analysis. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice - Hall.
4. Burchard, J. E. (1967). "The library's function in education," in The Library in the University. University of Tennessee Library Lectures 1949-1966. Hamden: Shoestring Press
5. Celik, A. (1991). Turkiye’ deki Universite Kutuphanelerinin Sorunlari, Turk Kutuphaneciligi, 5.Cilt, 2.Sayi, S.59-68.
6. Crocker, J., & Luhtanen, R. K. (2003). Level of self-esteem and contingencies of self-worth: Unique effects on academic, social, and financial problems in college students. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29(6), 701-712. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167203029006003>
7. Earthman, GI. (2004). 'Prioritization of 31 Criteria for School Building Adequacy', American Civil Liberties Union Foundation of Maryland. Accessed online on 16/10/11 at <<http://www.aclu-md.org/aTop%20Issues/Education%20Reform/EarthmanFinal10504.pdf>>.
8. Furneaux, A. (1961). The chosen few. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
9. Gillani, B.B. (2000). “Using the Web to Create Student-Centered Curriculum. In Robert A. Cole (ed.), Issues in Web-Based Pedagogy: A Critical Primer. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. In Carol A. Carrier, W. Andrew Collins, Robert J. Jones. (2000), “Enhancing Student Learning Through Innovative Teaching and Technology Strategies”, A University of Minnesota

Proposal to the Bush Foundation. Retrieved on 10-7-06 from <http://www1.umn.edu/ohr/img/assets/18004/ittsgrant.pdf>

10. Hoffman, L. (1986). National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. 2018. *Sexual Harassment of Women: Climate, Culture, and Consequences in Academic Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine*. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press. <https://doi.org/10.17226/24994>.
11. Kaya, E. et al, (2005). Sinif Ortami Uzernide Barinma Sorunlarindan Kaynaklanan Olumsuzluklarin Ogrenci Basarisi Uzerine Etkileri. *Erzincan Egitim Fakultesi Dergisi Cilt: 7, Sayi: 2, Yil:2005*.
12. Khurshid, F, (2005) Causes of Students' Financial Stress. Unpublished Master thesis of National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad.
13. Kutlu, M. (2004). Universite Ogrencilerinin Alistirma-Oryantasyon Hizmetlerine Iliskin Karsilastiklari Sorunlar Ve Beklentileri. XIII. Ulusal Egitim Bilimleri Kurultayi, 6-9 Temmuz 2004 Inonu Universitesi, Egitim Fakultesi, Malatya.
14. Imtiaz, S. (2014). Exploring strategies for English language teaching of Pakistani students in public sector colleges. *Research Journal of English Language and Literature (RJELAL)*, 2(2):247-253. Available at <http://www.rjelal.com/2.2.14/247-253.pdf>. Accessed 25 April 2016.
15. Lazarus, R.S., Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal and coping*. New York: Springer Publishing Company.
16. Malpass, J. R., O'Neil, H. F., & Hocevar, D. (1999). Self-regulation, goal orientation, self-efficacy, worry, and high-stakes math achievement for mathematically gifted high school students. *Roeper Review*, 21(4), 281-288. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02783199909553976>
17. Massanja, V., Karega, R., Kasente, D., Mboya, M., Kadi, A, Simalane, N. and Nyamu, F. (2001), "Female Participation in African Universities; issues of concern and possible action", (paper presented at the 10th General Assembly of the Association of African universities on 5-9 February, 2001 at Safari park Hotel, Nairobi.
18. Obadas H. &Polat, C. (2011). Turkiye' de Universite Kutuphanelerinin Standartari. *A U. Turkiyat Arastirmalari Ensitusu Dergisi (Tead) 45*, 321-346.
19. Ortas, I. (2002). Universitelerin Sorunlari-1. [www. Universite Toplum.Org/Summary.Php3?Id=98,\(20.10.2011\)](http://www.UniversiteToplum.Org/Summary.Php3?Id=98,(20.10.2011))
20. Ross, S. E., Niebling, B. C., &Heckert, T. M. (1999). Sources of stress among college students. *College Student Journal*, 33(2), 312-317.
21. Sonmez, V. (2003). Yuksek Ogretim Yeniden Yapilanmasi Uzerine Bir Deneme. *Egitim Arastirmalari.Cilt4, Sayi:12*.
22. Staley, C. (2009). *Focus on college success* (4th ed.). Boston, MA: Cenage learning.
23. Trombitas, K. S. (2012). *Financial Stress: An Everyday Reality for College Students*. Inceptia.
24. Lincoln, NE. Retrieved from https://www.inceptia.org/PDF/Inceptia_FinancialStress_whitepaper.pdf
25. Victoria Institute of Colleges. (1971). "Libraries in colleges of advanced education: a brief guide to their administration and function for the use of colleges and institutes affiliated with the Victoria Institute of Colleges," Melbourne: Victoria Institute of Colleges

Boutheina Ben Hassine

Role of Publications in Gender to Promote Women’s Rights in Tunisia

(University of Sousse, Tunisia)

Introduction :

Les écrits sur le genre à l’Université tunisienne ont connu un développement Depuis les dernières décennies. Elles sont caractérisées par leur diversité car elles touchent les sciences humaines, histoire, sociologie, psychologie et civilisation arabo-islamique. Les auteures sont des universitaires, activistes et femmes engagées. Elles ont pu influencer les étudiantes et les étudiants par leurs écrits et elles ont développé les droits des femmes car elles ont été très actives après la révolution. On a divisé ces écrits de femmes selon leurs spécialités ou disciplines : les historiennes, les sociologues, les psychologues, et les arabisantes.

Les historiennes :

L’école tunisienne d’histoire est majoritairement masculine mais il y a un noyau très dur de femmes chercheuses qui ont publié des études importantes sur le genre comme Leila Blili Temime, Latifa Lakhdar, et Dalenda Bouzgarrou Larguèche. Cette classification des historiennes est liée à la date de parution de leurs ouvrages. Leila Blili Temime¹ avait étudié l’histoire de familles à Tunis de 1875 à 1930. Cette période est une période charnière de l’histoire de la Tunisie (période précoloniale- le Protectorat français et la période coloniale). Les femmes sont au cœur de la vie des familles (mariages, divorces et répudiations). Les Beys de Tunis d’origine turc sont caractérisés par leur ouverture car ils ont épousé des filles de familles tunisiennes (tribus ou familles urbaines) et des captives circassiennes. Les grandes familles aristocratiques de Tunis d’origine « tunisienne », turque, andalouse et provinciale ont eu recours au mariage dans le cercle des cousins germains pour protéger le patrimoine familial et pour apporter le soutien affectif aux cousines orphelines de père. Les familles de religieux se marient avec des conjoint(e)s de milieux différents : les fonctionnaires de l’Etat, les savants, et les commerçants. Ces alliances permettent à ces familles d’avoir le prestige du pouvoir et la force économique de l’argent pour se protéger des exactions beylicales. L’auteure a utilisé des sources écrites d’une grande importance, ce sont les registres de notaires et les registres des tribunaux. Elle a aussi donné « la parole aux femmes »¹. Le contrat de mariage apparaît dans ces sources comme une garantie pour la femme. Le mari devait concéder la partie arriérée de la dots’il la répudiait. Le *çadâq qayrawânî* permet à la femme dans la ville de Kairouan de divorcer de son mari s’il se marie à une deuxième épouse. Les sfaxiens dressent dans le contrat la liste des biens apportés par l’épouse. La femme est donc très protégée dans les milieux urbains contre toute forme de

tyrannie masculine. Mais la polygamie est très présente chez les classes dirigeantes : les Beys. Ils se marient à quatre femmes et trois concubines d'origine orientale essentiellement circassienne. Les Beys avaient le souci de procréer et de sauvegarder la lignée et avoir une vie sexuelle renouvelée. L'accès des femmes au savoir au début du XX^{ème} siècle a accéléré la disparition de la polygamie. Le divorce est très rare dans les familles aristocratiques car le mariage garantit les privilèges économiques. La femme aristocratique a plus de facilités de divorcer dans des cas spécifiques (l'impuissance ou la mort du mari). Par ailleurs, le divorce abusif existe chez les paysans où les conditions économiques sont défavorables. Les années trente ont vu naître une nouvelle pensée pour l'émancipation des femmes tunisiennes grâce à l'effort de Tahar Haddad (enseignement pour les filles et épanouissement familial et sexuel). Ce livre est l'un des rares publications qui s'occupent de la place de la femme dans la famille.

Une deuxième historienne Latifa Lakhdar¹, a analysé « le pourquoi de la présence d'une image moyen-âgeuse de la femme à l'ère contemporaine. Cette image est en contradiction avec la politique laïque de l'Etat en Tunisie et en Turquie. On rencontre aussi cette image en Egypte où les mouvements féministes sont l'un des plus anciens et des plus forts dans le Monde arabe »¹. L'Occident européen a connu une évolution différente surtout après l'éclosion de la modernité comme principe égalitaire entre les hommes et les femmes, la modernité qui est une résultante des grands courants de la pensée comme le marxisme, le structuralisme, et la psychologie.

Pour le monde arabo-musulman, les femmes restent figées dans un passéisme religieux par le pouvoir des hommes-fuqaha' ou savants. D'après ses recherches dans l'héritage culturel islamique, Latifa Lakhdar démontre que la plupart des savants considèrent que la femme est de nature satanique. Ibn al-Jawzî (510-597 de l'Hégire) par exemple voit « qu'elle est impure par ses menstruations, elle est ignorante des préceptes du Coran, et elle trompe son mari car elle vole son argent »¹. Donc la femme est fautive car elle veut partager le pouvoir avec son mari. Le corps de la femme doit être séquestré selon les théologiens car elle ne doit pas sortir, se parfumer, se maquiller et mettre certains habits. La femme apparaît aussi comme objet sexuel et elle est bannie de l'espace public par son appartenance au sexe féminin. Mais elle doit s'acquitter de ses « lourds devoirs » vis-à-vis de son mari. Latifa Lakhdar se concentre sur le personnage de 'Aïsha, épouse du prophète pour mettre en exergue la misogynie des savants. L'historienne voit que 'Aïsha a été la principale source des savants pour rapporter les dires du prophète sur les questions en relation avec les femmes¹. Mais ce choix est problématique car 'Aïsha était l'épouse préférée du prophète et elle a été l'opposante farouche de 'Alî Ibn Abî Tâlib dans la bataille du Chameau au cœur de la Grande Discorde. La tradition sunnite a employé la symbolique de 'Aïsha pour des raisons idéologiques, faire face aux

Sî'tes. Mais 'Aîsha n'a pas été épargné des attaques masculines et misogynes car elle a été accusé d'adultère dans la vie du prophète. Elle est devenue veuve à l'âge de dix-huit ans et elle a été punie par 'Alî Ibn Abî Tâlib après sa défaite militaire à la bataille du Chameau. Les proches de 'Alî Ibn Abî Tâlib et les compagnons du prophète l'ont violemment condamné (une mère dévoreuse de ses enfants) et elle culpabilise toute sa vie d'avoir participer au politique, un domaine typiquement masculin¹. Le personnage de 'Aîsha reste le symbole de « la difficulté » de l'égalité entre les deux sexes dans le Monde arabo-musulman.

Une autre historienne Dalenda Bouzgarrou Larguèche¹ s'est intéressée aux études du genre. Pour elle, « les lois sur le genre en Islam sont une construction sociale » et « l'identité féminine dans les sociétés musulmanes a été conditionnée par la culture des rapports inégalitaire entre les sexes »¹. D. Larguèche arrive à trouver des aspects « positifs » dans ces coutumes et traditions car les femmes kairouanaises ont été les actrices et les créatrices de ces nouvelles lois. Dans son livre phare sur le mariage kairouanais ou la monogamie en Islam, elle présente les origines historiques de « l'exception kairouanaise » qui va être à la base du Code du Statut Personnelle 13 août 1957. L'abolition de la polygamie, l'institution du divorce judiciaire pour les deux époux et la suppression du tuteur matrimonial, font des Tunisiennes « des privilégiées » par rapport à leurs sœurs du monde arabe et du Maghreb¹. Il faut revenir à la période médiévale de l'histoire du Maghreb. Kairouan, prestigieuse capitale arabo-islamique du Maghreb médiéval, a institué la monogamie ou le système d'exclusivité dans le mariage. Cette pratique est une innovation par rapport aux autres aires de l'espace arabo-islamique qui ont gardé la loi sharaîque de la polygamie ou se marier à quatre femmes. *Al-çadâq al-qayrawânî* est un contrat de mariage très typique et « révolutionnaire » en matière des droits des femmes car l'épouse était la cheffe dans la relation matrimoniale. Elle interdisait à l'époux la polygamie (se marier à d'autres femmes) et aussi de vivre avec des concubines. L'épouse avait aussi le droit de la répudiation comme l'époux. Ce contrat baigne dans l'atmosphère du fiqh ou jurisprudence malikite qui autorise la femme à rompre les liens du mariage au cas où l'époux manque à ses obligations (l'entretien, la nourriture, le logement, le vêtement et les bons traitements). Cette coutume kairouanaise était instituée par l'aristocratie arabe de Kairouan pour préserver ses prérogatives. Elle a octroyé à la femme une place de marque où elle pourrait avoir du pouvoir dans la relation matrimoniale dans une société kairouanaise caractérisée par la présence des Berbères, des Afâriq, et des chrétiens et des juifs. Les Arabes avaient le pouvoir politique et cherchaient à sauvegarder à tout prix la pureté de leur race. Les filles appartenants à cette aristocratie qurayshîte ou autre avaient le privilège d'être des épouses uniques et de pratiquer le shârt, c'est-à-dire le droit à l'exclusivité dans le mariage¹. L'auteure a focalisée ses

recherchessurune source principale la *Risâla* d'Ibn 'Adhdhûm, un *faqîh* kairouanais du XV ème siècle. L'origine de ce mariage remonte à la première moitié du VIII ème siècle où le futur calife abbasside Abû Ja'far al-Mançûrse mariait avec Arwâ la kairouanaisevers 110/722 lors de son séjour à Kairouan. C'était la fille de Mançûr Ibn 'Abdallâh Ibn Yazîd al-Himyarî, un des riches Ashrâfs ou notables yéménites de Kairouan. Elle était veuve deux fois et d'une grande beauté. Arwâ a donné naissance au futur calife al-Mahdî. Elle a tenu à préciser dans le contrat ce qui suit : l'obligation de Abû Ja'far al-Mançûr de se contenter de ce mariage et de ne pas avoir d'autres épouses et concubines. Le futur calife était obligé d'attendre la mort de Arwâ pour se procurer cent concubines vierges la nuit de sa mort selon les sources¹ !L'historienne remonte le temps jusqu'à l'époque contemporaine pour expliquer cette exception kairouanaise. Tahar Haddad, le grand réformateur dans les droits des femmes en Tunisie, a combattu la répudiation, la polygamie et l'ignorance des femmes. L'émancipation des femmes par l'éducation était le slogan-culte de Tahar Haddad. L'Islam devait s'adapter aux conditions du temps. D'où les attaques foudroyantes des savants de la Mosquée Zaytûna, citadelle de la tradition arabo-islamique. Habib Bourguiba avait concrétiséla doctrine de Haddad pour adopter le C.S.P.

Notre étude est basée aussi sur les travaux des sociologues et des psychologues.

II) les sociologues et les psychologues :

Je vais focaliser mon étude sur les travaux d'une sociologue Lilia Labidi, et d'une psychanalyste, Nédra Ben Smail qui ont travaillé sur la virginité des tunisiennes.Lilia Labidi est l'une des premières femmes sociologues dans l'Université tunisienne. Son ouvrage-phare sur la sexualité féminine¹ a marqué une génération d'étudiant(e)s en sociologie. La sociologue commence par étudier la place de la femme dans la société tunisienne. Les traditions montrent un refus et un rejet de la femme dès sa naissance. Les grandes réformes de l'Etat par rapport aux droits des femmes n'ont pas changé les mentalités. La femme est perçue dans l'espace public comme un objet sexuel et elle est agressée verbalement. Le corps des femmes est le symbole d'une morale et d'une esthétiqueparticulière. Les femmes doivent conserver leurs virginités, marque de pureté de l'honneur familial. L'homme gagne du prestige à travers cette chasteté conservée des femmes de sa famille. Lilia Labidi insiste sur deux valeurs de la pudeur féminine :*Çabra etHachma*, patiente et pudique. Les femmes qui violent cette règle sont violemment punis. Une relation sexuelle illicite, une grossesse hors mariage, coûtent l'exclusion et la mort à la femme.Les avortements ont été des solutions douloureuses pour d'autres femmes. Le corps des femmes doit se préparer pour le mariage à travers des rites de pureté. Ces rites cherchent à satisfaire la sexualité masculine. La jouissance est une affaire d'hommes car les femmes doivent rester muettes et obéissantes. Les progrès de la santé

publique ont développé les maternités dans les hôpitaux. Les femmes peuvent accoucher et être assistées par des sages-femmes modernes. La réparation des hymens commence à être plus courante. Les femmes contrôlent de plus en plus leur sexualité par la contraception. Lilia Labidi pose plusieurs problématiques concernant le corps, la sexualité, et le rapport hommes-femmes dans le couple. Les changements sociaux donnent le droit aux femmes de rêver d’une autre vie meilleure.

La psychanalyste Nédra Ben Smail a focalisé ses recherches sur la virginité féminine¹. Elle analyse les changements historiques depuis 1957. Avec la promulgation du C.P.S, l’abandon du voile traditionnel, le droit à la scolarisation pour les filles, le droit au divorce et les droits à la contraception et à l’avortement, les femmes ont eu une image différente d’elles-mêmes¹. La famille est devenue nucléaire et l’éducation des filles a changé les mentalités (l’indépendance matérielle des femmes). Mais le conservatisme vis-à-vis des femmes n’a pas cessé d’exister : la surveillance de la virginité des filles et refus des rapports sexuels avant le mariage). Les femmes vivent une situation ambivalente : la modernité dans les études et le travail et la pudeur dans les relations sexuelles. Les femmes prennent leurs destins en mains et elles commencent à avoir des relations sexuelles hors mariage à 17 ans. Certaines d’entre elles recourent à l’avortement ou deviennent des mères célibataires si elles gardent leurs enfants. La revirginité apparaît en 1970 pour faire face à un ordre social conservateur. La sexualité du corps s’alligne sur le modèle traditionnel et patriarcal. Cette pratique démontre l’attachement des femmes aux traditions arabo-islamiques et au désir de plaire aux hommes (le respect de la virginité et de la moralité sexuelle). Mais elle peut aussi indiquer l’éternel féminin pervers et narcissique en quête du plaisir. Le corps de la femme est actuellement un chantier de malaise culturel pour la psychanalyste.

D’autres universitaires ont analysé les questions du genre, ce sont les arabisantes.

III) Les arabisantes

Je vais axer mon étude sur deux arabisantes qui ont fait des études de linguistique arabe et par la suite ont concentré leurs études sur l’héritage arabo-islamique comme la Sunna du prophète. Ce sont Olfa Youssef et Raja Ben Slama. Elles ont eu recours à la psychanalyse comme nouvelle méthode d’analyse.

Olfa Youssef avait analysé l’infériorité des femmes dans le Hadîth ou les dires du Prophète¹. Elle a essayé de démontrer la subjectivité masculine des savants qui ont interprété les dires du prophète. Elle prend des exemples comme le complexe d’Œdipe pour la fille et le garçon. Elle démontre que le garçon se tourne au début vers sa mère mais s’identifie au père et il cherche une âme sœur (une autre femme). Mais la fille s’attache à la mère et s’identifie à elle mais elle cherche un partenaire masculin¹. Sur le plan religieux, les savants sont les détenteurs du pouvoir de la

science religieuse. Ils sont tous des hommes qui protègent cette institution. Le Coran adresse la totalité de son discours aux hommes et peu de femmes comme Marie la vierge et les femmes du prophète. L'auteure ne voit pas d'infériorité dans la nature féminine mais de différence et de richesse. Une autre problématique a été analysée par Olfa Youssef, c'est la création d'Adam et d'Eve. Adam est selon la tradition prophétique a été créé en premier et Eve a pris forme à partir de sa côte. La primauté de la création de Adam n'est qu'un message codé à l'humanité : Adam ou l'Homme est plus privilégié¹. L'auteure relève une autre question à travers le Coran : la supériorité de l'homme dans la hiérarchie du genre. Il a plus de droits car la femme doit lui obéir, il hérite plus, il est chargé de la guerre sainte et doit subvenir aux besoins de la femme. Cette supériorité de l'homme repose selon Dolto sur la « hiérarchie phallique »¹. Le corps de la femme « libre » est devenu un tabou pour les savants après leur interprétation du verset du Hijâb. Olfa Youssef voit encore une fois dans cette interprétation une autorité phallique. L'auteure lie le féminin à la mort et au mutisme. La femme doit être selon la logique masculine soumise et silencieuse. La femme donne également la vie à son enfant qui commence après sa naissance son voyage vers la mort. Pour conclure, Olfa Youssef critique la vision misogyne des savants, cette vision réduit la femme à un objet sexuel.

Une autre arabisante, Raja Ben Slama s'est préoccupé plusieurs problématiques en rapport avec le féminin et le masculin¹. Elle analyse les textes des savants musulmans à propos de la discorde ou *Fitna*. La femme sème les troubles par sa présence car elle est proche de Satan. Les filles ont été enterrées vives dans la période préislamique et cette pratique a « ressurgi » à l'époque omeyyade. Deux femmes omeyyades ont été tuées par leurs pères car elles étaient frivoles (elles se mettaient sur des chevaux et couraient). La punition infligée aux femmes qui transgressent les lois de la société est très violente. Raja Ben Slama relie cette mentalité à la phallogocentrisme. L'esprit théocratique masculin cherche toujours à punir la femme (frapper les femmes, les cloîtrer dans des harems, et le droit de l'obéissance à l'homme). La femme est sous l'autorité masculine-patriarcale et elle n'est pas propriétaire de son corps. Donc elle ne peut pas accéder au politique.

L'arabisante trouve cette théorie ségrégationniste et violente vis-à-vis des femmes. Et elle dresse un tableau sur l'évolution des droits politiques des femmes dans le Monde arabe essentiellement le droit de vote et la participation dans la vie politique (le pourcentage des femmes au parlement). Les savants musulmans reviennent toujours sur l'expérience politique de 'Aïsha, épouse du prophète pour affirmer l'incapacité des femmes pour gouverner et être un leader politique. L'arabisante conclue par l'entrée de la Tunisie dans la modernité à travers la théorie de Tahar Haddad en 1930. Il avait crié tout haut l'égalité entre les hommes et les femmes en matière de droits.

Conclusion

L’Université tunisienne reste un haut lieu d’échange professeurs –étudiants. Elle permet une grande émancipation des femmes et le développement de leurs droits. Les études académiques du genre ont été implantés dans deux universités seulement la Manouba et Sousse mais la transition démocratique permet une richesse des débats dans la société civile et dans les réseaux sociaux qui sont très proches des jeunes. On espère que toutes ces écrits permettront d’affaiblir toute forme de radicalisme idéologique.

Mohamed Fadel

Roles of academia in gender equality: the case of Morocco

(Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes)

Abstract

Numerous studies have indicated that education is the most important instrument for human development. Since mid-20th century, education has become not only a universal human right, but also a key constituent of women empowerment. In Morocco, females and males are still treated differently, even in access to education. Despite the state's support of women's rights and status as well as apparent increases in women in many sectors that have been man-dominated, gender inequity has persisted. This paper analyzes the situation of women's schooling in Morocco using statistical data, discusses causes that have been responsible for gender inequality, and displays a set of economic and social advantages as the return upon investment in women's access to education. The paper also suggests some ways of how women's empowerment through education can contribute to progressive eradication of gender inequality.

Keywords: Education; Gender equality; Women empowerment; Morocco.

Introduction

Sixty years after the 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* of 1948 insisting on equal access to education by both females and males, the sector of education has continued to perpetuate gender inequality. Gender inequality in both developed and developing countries has been a largely mediatized and researched topic recently. The social expectations of males and females and differences the two sexes emanate from ideologies of some societies, and they manifest in the roles, responsibilities, access to resources and opportunities, perceptions, views, etc. which societies attribute to men and women exclusively. International concerns about the inadequate conditions of women in the world have motivated campaigns and movements to demand a more equitable distribution of resources between men and women.

In almost all nations of the world, women play important roles in the economic and social development. They actively participate in several fields like agriculture, livestock, medicine, education, entrepreneurship, and handicrafts. It is worth noting that women take full charge of family and childcare. Hence, they need proper education that enables them to cater to the well-being of themselves and future generations. Most of studies on gender disparities all over the world indicate that women still experience discrimination and marginalization; they are still under-

represented in managerial and decision-making levels, have limited access to education and healthcare, become victims of exploitation and violence, and face unemployment and lower pay compared to men. In higher education, for instance, women occupy proportionally fewer positions of responsibility in relation to the number of women qualified for such careers despite the high presence of the women as students and staff. Research has identified the numerous benefits that societies can gain of women’s education; education of females has been recognized for its potential ability to diminish poverty and under-development and generate growth and prosperity. As such, nations around the world promulgate policies that seek to increase opportunities of females’ access to education in rural and urban areas alike.

In Morocco, for the last three decades, the question of gender and women has occupied a great place in public debates. The country still suffers from illiteracy and major disparity between rural and urban areas as well as between men and women. However, women’s literacy levels have increased significantly as a fruit of the state’s policies as well as literacy programs launched and supported by the state’s non-formal education and the civil society’s efforts. For instance, the literacy rate among females aged between 15 and 24 years increased to 87.78 % in 2012. Likewise, females’ enrollment in primary education rose to 107.34 % in 2016; in secondary education the rate was 64.11 % in 2012, and 30.71 % in tertiary education in 2016 (UNESCO, 2018). According to the Ministry of Higher Education, Morocco (2018), the percentage of female students enrolled in higher education has remarkably escalated. As for university teaching staff, 35.81% were female in the 2016-17 academic year (Ministry of Higher Education, Morocco, 2018). This progress is both substantial and relevant if we take into account that females have achieved significant gross enrollment in primary and secondary.

Education is perceived by literate Moroccans as one of the key drivers of social and economic development, with the primary objective being to ensure that female and male citizens receive equal quality education which will empower them to build a society free of gender inequalities. Therefore, it is likely that universities in Morocco are a strategic space for eradicating or at least reducing the traditional gender inequity currently dominating the Moroccan society.

The present paper is divided into five sections: the first section provides a general background to the study. The second section identifies the potential benefits of women’s access to education. The third section sheds light on causes of persistent gender gap. The fourth section is a discussion of the statistics of females and males’ enrollment in education. The last section presents ways of alleviating existing cultures and practices of gender-related discrimination.

Background

Gender inequality is a term that prevails in the literature of gender in society. It can be defined as the “discrimination in relation to opportunities, allocation of resources or benefits and access to services for women or men” (Elwer et al., 2012). With this in mind, gender equality in access to education generally means that both females and males have equal access to economic, social, cultural, and political resources. Similarly, Osongo (2009) defined gender inequality in education as the process that treats people (men and women) unequally in access to education.

Gender inequality pertains to all societies of the world. Gender gaps favoring males in education, employment, leadership, and more are systematically larger in poor countries than in rich countries. In terms of economic gender inequality, women still earn lower pay than men in the job market, are denied opportunity to access education/ literacy, are more likely to live in poverty, and do a larger share of unpaid household work. In politics, women are under-represented in elected office and in political appointments. As well, they are mostly excluded from decision-making positions. Socially, women are more likely to be the victims of domestic violence and sexual assault. In some countries, women live in patriarchal structures which favor men to women, create discriminatory gender norms and stereotypes, and engender and reinforce gendered identities (Ridgeway, 2011).

Recent research indicates that the importance of family background in shaping societies' education and socioeconomic inequalities in that the economic effects of an individual's educational achievements are moderated by family income. In their study in the United States, Kearney et al., (2016) revealed that there was a strong relationship between low-income family backgrounds and lower education achievements; individuals, especially males, from low socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to drop out of school. In addition, recent studies have looked at the relationship between parental education and the educational achievements and economic status of the children. Erola et al., (2016) concluded that the children of family backgrounds with educated parents have more chances to achieve higher levels of education and ultimately take better paid jobs compared to their peers with poorly educated parents. Hence, education is a worth considering resource that pertains strongly to all aspects of life.

It is clearly understood from the above short review of literature that education is the basic requirement and a fundamental resource of which females and males need to take advantage. Education is a powerful tool of reducing inequality and an appropriate key to the development and independence of both men and women. Particularly for women, having long experienced social exclusion and exploitation, education is as an important element of their empowerment; it enables

women to face challenges, confront their traditional roles, and change their position in society. Education helps women reduce inequalities and receive the knowledge, learning, and training that are necessary to contribute to change at both personal and social levels. The empowerment of women generally consists of granting them to have access to all resources like education, healthcare, employment, etc. There is scarce research on the content of the education contents directed to the empowerment of women; still, deprivation of women from education is worse for society. When women are not educated, they become vulnerable to exploitation and marginalization. However, if both women and men have access to education, the first outcome is that discriminatory practices of patriarchal and other traditional structures become challenged; educated females and males are more likely to allow both their female and male children to go to school; they can also contribute to their household organization and ways of increasing income, and they will eventually generate growth for their societies. However, **the promotion of gender equality should not be gender bias by offering more power to women and taking it away from men. Empowerment of women and men, therefore, is important to both clans; it allows both men and women to work collectively and participate equally in the social and economic development.**

In the last two decades, the Middle East and North Africa region has made substantial achievements towards gender equality. Earlier, the patriarchal system was strong and the public space was male-dominated. Conventionally, the father has been the head of the family and dictate orders to be fulfilled. Today, however, both females and males have access to education and healthcare, and men still outnumber women; accordingly, more females are attending all levels of education, and their enrollment rates are increasing. Morocco, for instance, has set out to reform the family code as a critical step toward promoting gender equality. Recent literature indicated that gender equality is restricted to a particular category of Moroccans, namely the elite like intellectuals, highly educated, and upper-class people (Slaoui et al., 2018). The family code was enacted in the rise of the 21st century in order to protect families through assigning clear responsibilities to men and women. Also important, the widespread of schooling and the increasing enrollment of women in the education system have been a significant achievement, supported by the state’s policies of compulsory education to both sexes up to the age of 15. Yet, the gender phenomenon has persisted. Therefore, women’s access to education is expected to break with the beliefs and practices which reinforce disparity.

In parallel to women’s rising access to education, more women are conquering the job market. Though they have high academic degrees and qualifications, the glass ceiling prevents them from taking positions of responsibility and leadership; women work in both the private and the public

sectors in less favorable work conditions and lower pay. More women are also present in the informal economy. Recently, families in large urban centers, like Casablanca, Agadir, Marrakech, and Tangier, are no longer able to live with the earnings of the father as the lonely breadwinner; the result is that fathers and husbands have to consider their daughters and wives' employment outside households to increase their income and see for their needs. The hope for gender equality in Morocco lies in the current generation; they are different from their parents in terms of access to more resources, including education, and they mostly come from nuclear families with limited patriarchal authority and gender inequality. This generation is likely to have the potential to build a Moroccan society where men and women are treated equally (Desrues et al., 2009).

Potential benefits

Researchers have identified many benefits of women's education that mainly concern poor countries. First, providing women with education is likely to contribute to the reduction of women fertility rate; women who obtain formal education are much more likely to use reliable family planning methods, delay marriage and child bearing, and have fewer and healthier babies. Child marriages have continued to take place in Morocco despite the fact that the legal age of marriage was raised from 16 to 18 in 2004, and the judges of the family law still receive requests to authorize marriage before the age of 18. Second, education enables women to lower infancy and child mortality rates; educated women develop knowledge of necessary suitable medical care, ensure their children are well treated and protected, and follows efficient healthcare practices. Third, women's education reduces maternal mortality rates; women with formal education tend to have better knowledge about health care practices and avoid pregnancy at a very younger age. Fourth, women's education is an effective investment in the next generation; educating women has a greater impact on children's schooling, especially daughters. Fifth, also related to women's health, women's education is likely to protect them from HIV/ AIDS infection; education ranks among the most powerful tools for reducing girls' vulnerability and raising their awareness of the disease and how to prevent it. Sixth and last, women's education contributes to women's participation in socio-economic and political participation; women's education enables them to participate in the growth of their countries as well as build democracies that guarantee rights for both females and male equally. It is a surprise that women's education and the state's efforts have reduced child mortality from 63 per 1,000 live births in 1990 to 23 in 2016 (World Bank, 2018).

Main causes

Now that we have displayed some advantages of women's education, it is important to look at the main causes and challenges to women's education. The first cause is poverty; there is a strong

relationship between unequal access in education and poverty; poor and low-income families prefer to send their children to work instead of school because they cannot afford the fees, books, and transportation. The second cause is the inadequacy of school infrastructure; that is, children, females and males, cannot pursue education if boarding schools are not available in remote primary and secondary schools. The consequence is the high rates of dropout. The third cause is parents’ lack of education; especially in poor families, parents with no education tend to perpetuate gender discrimination and refuse to send girls to school; they keep them to work in the household. The fourth cause is linked safety issues; most families in remote and rural areas prefer to keep their female children and adolescents in households fearing that they may victims of sexual harassment from strangers, and even from some teachers. The fifth cause has to do with socio-cultural practices; numerous studies show that society often treats boys and girls differently; females usually, compared to males, experience underage and forced marriages as well family responsibilities as children. The sixth cause is child labor; poor families in both rural and urban areas are likely to keep their female children to serve in the household or assist in agriculture, or serve as house cleaners for small wages. These are the main causes of gender inequality for women in Morocco, and these causes are challenges to women’s empowerment. Dropouts may also materialize from these factors.

Suggested solutions

Education has been a key factor in the development of countries all over the world. Education can play a significant role in combating gender inequality. In this paper, we present some suggestions of how the academia can exert its impact on gender inequality. They are the following:

1) Traditional gender roles causing gender inequality should be removed by education contents and media programs (e.g. literacy programs for adults; educating parents, etc.). Recent research has looked at the links between paternal education and positive child development outcomes; such traditional practices are expected to raise their awareness of gender parity and awareness of the importance of their children’s access to education.

2) Observation of the equal rights/ civil rights and education of females and males through simplified enrollment policies and similar teaching methods oriented to both females and males.

3) Teacher training should include guidelines of respect for both females and males on equal basis.

4) Free-tuition education should be offered by the state in primary and secondary education levels to both females and males.

5) Females should be encouraged to go to school and continue education, benefitting from empowerment programs, scholarships, and facilities such as dorms, transportation, and distance education programs, mainly for females in remote and rural areas.

6) Education and literacy can also be provided by voluntary organizations engaged in programs of education for females, using any suitable methods and media.

7) Counseling is also a key factor towards gender equality. It is important that schools have counselors who can provide constant guidance and counseling to both females and males to increase females' enrollment in education, retention, and achievement. This way, both sexes will have access to accurate information and find answers to the questions which parents may not be able to answer. Some expected outcomes are the reduction of dropout and the increase of performance of both sexes.

8) Offering equal access to quality education for both females and males can contribute directly to the construction of a more equal society. Favoring females in education and empowerment programs may not bring positive outcomes; males' low performance in education and high dropout rates are likely to retain and develop discriminatory gender views and physical violence against females in the household and outside.

9) Course books should be suitable for both sexes and void of gender-based contents that imply discrimination against any gender community. Gender studies need to be introduced at elementary and secondary education levels as well.

10) The quality of education in Morocco is criticized (Salehi-Isfahani et al., 2014). Specialists of education need to concentrate on this issue to come up with practical scenarios that will enable both females and males to obtain equal solid knowledge.

11) Increased employment of females in education and administration jobs may serve not only as a driver of reducing gender discrimination and stereotypes, but as a catalyst of female enrollment in primary and secondary levels as well.

12) Finally, public traditional media are called to participate in the efforts of raising awareness of gender inequality and the cost of the social phenomenon. Also the youth, females and males, mainly intellectuals, can also conquer commonly used social media platforms to explain, discuss, and defend gender equality.

These are just a few ideas of how education can contribute to the foundation of a Moroccan society enjoying gender equality.

Statistics and Discussion

In the last couple of decades, Morocco has achieved significant progress at the levels of literacy. Like its neighbors in the MENA region, Morocco's commitment and policies of ensuring access to literacy and education for both genders have been unprecedented. Still, these efforts have remained insufficient in the strategy of reducing the gender gap. Figure 1 shows the total rate of literacy of Moroccans during a period of four decades, starting from 1980 to 2015 (UNESCO, 2018). Both females and males benefited from the literacy programs. For the 15-24 age community, the rate of females was 87.78% and males 94.63% while for the age of 15 and older, females represented 59.13 % and males 80.38%. Despite the positive developments during the period between 1980 and 2015 for both sexes, the phenomenon of illiteracy is still significant for women. Table 1 summaries the recent literacy rates in Morocco based on statistical data issued by UNESCO (2018).

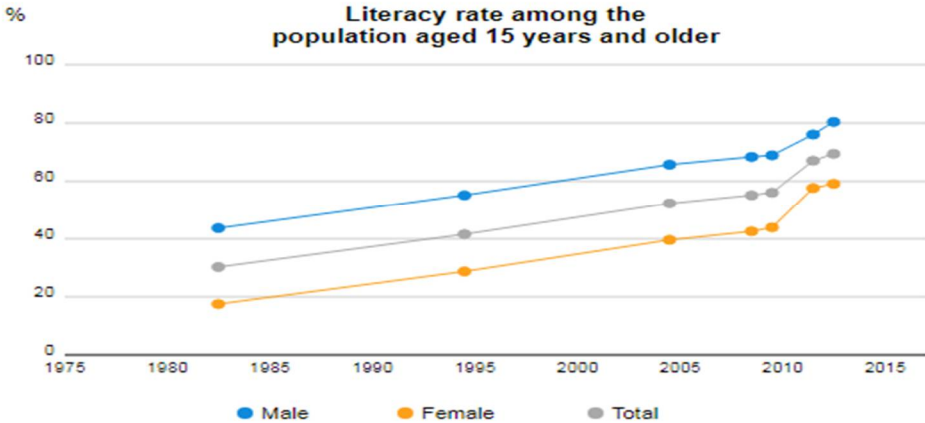


Figure 1: Morocco – Literacy rate among the population aged 15 and older (Unesco, 2018).

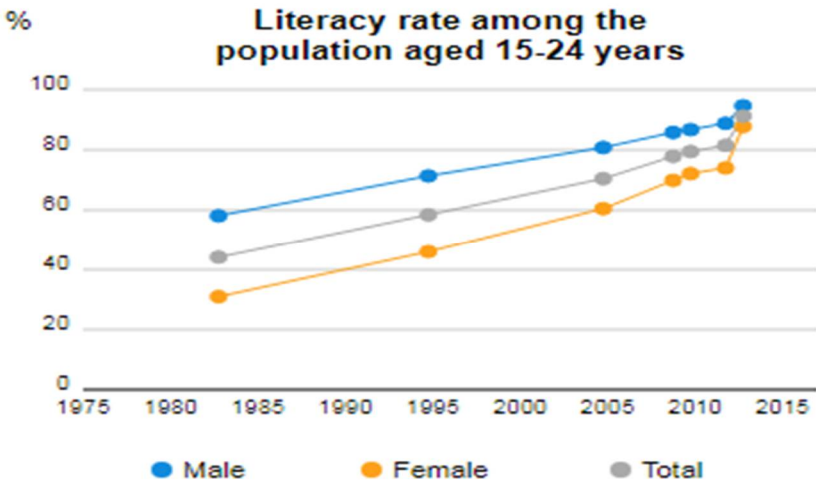


Figure 2: Morocco - Literacy rate among the population aged 15-24 years (Unesco, 2018).

	Females %	Males%	Total%	Year
15-24 years	87.78	94.63	91.22	2012
15 years and older	59.13	80.38	69.43	2012

Table 1: Morocco – Literacy rate – Summary (UNESCO, 2018).

Enrollment in primary education

Enseignement primaire public		التعليم الابتدائي العمومي									
المجموع	Total	مجموع	3 532 061	3 492 312	3 518 753	3 530 458	3 500 755	3 475 190	3 454 268	3 427 400	3 447 639
	Filles	إناث	1 647 604	1 641 330	1 661 354	1 674 038	1 666 144	1 655 575	1 644 819	1 624 364	1 636 293
حضري	Total	مجموع	1 716 904	1 663 258	1 637 691	1 612 450	1 579 402	1 551 724	1 532 691	1 525 586	1 534 351
	Filles	إناث	827 002	802 892	789 435	777 728	763 088	747 312	736 980	730 467	735 491
قروي	Total	مجموع	1 815 157	1 829 054	1 881 062	1 918 008	1 921 353	1 923 466	1 921 577	1 901 814	1 913 288
	Filles	إناث	820 602	838 438	871 919	896 310	903 056	908 263	907 839	893 897	900 802
Enseignement primaire privé		التعليم الابتدائي الخصوصي									
المجموع	Total	مجموع	346 579	371 526	426 448	470 855	516 179	545 862	575 874	611 992	654 104
	Filles	إناث	163 294	175 915	202 554	223 361	244 567	259 473	273 534	290 410	310 878

Table 2: Gross enrollment in primary education (Ministry of National education, Morocco, 2017).

Enseignement primaire privé		التعليم الابتدائي الخصوصي									
المجموع	Total	مجموع	346 579	371 526	426 448	470 855	516 179	545 862	575 874	611 992	654 104
	Filles	إناث	163 294	175 915	202 554	223 361	244 567	259 473	273 534	290 410	310 878
Enseignement secondaire collegial public		التعليم الثانوي الإعدادي العمومي									
المجموع	Total	مجموع	1 378 900	1 372 565	1 347 838	1 360 374	1 381 107	1 454 030	1 491 419	1 490 056	1 499 218
	Filles	إناث	617 064	606 305	593 646	595 816	602 704	640 471	662 412	668 305	677 832
حضري	Total	مجموع	1 067 683	1 044 881	1 003 092	991 418	994 791	1 030 471	1 037 421	1 018 110	999 972
	Filles	إناث	508 337	491 345	472 353	464 026	463 594	482 334	489 016	483 538	476 415
قروي	Total	مجموع	311 217	327 684	344 746	368 956	386 316	423 559	453 998	471 946	499 246
	Filles	إناث	108 727	114 960	121 293	131 790	139 110	158 137	173 396	184 767	201 417
Enseignement secondaire collegial privé		التعليم الثانوي الإعدادي الخصوصي									
المجموع	Total	مجموع	59 202	74 789	85 251	96 475	107 552	117 197	126 686	137 325	146 023
	Filles	إناث	27 089	34 824	40 272	45 685	51 185	56 164	61 125	66 069	70 226
Enseignement secondaire qualifiant public		التعليم الثانوي التأهيلي العمومي									
المجموع	Total	مجموع	671 864	731 203	796 515	847 513	879 269	905 051	905 309	889 503	890 663
	Filles	إناث	329 240	363 009	395 114	414 955	424 220	434 522	431 222	425 663	435 103
حضري	Total	مجموع	608 721	658 769	712 018	751 765	774 705	789 582	777 449	752 646	743 807
	Filles	إناث	304 935	334 390	361 491	377 318	383 322	389 311	380 341	370 136	372 548
قروي	Total	مجموع	63 143	72 434	84 497	95 748	104 564	115 469	127 860	136 857	146 856
	Filles	إناث	24 305	28 619	33 623	37 637	40 898	45 211	50 881	55 527	62 555
Enseignement secondaire qualifiant privé		التعليم الثانوي التأهيلي الخصوصي									
المجموع	Total	مجموع	41 769	53 732	65 001	74 014	81 234	78 464	82 825	85 791	89 258
	Filles	إناث	17 316	23 301	28 938	32 769	35 815	35 332	37 335	39 628	41 879

Table 3: Gross enrollment in junior and senior education (Ministry of National education, Morocco, 2017).

As for education, we have relied on the statistics provided by the Ministry of National education, Morocco (2017), covering the period between 2008 and 2016. The data are classified by

gender and location and it becomes easy to trace the rates of each sex. The number of females enrolled in the primary education increased from 1 647 604 in 2008 to reach 1 636 293 in 2016; with 64 784, almost 33% of them, coming from rural areas. The private sector has had its share in the schooling efforts, with 163 294 females enrolling in primary education in 2008 and this number almost doubled to reach 310 878 girls in 2016, all of whom live in urban areas. During the same period, the net enrollment in primary education was 3 532 061 in 2008 and rose to 3 447 639 children. The improvement was particularly observed in the increasing number of rural enrolled females. It is apparent that the number of enrolled females in elementary education both in public and private schools constitutes around 51% to 52% of the number of enrolled males (See Table 2).

Enrollment in secondary education

Similarly, as Table 3 indicates, enrollment in the secondary education has remarkably improved between 2008 and 2012. This level includes both the junior and senior secondary education in line with the current education system in Morocco. Out of a net enrollment in junior secondary education, the Ministry of National Education, Morocco, registered the enrollment of 617 064 girls in 2008 and 677 832 in 2016, with 201 417 of them coming from rural areas. In the private sector, 27 089 enrolled in junior education in 2008 and the number almost tripled to become 70 226 in 2016. The senior secondary education witnessed a slight increase. In 2008, 329 240 females enrolled in public schools and the number rose to 435 103 in 2016, some 62 555 girls are in rural areas. In addition, 17 316 females enrolled in senior secondary education in private schools in 2008. This number doubled to become 41 879 in 2016. It is worth noting that the enrolled female population has developed over the years from 2008 to 2016. However, the enrollment rate seems to be lower regarding the population rate of the aged between 15-19 years, representing 8.3% of the total population.

Morocco – Enrollment in tertiary education

Tertiary education has also gained its share of state’s efforts. Looking at Table 4 provided by the Ministry of Higher education, Morocco (2018), the total number of females enrolled in higher education is 376 713 out 781 505, representing the total enrollment in this education level; that is, female students enrolled in higher education in Morocco represent 48.2% of the gross student population in the academic year 2016-2017. Females are enrolled in all disciplines, but legal studies and social sciences have the lion’s share. As for the teaching staff, there are 1 397 instructors covering almost disciplines and aging between 30 and 64. They represent around 22% of the total teaching community in tertiary education. Despite the fact that the rates of female enrollment and employment in tertiary education in Morocco, they reflect a slow and steady progress to reach

similar or high enrollment compared to males. Gender inequality, therefore, persists in this sector that is supposed to have the potential to change mentalities and erase disparities in access to resources between sexes.

Effectifs des étudiants par domaine d'étude									
Domaine d'étude	2015-2016		2016-2017						Var en %
	(1)	Global (2)	Dont						(2)-(1) (1)
			N.Inscrits	Cycle normal	Master	Doctorat	Feminin	Etrangers	
Sciences Juridiques, Economiques et Sociales	308 284	345 164	101 118	323 292	13 326	8 546	161 599	4 458	11,96
Lettres et Sc Humaines	227 101	223 061	54 493	208 835	7 192	7 034	108 975	1 327	-1,78
Sciences	126 868	116 493	27 788	100 084	8 429	7 980	54 596	1 917	-8,18
Total accès ouvert	662 253	684 718	183 399	632 211	28 947	23 560	325 170	7 702	3,39
Science de la santé	19 282	20 901	2 795	18 219	149	2 533	12 957	1 417	8,40
Science d'Ingénieur, Technologie & Sciences et Techniques	51 318	56 441	13 327	47 756	3 122	5 563	27 694	1 545	9,98
Commerce et Gestion	11 999	12 778	2 123	12 014	674	90	7 702	437	6,49
Sciences de l'Education	5 023	6 385	938	4 083	1 868	434	3 077	69	27,12
Traduction	255	251	-	-	251		99	3	-1,57
IS Sport Settat	-	31	31	31			14		
Total accès sélectif	87 877	96 787	19 214	82 103	6 064	8 620	51 543	3 471	10,14
Total	750 130	781 505	202 613	714 314	35 011	32 180	376 713	11 173	4,18

Table 4: Gross enrollment in tertiary education (Ministry of Higher Education, Morocco, 2018).

Morocco – School dropouts

Although enrollment rates have increased in primary and secondary education levels, school dropout has continued. The statistics found on this phenomenon indicated that the number of dropout females in primary education fell from 197,214 to 101,425 in 2016 compared to 155 625 males in 2008 to 100 313 in 2016. It can be noted from these statistical data that dropout rates have been very low in the primary education. In the two levels of the secondary education, dropouts among females went down from 319 206 in 2008 to 169 883 in 2012; the rate has become 53.22%. During the same period, 223 381 males also dropped to 88 815, with a rate of 39.75% which was much lower compared to the rates of females. The low dropout rate of females in the secondary education was expected to have a positive impact on females' enrollment in tertiary education. In the absence of dropout statistics concerning tertiary education, it is plausible to resort to the statistics of females enrolled in higher education. In the 2016-2017 academic year, females represented 48.2% of the gross student population; so, it can be understood that the dropout rate would be low among females. Therefore, the rate of enrollment among females in tertiary

education, though still modest, would enhance gender equality in the higher education environment and society at large.

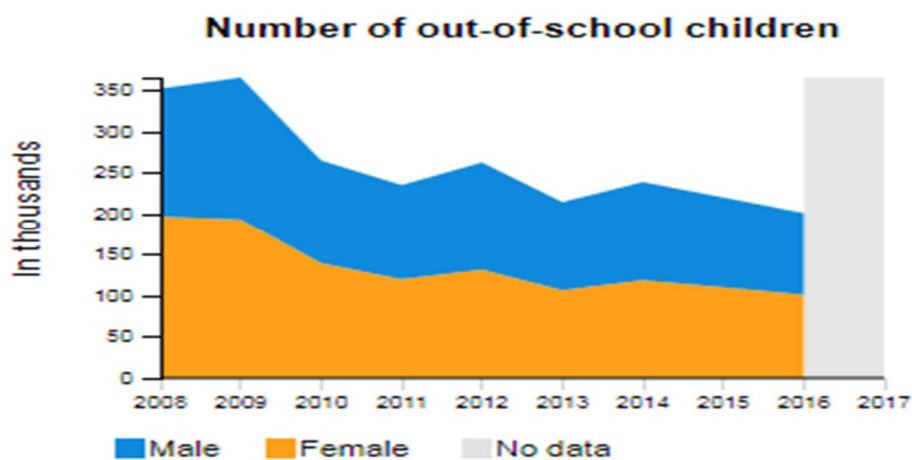


Figure 5: Dropouts among children by gender in Morocco (Berahab et al., 2017).

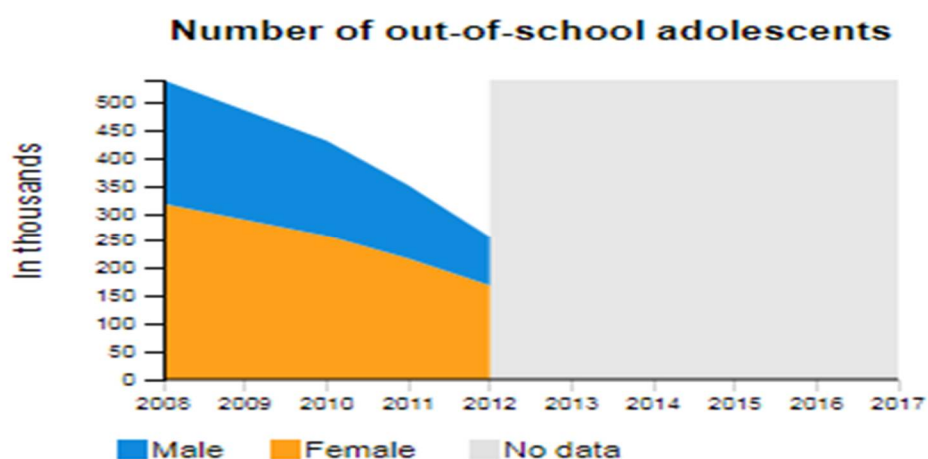


Figure 6: Dropouts among young adults by gender in Morocco (Berahab et al., 2017).

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Dropouts among children										
Total	52,839	66,356	65,628	35,594	63,138	15,085	39,256	..	01,738	
Female	97,214	93,572	39,834	20,024	31,584	06,670	19,261	..	01,425	
Male	55,625	72,784	25,794	15,570	31,554	08,415	19,995	..	00,313	
Dropouts among young adults										
Total	5	..	4	3	2	...	...		...

total	42,587	.	32,941	52,567	58,698	...	...	...	...	...
F	3	..	2	2	1	...	...	...	...	...
emale	19,206	.	60,640	18,667	69,883	...	...	...	...	...
M	2	..	1	1	8	...	...	...	...	...
ale	23,381	.	72,301	33,900	8,815	...	...	...	...	...

Table 5: Dropouts among children and young adults by gender- summary (Berahab et al., 2017).

Répartition des diplômés par sexe et par cycle d'études (2015-2016)

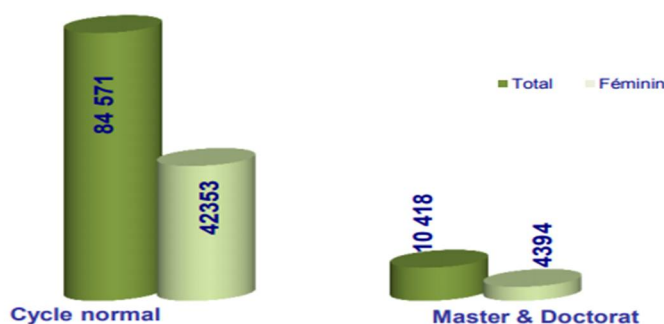


Figure 3: Graduation in tertiary education (Ministry of Higher Education, Morocco, 2018).

Conclusion

Gender inequality has been a central debate in all countries for several decades, and Morocco is not an exception. This paper has shed light on gender inequality, identified the benefits and causes of gender inequality, and suggested some solutions that the academia can adopt to contribute to the eradication of gender inequality in Morocco and elsewhere.

It is clear from the rate of the gross enrollment in both primary and secondary education levels that Morocco has made a substantial progress in schooling of children under 15. The policies issued and implemented by the state have led to the promotion of citizens’ access to education on the basis that education is the key factor to the development. Yet, females’ rate of enrollment in the tertiary education are too low to initiate changes in perceptions towards gender inequality. Females are either denied access to education or they drop out to fulfill gender role expectations, such as assisting in the household or engaging in forced marriages. Several of the causes discussed above are pertinent to the Moroccan society, especially parental educational backgrounds, families’ social status (income), and school infrastructure. This implies that the state and specialists are called to determine the anomalies that are inherent in primary and secondary education and plan necessary reforms that promise higher enrollment in primary and secondary education, the outcomes of which will inflate access to tertiary education for both females and males.

To conclude, this analysis indicated the positive impacts of educational public policies on the significant rates of access to education in elementary and secondary levels even in remote and rural areas. Still, more public policies are needed in the direction of generalizing education by increasing basic facilities for the benefit of rural children (both females and males) and poor children in urban centers. The private sector, the civil society, traditional media, and social media are also invited to assist public efforts in generalizing education and building solid grounds for gender equality.

References

1. Berahab, R. and Bouba, Z. (Eds.). (2017). *Egalité de genre, politiques publiques et croissance économique au Maroc*. Rabat : OCP Policy Center.
2. Desrues, T. and Moreno Nieto, J. (2009). The development of gender equality for Moroccan women – illusion or reality? *Journal of Gender Studies*, 18(1), 25-34. DOI: 10.1080/09589230802584220
3. Elwer, S., Alex, L., and Hammarstrom, A. (2012). Gender (in) equality among employees in elder care: implications for health. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 11(1), 1-10. Available online at: https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/d325/511dcc737c01fc1d47a0f8e22e695291f976.pdf?_ga=2.83323990.1304915507.1535401956-934228120.1535401956
4. Erola, J., Jalonen, S., and Lehti, H. (2016). Parental education, class and income over early life course and children’s achievement. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 44, 33–43.
5. Kearney, M. S. and Levine, P. B. (2016). Income Inequality, Social Mobility, and the Decision to Drop Out of High School. *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, (SPRING 2016), 333-380.
6. Ministry of Higher Education, Morocco (2018). Statistiques universitaire, 2016-2017. Available online at: https://www.enssup.gov.ma/sites/default/files/STATISTIQUES/3734/Stat_Univ_16-17_vf.pdf
7. Ministry of National Education, Morocco. (2017). Recueil statistique de l’éducation, 2015-2016. Available online at : <https://www.men.gov.ma/Ar/Documents/Recueil2015-16.part1.rar>
8. Osongo, J. (2009). Affirmative action, gender equity and university admissions – Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. *London Review of Education*, 7(1), 71–81.
9. Ridgeway, C. (2011). *Framed by Gender: How Gender Inequality Persists in the Modern World*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
10. Salehi-Isfahani, D., Belhaj-Hassine, N., and Assaad, R. (2014). Equality of opportunity in educational achievement in the Middle East and North Africa. *Journal of Economic Inequality*, 12(4), 489-515.
11. Slaoui, S. and Belghiti, K. (2018). Promoting gender equality in Moroccan educational institutions: Reality or illusion? *KULTŪRA IR VISUOMENĖ, Socialinių tyrimų žurnalas*, 9 (1), 31-49.
12. World bank (2018). *Education statistics: country at a glance: Morocco*. Available online at: <http://datatopics.worldbank.org/education/country/morocco>

GENDER AND IDENTITY

Lamprini Frosi

“We were” versus “they are”: Teachers Talk about Contemporary Adolescent Femininity”

(School of Psychology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Identity is characterized in terms of one’s interpersonal characteristics, such as self-definition or personality traits, the roles and relationships one takes on in different interaction contexts, as well as personal values or moral beliefs (Calvert, 2002, in Huffaker & Calvert, 2005; Moshman, 2005). Identity is no longer considered to be a single and unchanging category, but it seems to be composed of several identities (Kroger, 2007), among which gender identity is dominant. Gender identity is mainly about what being a man or woman means (Paechter, 2007). Although the identity involves a sense of continuity over time, it is likely to be disturbed during puberty, when radical changes occur in one’s physical appearance and sexual maturation. Consequently, there are changes in the roles that are expected to be taken according to their gender, within a mature identity (Grotevant, 1998, in Huffaker & Calvert, 2005).

For these reasons, the period of adolescence has received the interest of research which attempts to give answers in a series of concerns ranging from school achievements to life choices, which directly depend on gender identities. Thus in feminist research gender identities are being studied mainly as factors that decisively influence both distribution of roles between men and women and gender relations within the framework of social structures (Deliyianni-Kouimtzi & Sakka, 2003).

Concerning to femininity, there is a greater flexibility in the way in which the social environment perceives the female identity compared to male identity, as well as a tendency for greater widening of its content. The changes are related to the characteristics, roles, behaviors and girls’ life goals (Deliyianni-Kouimtzi, 2007; Deliyianni-Kouimtzi & Athanasiadou, 2017). Women’ personal independence and autonomy are key aspects in the new femininity. However, social control, particularly about female sexuality, remains (Nielsen & Rudberg, 2007; Deliyianni-Kouimtzi & Athanasiadou, 2017).

Social institutions, as socialization frameworks, have a central role in shaping femininity (Deliyianni-Kouimtzi & Athanasiadou, 2017). Education is significant among them (Frosi, 2005; Frosi, 2010) and constructs, shapes and transmits specific definitions of gender and gender relations to each new generation (Arnot, 2006). Secondary school through its social role is of vital importance in shaping social relations, including gender. Although this is currently achieved in less

apparent ways (Francis, 2007), research reveals that a number of educational factors are linked to the formation of gender relations and identities. Such factors are the subjects taught in school and the type of knowledge transmitted, the school books, the teaching and assessment methods, the school rules and the discipline control, the models of authority, some aspects of the hidden curriculum, as well as the teachers themselves as carriers of beliefs and school practices (Arnot, 2006; Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Sakka, 2005; Frosi, 2010).

Teachers and adolescent gender identities

The formal rhetoric of school denies its responsibility for the perpetuation of gender differences (Frosi, 2005; Deliyanni, 2003; Frosi & Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, 2015). In particular, a large number of Greek teachers believe that in recent years gender issues have no place on the educational agenda, as they do not exist as a problem in the school environment anymore. The argument is about the changes that have occurred concerning to the equal presence of boys and girls in the Greek school, underestimating, thus, the socializing role of the school and exaggerating the influence of the family and the media on the formation of behaviors and role models (Frosi & Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, 2015).

Over the past two decades research on adolescent gender identities has focused on adolescents themselves and their teachers, both considered as key factors in the shaping of identities. Concerning to hegemonic femininity, research shows a variety of contradictory discourses used for their construction (Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Athanasiadou, 2017; Okun, 2009). It also shows that femininity is more flexible and enriched compared to masculinity. The changes are related to the girls' characteristics, roles, behaviors and life goals. Specifically, it includes new ideas about gender relations and the division of work inside the family. It also aims to personal fulfillment, in terms of the concept of success. Women's personal independence and autonomy are key aspects in the new femininity. On the other hand traditional aspects, such as caring, high academic achievement, obedience, mild behavior and emphasis on the role of mothering and housekeeping, are retained (Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, 2007; Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Sakka, 2003). In addition, social control, mainly about female sexuality, remains (Nielsen & Rudberg, 2007; Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Athanasiadou, 2017).

Concerning to teachers, they continue to construct traditional images for both social gender relations and genders. Thus, they underestimate the girls' high school achievements (Frosi, 2005) and they interact in different ways with boys and girls (Pardham & Pelletier, 2017; Francis & Skelton, 2005; Frosi, 2005). They also support traditional gender behaviors, have different beliefs about girls' and boys' abilities, as well as different expectations of them (Heller, Finsterwald, &

Ziegler, 2010, in Kollmayer, Schober & Spiel, 2016; Hofer, 2015; Vekiri, 2013). Greek research also shows that when teachers talk about their students, they adopt a dichotomous discourse, as they emphasize the differences between boys and girls, attributing to them different personality characteristics, behaviors, roles and expectations (Frosi, 2005).

Greek research reveals new aspects in contemporary femininity. However, teachers’ perceptions about changing femininity over time, as well as the contribution of education in general and of teachers themselves to these changes, have not been investigated yet. This is what the present study attempts to do.

The research

Aim -Participants –Data collection and analysis

The main purpose of this study was to investigate the way teachers describe the adolescent femininity of today having the adolescent femininity of their own generation as a reference point. The main questions of the study are: What has changed and what remains the same regarding to adolescent femininity in the Greek context, according to the teachers? What are the new aspects of femininity? Where do teachers attribute these changes?

Six teachers employed at senior high schools, three men and three women, aged 40 to 53, participated in personal semi-structured interviews. The data were analysed with the use of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Bryman, 2016).

Results and discussion

The participants describe the adolescent femininity of today opposite to their own (late 1970s-early 80s to early 90s), comparing their female students to their own adolescent selves, as they recall them in their memory. In addition, they often compare the girls of today with the boys of today. In gender research, femininity is often constructed in comparison or in contrast to masculinity (Frosi, 2005; Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Athanasiadou, 2017). In this study the comparison results in the identification of new aspects of femininity, as well as aspects that remain over time. It is noteworthy that participants not only describe them, but make judgments about them as well.

The analysis reveals three main themes: (a) positive aspects of new hegemonic femininity, (b) negative aspects of new hegemonic femininity and (c) Positive intergenerational aspects. Themes related to new aspects of femininity are predominant.

Table 1. New aspects of femininity and intergenerational aspects

Themes	Sub-themes
--------	------------

Positive aspects of hegemonic femininity	Wide range of information Claim and determination Freedoms (choice of studies, sexuality, reduced social control) Academic and work orientation
Negative aspects of hegemonic femininity	Boyish (aggressive) behaviors Excessive effusion in relationships with boys Early and shallow love relationships Undertaking initiatives to engage in love relationships Emphasis on external appearance
Positiveinter generational aspects	Discipline/Obedience Study Targeting to the creation of a family Communication skills

In particular, participants talk about the girls of today, based on their observation and interaction with them at school. They say that all contemporary adolescents, including girls, in contrast to their own adolescent selves “*are well informed for everything. For studying, for sexual issues, for contraception, for everything*” (W-3), as opposed to the adolescents of their own generation. They believe that information is the main characteristic of modern times and is mainly linked to the internet which did not exist when the participants were adolescents.

They also describe girls as individuals who claim their rights, decide on issues that concern them in a context of realism, self-awareness and goal commitment. Such issues are the type and duration of their studies, the establishment of close personal relationships and the creation of a family. When it comes to the decision making, they report that in their time their decisions didn't always come from them but from their parents.

"They claim their lives. [...] "I will study and I'll not get married early", they have a goal and they go for it. [...] Many of them are very grounded and realistic. She is 17.5 years old and puts a manifesto on you, that "I want to do this and that, this and that" and when you ask her "how can you do that?", she puts you next to a list of alternatives. It means that these girls really have a plan in their minds and they want to succeed it. They know what, why and how they'll study, as well as how much money they will need. They also decide "I want to stay there, I want to stay here with this number of roommates, so I can pay the rent". They think and set goals everyday." (W-1)

Teachers emphasize the academic orientation of girls and their plans for work, which will guarantee the financial independence they want. This confirms Deliyanni & Athanasiadou’s (2017) findings, in which independence and autonomy are important aspects of the new femininity.

“ I’ll do my Master, I’ll do my PhD, I’ll work”. In my own time, getting a university degree was a great feat, especially in the province. Neither was it necessary (for women) to work” (W-1)

The above perception is probably strongly connected to the fact that the participants of our study teach for years in General High Schools, where the students’ academic orientation is almost taken for granted. This finding might be different if the participants’ experience derived from observations of and interaction with Vocational High School students.

Participants also consider that nowadays girls enjoy more freedoms, especially when it comes to choose their friends, including boys, their entertainment and nights out and the expression of their sexuality. All above changes are considered by all participants, men and women, as positive aspects of femininity. These positive changes in femininity are presented both as a result of both girls’ claims and the parents’ and the society’s changing perceptions. The social control of girls’ behavior that was very intensive in the past, has now been reduced dramatically. The teachers of our sample consider that nowadays parents are more educated. They also remember the impact that the limits set by their parents, as well as the strict social control, had on themselves, especially on women, during their adolescence. According to the participants, parents of today consider that their children are very well informed about possible dangers to which they may be exposed. For all these reasons, they become more permissive toward their daughters. Teachers also talk about reduced social control, a condition that favors the changes mentioned above. It is worth noting that participants do not connect any changes with the school framework, confirming Frosi & Deliyanni’s (2015) finding, in which the teachers construct “neutral-school”, the social role of which is disregarded.

“And my niece talks comfortably about her flirting, going out and having fun and coming back home late at night [...] I see a freedom I did not see before. I also see parents more comfortable ...” (W-3)

“In our times there was gossip, mainly in small places and especially for girls. They could not come back home or walk in the street late at night. Nowadays, even in the villages, I see society being more tolerant. The family, as well as society, accepts it.” (M-2)

“My parents didn’t allow me to hang out with boys” (W-2)

Participants, however, seem to be ambivalent towards this status of freedom. They see it as a positive aspect of the new femininity, but at the same time they do not like it when it is linked to

boyish behaviors from the part of girls, such as 'aggressive' expression of sexuality, despite the fact that they refer to the early and shallow sexual relationships of adolescent girls of today as something usual. On the other hand, they tend to compare the existing situation with their own experience, at a time when relationships with boys, especially sexual relationships, were unthinkable for adolescent girls and, if it happened, should usually end with marriage.

"Since (girls) are in high school, they don't hesitate to be in a relationship for a week and after 10 days to do the same thing with another boy. [...] in my own time, in order to create a relationship, you had, if anything, to have marriage as a long-term goal. ..." (W-1)

"When I was a teenager, I did not dare to hang out with boys, not to have a love relationship. Now, in high school (age), many girls have sexual relationships. Short term relationships." (W-2)

Some of the teachers seem to be very cautious about the effusion that characterizes relationships between boys and girls, even when they are just friendly ones.

"Today I think friendly relations are more intense, more liberated [...], and I will attribute it once more to the change of society. [...] I see a joviality, verbal and physical, they touch, hug, and kiss each other, while we did not use to do the same. These things didn't happen in the society I was living in ... but now it is, I still think, it is too much. I wish they were not so effusive, so expressive to each other." (M-1)

It is also noted by teachers that girls take the initiative in creating love relationships, "... they make the first move" (W-3). This causes ambivalence to the participants, as on the one hand they do not regard it as inappropriate behavior for girls, but on the other hand they consider it as emasculating and confusing boys, because they are raised by their families to become the hunters.

"Girls are more aggressive, meaning that they will make a first step closer to a boy, they do not wait for a long time, they have become the hunters." (W-1)

"I think boys are lost somewhere. I mean they are raised by their parents, by the existing narratives, etc. to become hunters, and then, they get surprised by the fact that the reality they face is different, like what is going on? They get confused." (W-2)

Participants also describe as negative some aspects of hegemonic adolescent femininity behaviors that are adopted by the majority girls of today, such as swearing or behaving rudely to their peers and teachers. These behaviors are traditional aspect of masculinity and they are socially accepted when it comes to boys.

"Girls imitate the way boys talk, it's not a very feminine way, ..." (W-2)

"... the girl may tease the boys, she may use a vocabulary that suits a boy" (M-3)

The last negative aspect of new femininity, according to teachers, has to do with the emphasis given by girls on their external appearance even in every day school life. Although it is accepted as a core aspect of femininity, when it takes place in school it is considered as negative aspect, incompatible with the school age and life. Two of the female participants remember the school uniform as a means of control over the sexual aspect of femininity in their adolescence time.

“I see little girls, even in Junior High School, but even more in high school, going to hair salon to dye their hair. Dyed nails and so on. Some of them go too far. I remember when I was a student, there was a girl in a higher class and we were saying ‘look, she dyed her hair red! [...] we were wearing a uniform, make-up was forbidden in school, you could get scolded, at least.” (W-1)

On the other hand, the participating teachers also refer to positive intergenerational aspects of femininity. Particularly such aspects are girls’ high school achievements, which are related to obedience, diligence, cooperativity, good use of study time, patience and persistence as characteristics of girls' identity. This finding is common in other researches too (Frosi, 2005, Francis & Skelton, 2005; Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & Sakka, 2003)

“Girls are less loud, and more disciplined” (W-1)

“Girls are more diligent, more patient and more persistent. Boys are more easily disoriented even in the classroom.” (W-2)

A second characteristic has to do with girls’ sociability and high communication skills versus boys’, which, according to the teachers, lead to a more rapid maturation.

“Their sociability is better, girls communicate better. [...] Boys are together, but they talk less or they talk nonsense. They curse or say futile things. Girls are always more talkative, they analyze situations more, they approach a problem from several perspectives in order to solve it. This has always been happening and it is still happening.” (M-2)

The last positive intergenerational aspect is girls' belief in the institution of the family, which they want to create after completing their studies and finding a job. In order to create a family, they find it necessary to be financially independent by finding a job and then creating a family of their own. That leads them to postpone the family goal in their life plans. *“They say, ‘someday I will get married, after 30 or 35. I’ll study, I’ll get a job and then I’ll get married.” (W-3)*

Conclusion

The hegemonic femininity described by the participant teachers differs significantly from that of their own generation. In particular, the "then" adolescent girls are described as obedient, studious, limited by their parents and somehow oppressed by them, especially in terms of going out and

staying out late, as well as the frequency of their nights out. The aim of the above restrictions was the control of the female sexuality as well as the protection of girls themselves and their families from the negative social environment critic. This reality appears to have been more intense in the Greek province. Additionally, girls were encouraged to study only if this perspective would not affect the creation of a family.

When it comes to the adolescent femininity of today, femininity has been expanded and includes aspects deriving from the traditional masculinity. Some of them are presented as positive changes, while others as a loss of part of femininity. In particular, girls of today appear to have the same freedoms and opportunities as the boys in their age, regarding studies and relationships. They are also presented as socially mature, academically and work-oriented, they set goals and demand their achievement. All above new aspects of femininity are considered by the participants to be positive and beneficial for girls. Moreover, the parental and social permissiveness or tolerance that characterizes modern Greek society, as regards the relatively early expression of sexuality, has exonerated the girls and has created the preconditions for behaviors previously thought to be attributed to male identity. Such behaviors include making the first step to create a relationship with a boy or the rapid changes of love but not necessarily sexual partners. These do not overturn the basic aspect of femininity, that is the desire of getting married and having children. The above combined with the characteristics of the diligent, quiet and good student, are the two main intergenerational constants of the femininity. However, some other aspects of femininity derived from the dominant traditional masculinity, are negatively evaluated by participants. These are the adoption of boyish behaviors, especially cursing, excessive effusion in their relations with boys, early and shallow love relationships and the emphasis on their appearance.

The teachers' ambivalence regarding adolescent girls' relationships with boys reflects a willingness for greater social control over female sexuality.

Finally, teachers attribute the new aspects of femininity to the claim of girls themselves, as well as to their parents and the wider society that has become more tolerant and less regulating. They do not connect school or even teachers themselves in anyway with the changes in aspects of femininity or with the social change they refer to. They indirectly present themselves as mere observers of the new reality which they describe.

References

1. Arnot, M. (2006). *Gender Reproduction Procedures. Educational Theory and Feminist Policies*. Athens: Metahmio (in Greek)
2. Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2013). *Successful Qualitative Research. A Practical Guide for Beginners*. London: Sage Publications.
3. Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods*. Athens: Gutenberg. (in Greek)

4. Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, V. (2007). Adolescent gender identities, transition processes and the contemporary social context: general conclusions. In V. Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, & D. Sakka (Eds) *From Adolescence to Adult Life* (pp. 361-372). Athens: Gutenberg. (in Greek)
5. Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, V., & Athanasiadou, C. (2017). Cultures of femininity and female identities in Greek context: memories of adolescents among women from two generations. In A. Dalakoura, V. Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, V. Foukas & Ch. Tzikas (Eds) *Issues of History of Greek Education and Gender* (pp.413-430). Thessaloniki: Kyriakides. (in Greek)
6. Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, V. & Sakka, D. (2003). Gender identities in adolescence. In V. Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, S.Ziogou, & L. Frosi (Eds), *Gender and Educational Reality in Greece: Promoting Gender Equality Interventions in Greek Educational System* (pp. 144-152). Athens: KETHI. (in Greek)
7. Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, V. & Sakka, D. (2005). Male identities in adolescence: a feminist perspective. In V. Deliyanni-Kouimtzi & D. Sakka, with M. Irakleidou & L. Frosi (Eds) *Growing up as a Boy* (pp 15-26). Athens: Gutenberg. (in Greek)
8. Francis, B. (2007) «Teaching manfully? Exploring gendered subjectivities and power via analysis of men teachers' gender performance», *Gender and Education*, 20(2), 109-122.
9. Francis, B. & Skelton, C. (2005). *Reassessing Gender and Achievement*. London: Routledge.
10. Frosi, L. (2005). Social structure of masculine gender identity: Teachers' views about boys (and girls) in school. In V. Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, & D. Sakka (Eds) *Growing up as a Boy* (pp. 107-126). Athens: Gutenberg. (in Greek)
11. Frosi, L.-L. (2010). *Genders in School and in teachers' discourse*. Athens: Topos. (in Greek)
12. Frosi, L. & Deliyanni-Kouimtzi, V. (2015). The role of the school and of the teachers in promoting gender equality: beliefs expressed by Greek teachers. *Theory and Research in the Sciences of Education*, 4, 21-38. <http://periodiko.inpatra.gr>
13. Hofer, S. (2015). Studying gender bias in physics grading: the role of teaching experience and country. *International Journal of Science Education*, 37 (17), 2879-2905.
14. Huffaker, D.& Calvert, S. (2006) Gender, identity, and language use in teenage blogs. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 10, (2).
15. <https://academic.oup.com/jcmc/article/10/2/JCMC10211/4614441>
16. Kollmayer, M., Schober, B., & Spiel, C. (2016). Gender stereotypes in education: Development, consequences, and interventions. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 15(4), 361-377.
17. Kroger, J. (2007). Why is identity achievement so exclusive? *Identity International Journal of Theory and Research*, 7, 331-348.
18. Moshman, D. (2005). *Adolescent Psychological Development: Rationality, Morality and Identity*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
19. Nielsen, H. B. & Rudberg, M. (2007). Fun in gender-youth and sexuality, class and generation. *NORA-Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 15(2-3), 100-113.
20. Okun, S.(2009). Reflections on Societal Change, Adjustment and Responses. *Journal of Family History*, 34(2), 224-237.
21. Paechter, C. (2007). *Beingboys, being girls: Learning Masculinities and Femininities*. London: Open University Press.
22. Pardham, A. & Pelletier, J. (2017). Pakistani pre-primary teachers' perceptions and practices related to gender in young children. *International Journal of Early Years Education*, 25(1), 51-71.
23. Vekiri, I. (2013). Users and experts: Greek primary teachers' views about boys, girls, ICTs and computing. *Technology, Pedagogy and Education*, 22(1), 73-87.

Larysa Zahrai

Thematic Analysis of Research Experience Gender Identity

(Vasyl Stefanyk Prekarpathian National University Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine)

The article describes feminist methodology and qualitative method of thematic analysis. The relevance of the research feminist methodology as an alternative in the women's experience study, personality gender experience is revealed. This article offers an accessible and theoretically-flexible approach to qualitative data analysis. Thematic analysis is widely-used as well as the qualitative analytic method within psychology. Thematic analysis is also widely used, but there is no clear agreement about the essence of thematic analysis and in what way you go about using it. We briefly describe how to use thematic analysis in psychology. Thematic analysis involves a number of choices which are often not explicitly made (or are not discussed in the papers method section), but it needs to be explicitly considered and discussed. The technology of thematic analysis in the gender schemes research of the men's and women's experience is presented. The main application stages of thematic analysis in the gender personality experience study are described. The disadvantages and advantages of thematic analysis are outlined.

Keywords: *thematic analysis, qualitative method, qualitative data analysis, feminist methodology, epistemology, gender experience, gender schemes.*

Thematic analysis for the individual gender experience study

The individual gender experience study is possible under the condition of taking into account its multifacetedness and unique character. It is feminist methodology that takes into account the peculiarity of a person's gender experience. It focuses on the subject's feelings, desires and interests. The methodology in which attention is focused on women's experience and the choice of methods for researching it, in particular the qualitative ones, is considered as the alternative to feminist methodologies.

The goal is to justify the thematic analysis use as a qualitative method for individual gender experience study.

Female experience was interpreted by feminists as heterogeneous and plural one. It includes three dimensions: 1) experience is specific for women unlike men; 2) the experience of women members who belong to the movement against discrimination based on sex; 3) the experience of women who belong to the second wave generation of the feminist movement. The women's experience is related to family, children birth, emotions, sexuality, and for a long time it

has not been the subject of research, and only the feminist epistemology puts such experience into the research center.

What concerns the women's participation experience in women movements, the feminists have become particularly sensitive to the practice of exclusion, silence, tabooing of social minorities in social cognition. Feminist methodology becomes the cognitive element of the struggle for equal opportunities both for men and women belonging to different social categories. There is a rethinking in all life spheres of the female protest movement and gender inequality, epistemology itself is being reconstructed as the basis of the social system and patriarchy.

Feminists problematize their professional experience and find a discrepancy between their personal experience and what sociology says about women, and the way it describes this. D. Smith also describes the patriarchal writing methods. This disparity D. Smith explains through structural and functional analysis, according to which there is a distribution of sexual roles and the fulfillment of a woman's as an expressive role, and a man's as an instrumental role (Smith D., 2000. P. 32.) This distribution of sex roles is declared by the stability norm and condition. Such provisions did not correspond to the knowledge and experience of those women who worked in public sphere and played an instrumental role. Thus, multidimensional female experience generates the need for the formation of a new postures methodology theory and new research techniques, because the classical models turned out to be gender-insensitive.

In response to the outlined problem, four epistemological vectors - feminist empiricism, positionalism, social constructionism and postmodernism - have emerged within twenty years and within the feminist theory framework. They succeed each other as cognitive practices of feminist protest.

Since experience is the study subject in feminist study which is in the focus of women attention, then such a specificity of the subject will determine the investigation method choice. Feminist researchers argue that the features of its application are more important but not the method of research features. All diagnostic methods (questionnaires, interviews, observation, interpretation of official statistics, historical documents, biographies) are at first sight the same, which allow you to listen, or to fix what people say, what they are doing, or to analyze the relevant texts and documents. However, as S. Harding notes, feminist research has its own specifics, which provides:

1. "Alternative origins of problems primarily affecting women".
2. Formulation of "alternative explanatory hypotheses".
3. Formulation of "new research goals" which provide for women's awareness their role in gender relations transformation.

4. A change in relationship nature between the subject and the object of knowledge.

Feministically oriented studies suggest a deviation not only of the feminine traditional role, but also of previous research methods, giving preference to qualitative methods. Feminist researchers justify the need to apply qualitative research methods to the research practice needs: if it is necessary to find out the meaning of the respondent's answer; to clarify aspects of the subjects' thoughts; to influence the opinions formation; to analyze complex installations; to come up with motivational interpretations; to carry out interpretation of statistical interrelations, first of all, cases that deviate from the average statistical norm; to analyze the effects and processes of acquiring individual experience as a reaction to certain situations; to identify the limits of the individual's possibilities repertoire (Kohli M., Roberts G., (Hg), 1984). So, the found qualitative methods are designed to create an opportunity for respondents to express as much as possible the subjective points of relevant view. In our opinion, a thematic analysis can be considered as one of the most effective qualitative methods.

Thematic analysis should be considered as the main method of analysis. It is the first qualitative method of analysis that should be studied by researchers since it provides the basic skills that are necessary for many other forms of analysis. As noted by Holloway and Todres (2003, p. 347), this method identifies "thematic values" as one of the few joint common skills in qualitative analysis; for this reason, Boyzazis (1998) does not characterize it not as a specific method, but as a tool for using various methods. Similarly, Ryan and Bernard (2000) define thematic coding as a process occurring within the framework of "basic" analytical traditions (such as the sound theory) rather than as a concrete approach.

As noted by Brown and Clark, the thematic analysis should be viewed as an independent method that has all the necessary characteristics. What is a thematic analysis? Thematic analysis is a method of identification, analysing and reporting within the (topic) data. It shortly organizes and describes the data specified in detail and explains various research topic aspects (Boyatzis, 1998). In this version, it is often referred to as the method of analysis. In addition, it can be called, for example, a discourse analysis or even a content analysis (Vermeer, Windsor, 2000) or without specifying a specific method, it can be mentioned to indicate that "the data was processed using an analysis of frequently repeated topics" (Braun, Wilkinson, 2003, p. 30). So, the thematic analysis assumes the individual topics selection in the text, which can be numerous in number. The task of the researcher is to describe them adequately.

The thematic analysis is different from other analytical methods which attempt to describe data on a base of template, makes emphasis at the experience (Holloway, Todres, 2003) in order to

understand it as a reality. Stages of the thematic analysis are: 1) acquaintance with the data, the verbal data transcription; 2) the source codes creation; 3) topics search; 4) the topics contentanalysis; 5) the topics namesdefinition; 6) report preparation.

Thus, the method of thematic analysis is a flexible, qualitative method that allows you to explore the individual gender experience and it can be effectively used in a variety of research practices and epistemologies.

Bibliography

3. Braun Virginia, Clarke Victoria (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3 (2). pp.77-101.
4. Смит Д. (2000) Социологическая теория. Методы патриархатного письма. Хрестоматия феминистских текстов. Под ред. Здравомысловой Е., Темкиной А. СПб.: «Дмитрий Буланин», С. 32.
5. Kohli M. Roberts G., (Hg), (1984) *Biographie und soziale Wirklichkeit*. Stuttgart: Metzler, S. 18.
6. Sandra Harding (1987) «Introduction. Is there a Feminist Method?», in Sandra Harding, ed., *Feminism and Methodology*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, pp. 1-14.

Oksana Shchotka

**Self-Presentation in Online Communication of Women-Winners of The
TVProject "New Leaders Of Ukraine"**

(Mykola Gogol Nizhyn State University, Ukraine)

Abstract

The article presents the results of the study of online self-presentation of women leaders in social networks. The personal pages of women leaders were analyzed as a virtual conversation with subscribers. The content of personal pages helps to create an image of an effective leader in a virtual audience. In a virtual environment, a female leader can improvise with an identity, as well as with a gender component. In women's traditional leadership spheres, women are more free to build virtual identities, while in other areas they are rigidly tied to the norms of masculine leadership.

Keywords: online-communication, self-presentation, virtual identities

Introduction

There is a significant gender gap in Ukraine in the field of political leadership and management. The lack of women among top leaders can be explained by the biased attitude of the public towards women's leadership. At the same time, it is noticeable that women's leaders are not well prepared for an effective gender self-presentation (TkalychM.,2016).

Our interest in online-communication is due to the fact that this practice of self-presentation opens up new opportunities for women leaders, and also allowsthem to actively experiment with their gender identity for the consciousness of a more harmonious image of «I am a leader». We hope that the results of the study will help to find ways to develop the formation of women's ability to effectively present themselves.

The present research

At the beginning of the XXI century. in the research of skidding the sex factor was taken into account. On this basis a new industry - gender psychology of leadership took shape. In recent decades, the focus of the attention of the researchers has become the leader's behavior, the gender identity of the leader, conducted cross-cultural leadership studies, fruitfully explored the personality of the leader, as well as considerable attention was paid to obstacles to women's leadership (Bendas, 2011).

Contemporary gender studies draw attention to the emergence of gender identity in interpersonal interaction. In an Internet space, a person makes personalities that form new facets for self-identification (Voysrunskyi. 2005). Internet communication allows the user to experiment with

their own identity, to create "virtual subjects" of communication, which is often different from personal identity, and from the real self-presentation of users. The Internet provides the opportunity for a person to move away from many grounds of social categorization: sex, age, socio-economic status and ethnicity. It is the possibility of maximal self-expression up to unrecognized self-change. It is this advantage that attracts social network users (Zao Sh., Grasmuck Sh., Martin J. (2008).

The aim of the research: to study the features of creating a virtual self-presentation of women-social leaders in the process of online communication.

Research methods: content analysis of women profiles content in social networks. Criteria for analysis: the presence of self-representation of the gender role (wife, mother, sister), the presence of self-presentation of the leadership role (leader, head, manager), relations (with husbands, mothers, children, colleagues), assistance to others; and also the topics of career and business success, attitude to the open expression of emotions.

The sample was 34 women aged 22 to 40 years.

The material for the study was the personal pages of the Facebook social network of women winners of the TV project "New Leaders of Ukraine". The text and visual contents of the content were analyzed. The research was conducted during the active phase of the project, when the self-presentation and communication of women-leaders with the public was topical.

Stages of the study:

1. At the preparatory stage, an analysis of the results of the evaluation of the participants' initiatives by the public and experts was carried out.
2. At the main stage for further research, we selected 34 women with the highest rating of leadership. Next, we signed up on their Facebook page, got full access to the content and analyzed it.
3. Comparative analysis of self-representations of women-leaders of the project, from various spheres of social leadership.

Results. The study found that young women make up 27% of project participants, approaching women's quotas in politics. The share of women's initiatives is greatest in the field of social welfare and care, protection of the rights of vulnerable groups of the population, orphan children, animals, and architectural monuments. In all other areas, women do not show high activity. The smallest share of women's initiatives in traditionally male domains: strategic management, public administration, military affairs, sports, economics, IT technologies.

In the first hundred leaders ranked only 12 women according to the public opinion. According to the expert group created on a parity basis, twice as many as 24. Thus, we see no high trust in

women's leadership in the public, which actualizes the task of self-presentation of women as leaders.

Analysis of content of pages of women-leaders with a high level of popularity "showed:

1. Female participants have a wide range of virtual contacts, so their Internet pages can be viewed as a format for public communication.

2. The role of leader or manager serves as the basis for self-presentation of the majority of investigated women. The gender role is represented minimal.

Only a third of the analyzed pages contained information about family status or status in relationships. Women provide minimal information about their private lives, almost do not share emotions.

3. The "I-leader" image of women is constructed balancing between the rules of gender roles and the norms of leadership. In the traditionally women's sphere, the balance is in three types of images: 1) feminine leader, merciful, caring, sacrificial, devoting himself to serving others; 2) a leader who can successfully combine different roles and implement social initiatives with his family; 3) a successful, competent leader and at the same time an attractive woman;

4. In areas where women's roles and leadership do not match much, women are inclined to reproduce in a virtual identity the masculine standard of leadership: brave, resolute, female reformer.

Conclusions

The only personality reality in a virtual environment is the reality of self-presentation. The content of personal pages helps to create an image of an effective leader in a virtual audience. In a virtual environment, a female leader can improvise with an identity, as well as with a gender component. In women's traditional leadership spheres, women are more free to build virtual identities, while in other areas they are rigidly tied to the norms of masculine leadership.

References

1. Бендас Т.В. (2011) Перспективы развития гендерной психология лидерства в свете современных научных тенденций. *Современная социальная психология*. 2011. № 3 (12).
2. Войскунский А. Е. (2005) Интернет в гендерном измерении // Введение в гендерные исследования. Москва. Аспект-Пресс.
3. Ткалич М.Г. (2016) Гендерна психологія. Київ: Академвидав, 2016.
4. Zao Sh., Grasmuck Sh., Martin J. (2008) Identity construction on facebook: digital empowerment and anchored relationships. *Computers in Human Behavior*. Vol. 24

GENDER, DISCOURSE AND IDEOLOGY

Meriem Ouahidi

Gender Bias in Moroccan Proverbs

(Sultan Moulay Slimane University)

Abstract

Proverbs, popular sayings transmitted from one generation to another, are believed to manifest the social values, practices, and beliefs of a specific community. Viewed as a cultural tool, and a source of identity, proverbs should be preserved from eradication. Previous studies, Ennaji (2008), Rasul (2015), Belfatmi (2013) to name a few, reveal the biased and discriminatory messages proverbs perpetuate about men and women. The current study attempts to investigate 75 Moroccan proverbs collected from four different internet websites to determine how men and women are depicted in these Moroccan proverbs. The findings confirm the dominance and power of men at the expense of women who are, unfairly, relegated to secondary positions. It seems that proverbs disseminate and promote these patriarchal ideologies and make them legitimate.

Keywords: *bias, folk culture, gender, men, proverbs, women.*

Introduction

Proverbs are short, catchy and popular sayings that are meant to advise or teach a lesson. They address different aspects of life, including work, education, family, economy, politics and so forth. They usually reflect the cultural values, practices, experiences, and beliefs of a particular society. They stem from people's mentality and ways of thinking at a particular time; that is why they are considered "mirrors of culture" Ennaji (2008). They are also characterized by their rhyme, meter and/ or rhetorical features. These mnemonic features make them attractive and memorable that is how they are easily handed down from one generation to another.

Proverbs may contain humor as Kerschen (2012) argues "usually, proverbs contain humor, but that humor, particularly when the subject is women, can be bitter, satirical, even macabre" p 63. She adds that "proverbs more accurately represent a people's rules and ideals than their religious or ethical systems. Thus, proverbs are not just humorous retorts but are an important medium for teaching and learning" p63.

Many people may think that proverbs are outdated and old fashioned; however, detailed scrutiny of popular songs, sitcoms, and movies reveal that they still make use of this folk heritage. We should also admit that they are no longer widely used. The issue that we will tackle in this article is whether proverbs, regardless of the social and technological challenges we have been through, still reflect our beliefs and values.

Significance of the study

Previous research conducted in this field focused primarily on the biased representation of women in Moroccan proverbs. However, they overlooked the portrayal of men. To fill this research gap, this current investigation tries to compare between the representation of men and women in Moroccan proverbs, with the hope of raising awareness of people in general and the youth in particular of gender inequality and bias in proverbs.

Objective of the Study

The purpose of this investigation is twofold. Firstly, this study aims at analyzing the representation of men and women in the Moroccan proverbs. Secondly, proverbs are believed to convey wisdom that people should abide by; however, a close look at the proverbs can easily reveal that they also carry misconceptions and stereotypes that are socially held in high esteem, especially in a society like Morocco where the rate of illiteracy is high. Hence, the objective is to raise awareness about these biased misrepresentations that should be altered in the twenty-first century.

Research question

This study attempts to answer the following research questions:

Are there more proverbs about men than women?

What are the roles associated with men and women in Moroccan proverbs?

What are attributes associated with men and women in proverbs?

Definition of Proverbs

Different scholars have provided different tentative definitions on proverbs which remain controversial. To achieve the purpose of this investigation and to provide a more reliable and comprehensive definition, we relied on Whiting’s definition (1994) quoted from Rasul (2015):

A proverb is an expression which, owing its birth to the people, testifies to its origin in form and phrase. It expresses what is apparently a fundamental truth – that is, a truism, – in homely language, often adorned, however, with alliteration and rhyme. It is usually short, but need not be; it is usually true, but need not be. Some proverbs have both literal and figurative meaning, either of which makes perfect sense; but more often they have but one of the two. A proverb must be venerable; it must bear the sign of antiquity, and since such signs may be counterfeited by a clever literary man, it should be attested in different places at different times. This last requirement we must often waive in

dealing with every literature, where the material at our disposal is complete.

(p.53)

Previous Studies

Previous studies (Rasul (2015), Hussein (2009), Lee (2015), Dorn (1986) about gendered proverbs are replete with bitter satire and sarcasm since the construction of gender in proverbs reflects the negative portrayal of women. Hussein (2009) conducted a comparative study in Eastern Africa and found out that women are often described as weak, frivolous, dependent and foolish. They are even blamed for failing to meet the standards laid down by men. Blaming the victim is one way of justifying and strengthening inequality between men and women. The same findings are echoed in Dorn (1986) who studied Turkish proverbs. He argues that the sole duty of women is to maintain the household and bring up children.

Previous research carried on Moroccan proverbs echoed the same results to the previously mentioned studies (Belfatmi (2013), Ennaji (2008)). However, they overlooked how males are described. One of the recent studies of Moroccan proverbs was conducted by Belfatmi (2013). Her investigation provides an analytical comparison of the representation of women in Moroccan proverbs, with the aim of highlighting people's cultural beliefs and attitudes. According to Belfatmi (2013), "Women in most cases are represented as weak, vulnerable, stupid and mainly victims of an ideology that is maintained by men." p 20. In fact, men are believed to be at the origin of this deeply rooted biased and derogatory ideology against women, which explains the negative image associated with women in folk culture in general and proverbs in particular. According to Kerschen, (2012), historically, men are the primary producers of literary heritage.

Theoretical Framework

Walby's (1990) theory of patriarchy provides a useful theoretical framework for our research question stated below. It takes into consideration six interrelated social parameters (paid-work, violence, household production, sexuality, culture, and the state). This theory works better on European societies because the dichotomy between public and private is not clearly divided in the Moroccan culture. According to Walby (1990), paid work is more important than the household. In Morocco, it is quite the opposite. To broaden the theoretical framework of the study, Connell's (1987) hegemonic masculinity has also been taken into consideration which elucidates beliefs and practices that relegate men to dominant positions and demote women to subordinate and inferior social positions.

No investigation of gender portrayal in proverbs can be complete without a focus on the theory of intersection which takes into account such variables as age, class, sexuality, ethnic group, religion, and race.

Methodology

To achieve the aim of the present investigation, the data (75 proverbs) was collected from four Moroccan websites specialized in Moroccan folk culture. The relevant proverbs were identified and classified in relation to their themes. However, eight proverbs belong to more than one category that is why the total number of proverbs is not always similar to 75 proverbs, which is the case for the following examples:

- 1- \$abba zina w mate3ref lle3jina

She is beautiful, but she cannot make bread.

This proverb is about beauty as a physical attribute and the importance of cooking.

- 2- \$uf bitu we7teb bentu

Have a look at his house first, and then you can get engaged with his daughter

Similarly, this proverb can be calculated as related to two different variables, mainly marriage and the role of the woman as a housewife.

Analysis

The statistics about the number of proverbs about women outnumber those about men as the following table reveals:

gender	Examples	Nu mbers	perce ntages
Men	rrajl belhemma amma lleHya raha Hetta 3end l3etrus <i>The man should be charismatic because even the goat has a beard.</i>	10	
Women	lli 7ellef lebnat mamat <i>He who has daughters has not died</i> 7ud lebnat men SDur l3emmat <i>Ask a paternal aunt about the girl you want to marry</i>	65	
Both men and	hbil tzewwej hbila wethennat leqbila lli Teybou lme3funa yaklu rajelha	8	

women			
-------	--	--	--

Table 1: The Number of Proverbs about Men and Women.

The table above shows that the vast majority (65) of proverbs depict women; whereas, only 9 portray men. The number of proverbs that can be attributed to both men and women is minimal as the statistics demonstrate. The apparent discrepancy between the number of proverbs about men and those about women is huge which reflects the importance attributed to women and how they should be in society. This explains why previous research neglected the portrayal of men in Moroccan proverbs.

Types of proverbs

	Me n	Wo men	Men and women	Total
Physical Appearance	1	12		13
Obedience		2		2
Negative Traits		13	3	16
Family Care	4	9	2	15
Marriage	5	26	2	33
Other	0	3	1	4

Table 2: Classification of proverbs into themes

The statistics in table 2 determine the different themes discussed below: physical appearance, obedience, family care, marriage among other things. The vast majority of proverbs deal with marriage (33), which reflects the importance accorded to this theme in the Moroccan society. In the collected data, obedience (2) is the least represented theme in the data.

	Positive		Negative	
Men	7	68%	3	32%
Women	18	28%	47	72%
Both men and women	6		2	

Table 3: How men and women are depicted

Unexpectedly, it seems that both men and women can be described negatively or positively in proverbs, depending on the cultural context. Table 3 shows that there are more negative proverbs about women (72%) than about men (32%). Out of 65 proverbs about women, 72% of them negatively portray women. Also visible is that only one-third of proverbs about men

(32%) are negative. Accordingly, these statistics reflect the roles and characteristics associated with each gender in the Moroccan society where men are described mostly positively and women negatively.

Physical appearance

Twelve proverbs are depicting the physical appearance of women, compared to only one proverb describing the main feature that a man should have. While men’s beauty is associated with ‘hemma’ charisma (example 6); women’s beauty lies in their physical attributes: youth (example 4) and body parts (examples 4 and 5), as the following examples show:

3- zzin f bnatna slala men l3emma l7ala

Girls are beautiful, like their maternal and paternal aunts.

4- Ila m\$ a zzin bqaw Hrufu

If beauty fades away, its traces dwell forever

5- Ili mertu qsira yefreH wiqul S&ira.

He who has a short wife should be happy she will remain young

6- rrajel belhemma ?amma lleHya raha Hetta 3end l3etrus

The man should be charismatic because even the goat has a beard.

This finding is echoed in Lee (2015) who “maintains that femininity is equated with glamour and physical charm.” p. 577.

Obedience

Traditionally, women are expected to obey all the males of the family (father, brother, husband and even their sons when they reach adulthood). It is even believed that a woman should be beaten once a week so that she will not revolt against her husband (example 7).

7- lemra Drebha men lHedd lHedd wella tgul magedha Hedd.

If you don’t beat your wife once a week, she will revolt

8- Dreb lemra tertaH

Beat your wife/ woman to relax

This last proverb is an explicit example of the patriarchal authority exercised by man; it highlights the inferiority of women and the power of men. Traditionally, women were beaten by men of the family, and it was considered a natural phenomenon, commonly used to keep women within certain limits and to control their behavior. Proverb 7 encourages men to beat women at least once a week; otherwise, she will be the source of problems; women are equated with animals and violence against them is accepted. The last proverb (8) reiterates the same idea of the necessity of beating women as if man's satisfaction and women's beating are two sides of the same coin. One

cannot exist without the other. Women are viewed as a source of problems. It is deemed essential to mention that there are no proverbs about violence against men in the data, which is not surprising since proverbs are man-made (Belfatmi (2013)). In a patriarchal system, it is impossible to describe men with such attributes as humiliation, shame, and inferiority that are tightly linked with violence. Besides, violence against women, a common practice in traditional societies, Morocco included, is a manifestation of masculinity (Walby (1990) and Connell (1987)), which is evident in my data as well.

Family care

Boys and girls are brought up differently in Morocco: Unlike boys, girls are always associated with the private sphere where they can learn the role of the 'perfect' housewives and maintain the role of future mothers.

The traditional roles of men and women are highlighted in the collected data. Nine proverbs associate women with the domestic sphere. Priority is given to housework which is deemed more essential than beauty (example 9, 10, and 11); the success of a marriage relationship lies in the women's housework as examples 10 and 11 indicate. Example 12, the woman is equated with an animal (the donkey), which confirms her subordination and subservience. Although the comparison is very humiliating to women, this proverb is still considered positive, for the woman is described as the key to good family life.

9- \$abba zina w mate3refa\$ lle3jjina

She is beautiful, but she cannot make bread.

10- \$uf bitu w7teb bentu

Have a look at his house first and before you get engaged with his daughter

11- ila b&iti te7teb bentha d7ul t\$uf bitha

Have a look at her house first, and then you can get engaged with her daughter

12- mulat eddar 3mara wa77a tkun Hmara

A housewife is a better even if she looks like a donkey

13- bflusk bent sselTan 3rusek

If you're wealthy, you can marry the king's daughter

14- lli b&a Tamu yHell bezTamu.

The man who wants to get married should have money.

The last two examples foreground the role of men as breadwinners. Money here is a metaphor for work and wealth, two qualities required for men to get married.

The examples above indicate that men and women are associated with the public and private spheres respectively. Women are confined to their houses where they should be perfect housewives; otherwise, they are valueless. It is noteworthy that there are no corresponding proverbs that associate men with domestic tasks. Men, on the other hand, should work and have a job to provide for their families. Home is not their responsibility. Therefore, there are clear cut boundaries of each sphere. No one is allowed to transgress the sphere of the other at least in proverbs. Generally, proverbs aim to legitimize and naturalize their discourse; thus, women are the natural and legitimate homemakers, and men are naturally responsible for providing for the household.

15- qlēb lberma 3la femmha teTle3 lbent lemmha

The girl will necessarily become similar to her mother

16- 7dēmt buk layghelbuk

Choose your father’s job.

Girls and boys are socialized to do the same duties and to shoulder the same responsibilities as their parents. Girls are supposed to be housekeepers like their mothers and boys are expected to be breadwinners, an essential condition of masculinity. Indirectly, proverbs (15) and (16) naturalize the association between men and the public productive sphere and women and the private sphere. The complete omission of women from the public sphere is a transgression to women’s rights and a way to downgrade their contributions in the economy of the household (Walby’s (1990)). In a nutshell, Moroccan proverbs seem to highlight the gendered division of labor where men and women are linked respectively to paid productive work and unpaid household work.

17- makaynessi lbent femm ha &ir hemmha

No daughter forgets her mother unless she has problems

18- lli 7ellef lbnat mamat.

He who has daughters has not died

19- llimat BBah ywessed rrekba lli mat mmu ywessed l3etba

When the father dies, the mother takes care of her children; when the mother dies, the children are thrown away.

20- zewwej bentek w be33ed darha mayjik &ir 7barha

Marry your daughter and make her house far away so that you get only her news.

The woman, in the first three examples is considered a virtue since she takes care of her family (parents (17 and 18) and children (19)) and never let them down even after her marriage; the man, on the other hand, should get rid of his daughter (20) because she is the source of problems.

Once again, this last set of examples demonstrate that women's role is to take heed of their families, which seems to be the last concern of men.

Marriage

Marriage is the most prevalent theme in the data. Once again women are portrayed in a very negative way; they are depicted as useless human beings if they do not get married. Examples 21, and 22 reflect explicit bias and inequality against women. Marriage is the only institution where a woman can have value; otherwise, she becomes "3ar" a shame that only 'qberha' her grave can repair. Example 24 depict women in a very humiliating way since the father has to pay if he wants his daughter to remain married. All these proverbs exaggerate the humiliation and inferiority of women but, no need to mention, exaggeration is one of the well-known features of ideological discourses. Nevertheless, men are depicted differently; they should get married with girls from well-grounded families (26) or with their cousins who are always willing to endure problems so that marriage would succeed (25). Example 23 discern two highly appreciated feminine traits of girls in general and brides in particular: shyness and silence,

21- l3ateq feddar 3ar

A single girl in her father's house becomes a shame

22- lbent imma rajelha ?imma qberha

The daughter should be in her husband's house or in her grave.

23- ssukut 3alamat RiDa

The bride's silence is a sign of her consent

24- 3Ti bentek wzid 3Sida

Marry your daughter and pay for her

25- 7ud bent 3emmek teSber 3la hemmek.

Get married to your cousin, and she will bear all your imperfections.

26- 3lik bbnat l?uSul rah zman iTul.

Get married to a high birth girl since marriage is life long.

27- ila gulti Sbi Sbi yefreH llah wennbi.

It's better to give birth to a son.

Producing male offspring is highly valued by traditional families because the male is going to perpetuate the family name. On the other hand, the birth of a female in the family is considered a curse due to the parents' concern about her future marriage and the honor of the family. This idea is consistent with example 26.

Negative traits

Throughout history, women were often stigmatized with stupidity, evil, and many other negative traits. The aim is to relegate them to secondary and inferior positions.

Women are often described in proverbs as:

28- lemra sewwelha u maddir\$ breyha

Don't follow your wife's opinion.

29- zzin zina u le3qel ne\$rih lik

She is beautiful, but she needs a brain.

30- Dreb Hlima Hetta tbul lli ferasha mayzul”/

Even if you beat Hlima till she urinates, she will never forget what she has in her mind.

31- lemra neSS 3qel

Women have got half brains

32- ttellab itleb umertu tSeddeq

The beggar asks for alms and his wife donates.

It is evident that the binary opposition between beauty and intelligence are correlated with men and women respectively, as examples 28 and 29 demonstrate. It is a common stereotype that a woman cannot be beautiful and at the same time intelligent. This idea is consistent with example 28 which depicts the man as the intelligent and wise decision maker; he should not follow his wife's ideas and opinions. Proverb 29 reflects the corrupt nature of women; the woman, Hlima is described as stubborn; she never changes her mind even if the man beats her. Again, these proverbs corroborate women's subordination and inferiority. Both proverbs 31 and 32 depict women as stupid.

33- lli kay3emlu yeblis f3am t3emlu le3guza fsa3a

What the devil does in one year, the mother in law can do it in an hour

34- lemra lef3a u mHezma b-ibliss

A woman is a snake, and the devil is her companion.

35- Hmati wejh ddu hiya Harra uweldha hlu

My mother in law is evil like, but her son is kind.

The first two examples (33 and 34) compare women to the devil and snake. As sources of threat to people, these vicious creatures should be avoided. They are likely to bring about disasters around them. The last example explains (35) the eternal conflict between the wife and her mother in

law where the latter is considered bitter while the son is sweet. The binary opposition between the characteristics of the former and the latter are highlighted. In the same line Belfatmi (2013) argues that "woman, especially wives, have the power of destructive practices and wreaking havoc. They are accused of taking revenge from those who cause harm to them, especially, their husbands..... Women are sought out as an agent of destruction. They are accused of bewitching out of an innate capacity and are depicted as a threat to society." p 19-20.

Discussion

No doubt, proverbs are held in high esteem in the Moroccan society where they are still used in newspaper articles, media texts, and popular songs. They still have an impact on the Moroccan society which is based mainly on traditional values and beliefs. The analysis of the data collected from the internet demonstrates that proverbs legitimize male chauvinism and stigmatized female image. Moreover, proverbs disseminate the patriarchal ideologies which are handed down from one generation to another. In fact, they confirm the striking disparity between males as powerful, dominant and superior and females as weak, dominated and inferior.

According to Ennaji (2008, 169), "Moroccan culture perpetuates gender discrimination and relations through oral modes such as proverbs. The latter reminds us of the roles women have played, and still play, as guardians of orality. Proverbs do not simply reflect the social reality of women, but help construct it." Additionally, it is generally believed that proverbs are loaded with wisdom and truth; therefore, they should not be questioned. They are part of the collective norms taken for granted. What makes the situation worse is the shelter they provide for anyone who wants to criticize or insult women. Besides, the data analysis also shows that proverbs rely on the use of binary oppositions to highlight the unfair discrimination between the sexes: they favor the male and degrade the female. In a nutshell, the Moroccan proverbs are replete with a hegemonic discourse which outlines the traditional norms of what is a man and what is a woman. In other words, the discourse of proverbs determines what adequate behavior is expected from a man and a woman.

It is generally believed that proverbs reflect collective wisdom and culture-related truth, so they are transferred from one generation to another. Along with this transfer, messages about men and women are also maintained and transmitted, which leads to the creation of attitudes towards gender. However, "truthfulness is quite challenging ... because it is not the absolute truth rather it is the societal interpretation of the truth" (Rasul, 2015, p54).

Conclusion

The analysis of the data demonstrates the evident stereotypical representation of women who are praised for their housework and physical beauty, but they are also described as submissive

and dependent on men. On the other hand, men are valued for their hard work, money, and independence.

The analysis of Moroccan proverbs displays the negative portrayal of women, which provides evidence of their discrimination and underestimation in a society where women are still perceived as inferior. That is why these false stereotypical images should be altered. Proverbs about men and women do not pass on truth and wisdom; on the contrary, they indoctrinate future generations and make them accept unquestioned and ready-made values.

Raising awareness of the future generations, providing education for all, and cutting illiteracy can be solutions to bias and partiality manifested in Moroccan proverbs. The aim is to create a democratic society where men and women enjoy equality and democracy.

References

1. Belfatmi, M. (2013). The representation of women in Moroccan proverbs. *Journal of humanities and social science*, 17, (1), 15-21.
2. Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and power*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press.
3. Dorn, P. J. (1986). Gender and personhood: Turkish Jewish proverbs and the politics of reputation, *Women's study int. forum*, 9, (3), 295–301.
4. Ennaji, M. (2008). Representation of women in Morocco Arabic and Berber proverbs, *International journal of soc. Lang*, 1. (19), 167–181.
5. Hussein, J. W. (2009). A discursive representation of women in sample proverbs from Ethiopia, Sudan, and Kenya, *Research in African literature*, 40, (3), 98–108
6. Kerschen, L. (2012). *American proverbs about women: A reference guide*. Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press.
7. Lee, J. (2015). Chinese proverbs: How are women and men represented? *Multidisciplinary journal of gender studies*, 4, (1), 559-585.
8. Rasul, S. (2015). Gender and power relationships in the language of proverbs: Image of a woman. *Journal of social sciences*. 9, (2), 53-62.
9. Walby, S. (1990). *Theorizing patriarchy*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

Nidal Chebbak

**European women in Al-Hajjoui's *ar-Rihla al-Ouropia 1919*
(*Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes*)**

Moroccan travelers to Europe had the chance to discover new people and cultures which opened their eyes on a new world beyond theirs. Their journeys were educational in the sense that they were exposed to new information and knowledge which they felt the obligation to transfer in their accounts that documented their impressions and interactions. Among these travelers is Mohammed ben al-Hassan Al-Hajjoui who was fascinated by European advancements and kept comparing them to what lacked in his own country. However, this fascination was interrupted by the status of women which formed a challenge to him despite his liberal views.

Al-Hajjoui was a member of an ambassadorial delegation headed by minister Hajj Mohammed al-Maqari sent by Sultan Youssef ben al-Hassan to France in 1919 to participate in the French National Day which coincided with the celebration of their win in the First World War.²² As for England, al-Hajjoui chose to extend his visit to London and Manchester to visit some family friends who settled there and worked as merchants and also to see the wonders he heard about those cities.²³ Al-Hajjoui wrote a travel account entitled *Ar-Rihla al-Ouropia 1919* which portrays an image of early 20th century France and England and the rapid modern shift that had affected different facets of life in both countries. He provided a modernist approach towards Europe in which he realized the huge gap that was forming between the two worlds. He witnessed how powerful, developed and advanced Europe was becoming through science and education. He produced a discourse of amazement and confusion at how fast the outer world was rapidly developing while Morocco was still struggling from internal conflicts over power that diminished the resources of the country and the European powers that were trying to expand in Africa, starting from Morocco which was a strategic country that represented a crossover to other African countries.²⁴ About the decision to write the account, al-Hajjoui says:

²² Mohammed ben Al-Hassan al-Hajjoui, *Ar-Rihla al-Ouropia 1919*. (Abu Dhabi: Dar as-Soueidi, 2003), p. 16.

²³ Ibid., pp, 190-110.

²⁴ Abd Al Majid Keddouri, *Soufaraa Maghariba fi Ouropa 1610-1922* (Rabat : Mohammed V University, 1995), p. 32.

[...] I thought that I should write what I saw during this journey which will benefit the people of al-Maghreb who have never traveled and did not know anything about the conditions of Europe. I chose not to lengthen my account by speaking about the geographies and the old and modern histories of those countries because enough has been written in these two sciences. [...] I decided to limit my writing to what I saw and I summarized a lot of what I went through.²⁵

From the beginning of the account, we notice that he committed himself to writing what he would see and be selective in documenting what he thought would benefit people who have never travelled before. Unlike other travelers who dwelled in the histories and geographies of the countries they visited, he decided to limit himself to what was happening during that period in Europe and to be as precise and brief as he can.

The travel accounts written in 19th and early 20th centuries were filled with fascination and surprise at the sudden and fast development of the West. While Orientalists of that period who traveled to the Orient felt that they were going back in time and living in state of “belatedness”, as Ali Behdad notes: “Traveling in the Orient at a time when the European colonial power structure and the rise of tourism had transformed the exotic referent into the familiar sign of Western hegemony, these orientalists could not help but experience a sense of displacement in time and space.”²⁶ Since the Orientalists went into a state of “belatedness” and felt like going back in time, the 19th and early 20th century Moroccan travelers felt like they were going forward in time. They were astonished at the advancements in all fields which they could not fathom nor explain. They did not even find the right vocabulary in Arabic to describe what was going on around them. They were also displaced in time as they were experiencing a state of “acceleration” which transported them to an advanced “futuristic” space that bewildered them and confused them at the same time. He was amazed by the industrial development in both countries and he tried to document as much information as possible in the hope that there might reforms in Morocco that would elevate it to Europe’s modernity. He referred to London and Paris as “the sources of wisdom in Europe”²⁷. On the one hand, al-Hajjoui admired and was fascinated by the power of science and education in

²⁵ Ibid., p. 31. Translation is mine.

²⁶ Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), p. 13.

²⁷ Mohammed ben Al-Hassan al-Hajjoui, *Ar-Rihla al-Ouropia 1919*. p. 135. Translation is mine.

Europe but on the other hand, he was disappointed by the liberated status of women which allowed them a certain amount of freedom which he saw as excessive and destructive.

Al-Hajjoui was impressed by the system of organization in every field in Europe as he was fascinated by the importance that was given to education and science. He considered education to be the stepping stone which explains the rapid development in Europe. They cherished education and invested in schools and in people to learn either in schools or in the industry fields. He stated:

Education is compulsory in France for men and women. Every child who reaches a certain age must be enrolled in primary school. After primary school, if the person wishes not to continue their studies then they are obliged to learn a skill in one of the industries. Education is a must for every male and female, whether wealthy or poor, which made the country rise up from rock bottom in which many underdeveloped countries have fallen; they are countries where most of its people do not know anything about writing, literature, calculation and others...like the people of *al-Maghreb al-Aqsa/Morocco*.”²⁸

He was adamant in his insistence on the issue of education and its importance for the development of any nation. Education at that time was a privilege in Morocco where only an elite knew how to read and write, mainly men.²⁹ He was impressed to see women involved in the educational system and the field work which fastened the pace of development in different fields. After his return from his journey, he gave a lecture in Rabat which he entitled “Teaching Women a Primary Arabic Education”³⁰ about the importance of education for women in which he insisted that women must study for a certain period of time until they reach puberty and then they must stay home, continue their studies there preferably, and not compete with men for work outside the confines of the house. If they were to work then they should work as teachers to female students in schools designed specifically for them.³¹ Though he was open to the idea of teaching girls, he was limited by his cultural and religious beliefs. He called for an imitation of the West only in things that do not touch cultural and religious borders.

Al-Hajjoui's stance towards women's education can be considered revolutionary at that time despite the restrictions that he made but it can be considered a step forward towards women's right

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 52-53. Translation is mine.

²⁹ Dale F. Eickelman, *Knowledge and Power in Morocco: The Education of a Twentieth-Century Notable* (NP: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 59.

³⁰ Translation is mine.

³¹ Mohammed ben Al-Hassan al-Hajjoui, *Ar-Rihla al-Ouropia 1919*. p, 163.

for education. His account was an indirect call for reforms in Morocco by following the footsteps of those countries which will make him the target of the indignation of the Sultan and religious men of the country who considered him a “follower of the West” and thus of the “colonizer”.³² His views about the reforms were too liberal and progressive for the Moroccan monarchy to even take them into consideration. In his book *Oropa fi Miraat ar-Rihla / Europe in the Mirror of Rihla*³³, Said Bensaïd Al-Alaoui states that through his travel account, al-Hajjoui tried to produce an intellectual, social and economic project which is both reform and restoration. It is a vision that would have flourished without his travel and firsthand observations of the changes he witnessed in Europe.³⁴ About the things he wished he had in his country, he said:

We took the train from Bordeaux’s train station [...] whether you look left or right, there is not a land that is neglected. Their agriculture is developed and based on many modern machines. Every roads to any of their villages is well-organized, even the forests are well-taken care of. Every river has a bridge and every road is constructed well until we reached Paris.”³⁵

He was basically impressed by everything he saw in Europe which was the opposite of what was going on in Morocco. He tried to make his demands for reforms subtle and made them in the form of an indirect call for the notables in Morocco to see that they too can achieve that degree of development if only they adopted science and education as primary pillars in the road for reforms. According to Abderrahim El-Moudden: “The traveler travels to learn. When he returns home, he produces knowledge in different forms.”³⁶ The traveler becomes a learner of anything new in the host country and when he returned back home, he becomes, in a way or another, a reformist and this is exactly what happened to al-Hajjoui whose entire perspective about development was changed by this one trip to Europe.

The Moroccan travelers who visited more than one European country during their journey had the chance to visit different “Europes” and accumulate different experiences about a heterogeneous cultural Other that changed according to the visited country. They paid attention to all the details

³² Ibid., p. 15.

³³ Translation is mine.

³⁴ Al- Alaoui, Said ben Said. *Oropa fi Miraat ar-Rihla : surat al-Akhar fi Adab ar-Rihla al-Maghribiya al-Mou’asira*. Casablanca : Matba’at an-Najah al-Jadida, 1995.

³⁵ Mohammed ben Al-Hassan al-Hajjoui, *Ar-Rihla al-Ouropia 1919*. pp. 49-50. Translation is mine.

³⁶ Abderrahim El-Moudden, *Adabiyat ar-Rihla*. p, 30. Translation is mine.

and incidents that seemed surprising and wondrous to the Muslim Arabic thought. Despite his outspoken fascination with the West, al-Hajjoui criticized French women's behaviors and demeanor. Though he was impressed by the development that France reached in terms of infrastructure and education, he still was not pleased with the amount of the "morally destructive" liberation of the French society, especially when it comes to women. After visiting the theaters, going on mixed dinners and attending several mixed gatherings which were an opportunity for cultural exchange of ideas, al-Hajjoui was struck by what he calls "the decadence of the French society as well their lack of morals".³⁷ Both men and women behaved in a nonchalant way whether in private or in public which made al-Hajjoui re-assess his impression about France. The France he was fascinated about started to crumble in front of his eyes once he came to the realization that it lacked the global morals of chastity, respect, modesty...etc, especially when it comes to the women. According to al-Hajjoui:

[...] That is the result of excessive welfare, total freedom and being detached from religion, especially for the women who abandoned modesty and shyness and adorned themselves in the worst unbelievable way that only sexual intercourse among animals publically in the streets can be worse than that. They have gone this far or closer which corrupted the morals and cannot be accepted neither in character, mind nor in any religious law.³⁸

He attributed the vulgarity that he witnessed among people, especially women, in France to the excessive entertainment and luxury, absolute freedom, and their non-adherence to the teachings of religion. In other words, the more they indulged in the earthly world and its distracting matters, the more corrupt and decayed they became. He considered them a nation that lost its morals and ethics in opulence and self-indulgence that they follow their desires without any constraints or restrictions. He showed us a world about which he had an ambivalent point of view. As much developed as it was in economy, trade, technology, and infrastructure, as much as they were "decadent" and "immoral". In this instance, we can clearly notice that a traveler usually travels carrying not only his physical luggage but also what Behdad calls "the cultural baggage"³⁹ which consists of the traveler's religion, culture, character, profession, social status...In short, anything that constitutes his identity interferes with the way he perceives the world. Moroccan travelers as travelling identities to Europe could not see and document their experiences with the same

³⁷ Ibid., p. 74.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 74.

³⁹ Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers*. p. 26.

neutrality which they promised at the beginning of their accounts when they stated that they would only document what they saw. In the case of al-Hajjoui, his cultural and religious lens became a filter through which we detect how his identity affected his impressions which became mostly apparent when he spoke about the women.

Al-Hajjoui was completely fascinated by the French development in politics, social justice, education, architecture, cleanliness, organization...etc, but he was disappointed to witness the moral decadence in such a developed society. The excessive extravagance and luxury and love for money and showing off had turned France into a country of “amusement and indulgence”⁴⁰. His perceptions of Western women were hostile and degrading. He saw European women through the lenses of his own culture as “ill-mannered”, “corrupt” and “shameless” leading a life of extravagance and unnecessary splendor. Though he was a reformist, his views and impressions were different than other travelers who were amazed by women’s liberation and rights. He attacked French women for their immoral behaviors and the way they revealed themselves and how they were in a constant competition to wear the latest and most expensive dresses.⁴¹ Al-Hajjoui believed that moral decadence was the result of achieving the at most civilization and welfare and granting women too much freedom. Al-Hajjoui summed up his criticism in one sentence “Every nation that increases in excessive luxury, increases in excessive extravagance.”⁴² Every nation that achieves the extreme in one thing, must fall into the extreme of its opposite. France was one the leading powers in the world yet the freedom and money had “corrupted” society. He believed that the lack of jealousy and chastity had destroyed the morals society in general and women in particular.

While in Europe, Moroccan travelers retained and preserved their cultural identity through their language, for those who did not speak European languages, and their appearances and clothes. This preservation of identity had often put them in the spot light for European people’s attention. As al-Hajjoui mentioned: “A woman came to us surprised by our clothes: are you Jews? And another one said: Do you play in the theater? which means the entertainment houses, that some of the members in our delegation got bored of the dullness of the question and the excessive observation at us.”⁴³ They wore their traditional clothes wherever they went which made them attract the attention of the people who were curious about them and wanted to know who they are. Their cultural

⁴⁰ Mohammed ben Al-Hassan al-Hajjoui, *Ar-Rihla al-Ouropia 1919*. p. 74.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 74.

⁴² Ibid., 74. Translation is mine.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 333. Translation is mine.

identity traveled with them reflecting their background that was not understood to the opposing identity that they encountered. The confusion that this “travelling identity” created made them get defined with associations that had nothing to do with their real identity that was thought of as in disguise.

The Moroccan ambassadorial members were observant of the European people who in turn put the Moroccans under their gaze and tried to project their Orientalist fantacizations on them. This encounter between the Orient and Occident in Europe marked a contact zone⁴⁴ in which both parts negotiated their stereotypical perceptions of each other. The Moroccans were uncomfortable by the constant staring and questioning but what they did not realize is that they were cultural facilitators who were either mending or breaking stereotypes which were forged for centuries through Orientalist depictions of the Orient. They were unable to understand or contain this curiosity of the European. In Britain, al-Hajjoui explained this curiosity as fanaticism and entitled one section of his books as “English fanaticism” in which he said:

And I found there [London] many men, women and children. While we were looking at the sculpture above the obelisk to know who he is, they gathered around us astonished at our clothes as if a person was born only to wear European clothes and if he did not then he must have changed God's making and creation. They are of extreme fanaticism and intolerance. [...] This has stopped us from inspecting the sculpture so we left right away.⁴⁵

The men, women and children flocked around them on every occasion to see their Moorish clothes and exotic appearances which fed their imaginative characters of what a Moor looked like. They were astonished about the travelers' appearances and attires as much as they were astonished by theirs. They were moments of mutual exoticization which confused the travelers who did not know how to explain nor how to deal with it. They seemed to forget that they were the “strange”, the “wonder”, and the “new” in the host countries and that it is normal to attract such attention and arouse such curiosity.

Al-Hajjoui's travel account about early 20th century Europe was full of both amazement and admiration for all the developments and achievements in various fields but at the same time, it was full of confusion about the status of women in the European society which only revealed the “cultural baggage” of the traveler. Though he wished that his account was going to help scholars

⁴⁴ Mary Louise Pratt. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. (London & New York: Routledge, 1992)

⁴⁵ Mohammed ben Al-Hassan al-Hajjoui, *Ar-Rihla al-Ouropia 1919*. p. 131.

who had never been to the West to change their negative stereotypes about it, he failed to absorb the curiosity and interest in them as “exotic travelers”.

Bibliography

1. Al- Alaoui, Said ben Said. *Oropa fi Miraat ar-Rihla : surat al-Akhar fi Adab ar-Rihla al-Maghribiya al-Mou'asira*. Casablanca : Matba'at an-Najah al-Jadida, 1995.
2. Al-Hajjoui, Mohammed ben Al-Hassan. *Ar-Rihla al-Ouropia 1919*. Ed. Said al-Fadili. Abu Dhabi: Dar as-Soueidi, 2003.
3. Behdad, Ali. *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1994.
4. Dale F. Eickelman, *Knowledge and Power in Morocco: The Education of a Twentieth-Century Notable*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992.
5. Mouadden, Abderrahim. *Adabiyat ar-Rihla*. Casablanca: Dar at-Taqaafa li Nashr wa Tawzi', 1996.
6. Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London & New York: Routledge, 1992.

Nourdine El Khiyati

Against the Current: A Western Female Writer Celebrating Moroccan

Women's Agency

(Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes)

This article is a postcolonial reading of the representation of Moroccan women in contemporary American novel. The depiction of Arab and Muslim women in Western literature takes place within an Orientalist framework. Arab and Muslim women have always been portrayed in Western writings in very negative ways. In fact, "when it comes to writing about Arab women", Suha Sabbagh writes, "stereotypical, distorted imaging has continued unabated since the early days of Orientalist writings" (Sabbagh, 2003, p. xiii). For centuries, Western writers have described Arab and Muslim women not only as being uneducated and lacking agency, but also as being weak, submissive and subordinated to their husbands. They have been represented as victims of patriarchal society, who have no identity, no freedom, and no independence. Moreover, they have been reduced to sexual objects performing oriental dances and existing only for sensual pleasure in the harem. "Through Western eyes," Sabbagh argues, "Arab women are perceived in popular culture as docile, male dominated, speechless, veiled, secluded, subdued, and unidentifiable beings" (Sabbagh, 2003, p. xi).

In his seminal book, *Orientalism*, Edward Said homogenizes Western representation of Otherness, arguing that there is "one West, one text." Said studies Orientalism "as a dynamic exchange between individual authors and the large political concerns shaped by the three great empires—British, French, American—in whose intellectual and imaginative territory the writing was produced" (Said, 1978, pp. 14-15). This means that Said approaches Orientalism as a homogeneous discourse shared and reproduced by British, French and American empires. He disregards all the differences among Western colonial texts and unifies them under one text. Said, Denis Porter writes, "ignores in both Western scholarly and creative writing all manifestations of counter-hegemonic thought" (Porter, 1983, p. 153).

Nevertheless, other theorists like Denis Porter, Lisa Lowe, and Sara Mills criticize Said's homogeneity and argue that Western representation of Otherness is heterogeneous. Sara Mills attributes the heterogeneity of the colonial texts to gender. She argues that, unlike male writers, female travel writers sympathize with the natives and criticize the colonizers; therefore, they allow conflicting discourses to appear in the text. For Mills, Khalid Bekkaoui writes, it is gender rather than genre which is responsible for heterogeneity. Colonialist ideology is upset by the fact that the

female narrator ... consistently criticizes the colonizer and expresses her sympathy for the Africans and, at times, she even identifies with them in what looks like a ‘going native’ attitude. (Bekkaoui, 1998, p.45)

Unlike male-written texts, female writings, for Mills, can destabilize the colonial discourse. The sympathy, identification and fear of the female travel writers disrupt colonial authority and allow conflicting voices to appear in the text. In this sense, Orientalism, according to Mills, is not a homogeneous discourse, as Said argues, “but is rather made up of diverse elements which both contest and affirm the dominant discourses and other discourses of which it is composed” (Mills, 1991. p. 55). Colonial texts can confirm as well as challenge colonial discourse.

This article applies Sara Mills’ theory on a contemporary American novel, *The Free Woman* (2002), by Carol Malt to demonstrate that gender is responsible about the heterogeneity of the text. Against the Orientalist tradition, the American writer celebrates the memory of an unprecedented Muslim woman, who governed the city of Tetouan during the beginning of the sixteenth century. Malt commemorates the life of Sayyida al-Hurra, which destabilizes the Orientalist discourse about Otherness, Moroccan women in particular, and demonstrates that Arab women have agency.

Malt’s novel, *The Free Woman*, reveals many instances where Hura challenges Western prejudices about Arab women and confirms her power. She proves that she is powerful enough to penetrate men’s world and impose herself as a powerful woman. Not only does she help her husband in governing Tetouan while still alive, but she also takes his position after his death. She governs the city and resists the colonizers.

Hura’s power begins to appear when Mandari, her husband and the governor of Tetouan, asks her to attend the trial of the Beni Hassan who stole her dowry the day she arrived in Tetouan. During that trial, Mandari discovers that she is smart and helpful; therefore, he allows her to attend more trials and help as a translator for the Berbers. The “Hall of Justice became Hura’s second home” (Malt, 2002, p. 65). Mandari “relied on her memory of names and faces, bending towards her so she could whisper them in his ear” (Malt, 2002, p. 65). Hura demonstrated that she is very intelligent and has a good memory, and, consequently, made her husband proud of her.

In a brutal Portuguese attack on Tetouan, Hura heroically defends her city. As the Portuguese marines penetrate the city killing and maiming civilians and destroying and burning buildings, Hura has been alerting everybody in the Kasbah about the attack. When the Portuguese reach the Kasbah and a Lieutenant called Pacheco starts fighting Mandari, Hura has only been watching them as long as Mandari is predominating the fight. However, as soon as “the tip of Pacheco’s cutlass sliced

Mandari across his right eyebrow and down his cheek” and “Blood from the gash streamed into his eyes” and he screams “I can't see!”, Hura bravely interferes as Pacheco is about to kill Mandari. She tells Kleinatz, the Dutch teacher, to hit Pacheco with “the chains by the wall. The chackles” (Malt, 2002, p. 83). Kleinatz hits him on his head and he falls on the floor. Hura then “grabbed the Lieutenant's fallen sword from the floor. Leaning over the Lieutenant, who was struggling to get up, she drove it into his stomach” (Malt, 2002, p. 83). She bravely kills the Portuguese Lieutenant Pacheco and saves her husband's life as well her city from being colonized.

Hura's killing of Pacheco is a reenactment of the violence of colonialism itself and a reflection of Western savagery. Hura's reaction is a reflection of the Portuguese brutality, since it is the Portuguese who start the slaughtering. In addition to the fact that this Portuguese Lieutenant and his fellow soldiers have killed several innocent Tetouani civilians, destroyed buildings and have been about to massacre Hura's family during this attack, Mandari loses his sight, his first wife Fatima dies, and Hura, who is pregnant in her fifth month, has a miscarriage. Thus, Hura heroically defends her family, her people and her city.

After her heroic triumph over the Portuguese marines, Hura proves to be powerful and able to manage critical situations. Since he loses his sight in the invasion, Mandari decides to let Hura participate in the governance of the city. He informs her “You will join us in the mornings for Council meetings” (Malt, 2002, p. 91). Hura again proves her agency.

Accordingly, Hura “realized that her husband had not recovered, and might never. She worried if he could govern decisively now ... She must do something. And she must begin now”(Malt, 2002, p. 92). Hura demonstrates that she is intelligent and aware of what is going on in the city. She “tried to become her husband's eyes” (Malt, 2002, p. 92). She proves that she is capable of helping Mandari in the governance of Tetouan and taking the right decisions. When Mandari becomes totally blind, Hura tells him “I will bring news back to you – news you know you can trust. I will be your eyes in the city. I am not afraid” (Malt, 2002, p. 96). She proves that she is powerful and can impose herself on men's world. She is not afraid to ride Mandari's horse throughout the city and encourage the citizens that though their governor is blind, there is a powerful woman who is taking care of everything. Hura rode through the old and the new neighborhoods. She walked with her escort through souks and public places. As she has hoped, her presence, wrapped in the symbols of authority seemed to encourage the populace. Some even cheered her as she nodded to them in passage. (Malt, 2002, p. 97)

Hura confirms that she is powerful enough to govern Tetouan. She rides and walks through the streets of Tetouan talking to people, consoling those who have lost relatives during the

Portuguese invasion, asking about their needs, assuming the reforms that should be done, and reporting everything to Mandari. She affirms that she is able to take care of the city. As Mandari retreats in his room in the Kasbah and no longer goes out, Hura takes care of everything, even the most complicated matters. She manages to make Tetouan flourish again after the terrible destruction that the Portuguese caused during the invasion.

Historically speaking, Abu Sohayb Mohamed Athar explains that al-Hurra participated along with her husband al-Mandri in the governing of the city and took care of the citizens’ welfare. Her husband used to consult her about governing problems and she always provided advice and proved to be helpful. During her husband’s successive absences when he went for jihad against the Portuguese, she became the governor of the city (Athar, 2008, p. 50).

Hura also defies illiteracy. She asks Mandari’s permission to let Kleinatz teach her to read and write and in no time she becomes very fluent in reading and understanding books. Kleinatz says that she was also a diligent reader with a bright mind and a thoughtful and inquiring side to her nature ... She had read and absorbed almost all of the Arabic manuscripts in his library, including several which were written by him; astrological scrolls on the names and natures of all the heavenly bodies, and even his manuals on archery and horticulture. She could even argue with him on his own principles of aesthetics. Yes, she was articulate with an enchanting voice. (Malt, 2002, p. 120)

Because of her intelligence, Hura has quickly learned to read and write. She reads even complicated books, discusses them with Kleinatz, and even argues with him about their content.

What also proves Hura’s intelligence and intellectual reasoning is her answer to Kleinatz’ stereotypes about the harem of the Sultan. When Kleinatz, tells her all those Orientalist stereotypes about the huge number of women within the Sultan’s harem and the Sultan’s lasciviousness, Hura interrupts him asking about the source of his information. She is aware that Westerners cannot have access to the harem; therefore, she asks him “Where did you read all this?” (Malt, 2002, p. 126) Kleinatz’ answer reveals the incredibility of his information, and which can also be read as Malt’s counter discourse to the credibility of the early Orientalist stereotypes about Arab women within the Harem. Klientatz says “A document written by a French woman who escaped. Of course, she may not have been truthful. But no man has ever been inside that harem and lived to tell about it” (Malt, 2002, p. 126). Klientatz’ answer demonstrates that his stereotypes about the harem cannot be taken for real. He himself admits that this French woman “may not have been truthful” and that no man can enter the harem and leaves it. By asking about the source of Kleintaz’ information, Hura challenges the authenticity of Western representation of the harem and proves their fragility and

incredibility. She also proves that she is intelligent and aware of the Orientalist stereotypes about Oriental women.

Furthermore, as the Portuguese threats to invade Tetouan again continue, Hura again proves her power and decides to take the nine days journey to Fez to ask for the Sultan's help to protect Tetouan from the Portuguese. Accompanied only by the old, but brave, Captain Tarek, Hura promises "*I will get the Sultan to send troops to our defense. I mustn't fail. [Italics in origin]*" (Malt, 2002, p. 137).

Nevertheless, when Hura reaches Fez and the Sultan's palace, the corrupt Wazir Walid gives his instructions to his Chamberlain to assassinate her. When Hura and Tarek are going back to the fondouk, they are attacked by "two figures clad all in black"(Malt, 2002, p. 148) when they reach the tanneries. Tarek kills the first assassin while

Hura drew her dagger and scanned the courtyard for movement ... The assassin's back was to her. Holding the dagger while crawling on hands and knees, she stabbed him in the thigh. He lost his balance, wavered and fell into the pit. Hura watched his black turban disappear into the slime. (Malt, 2002, p. 149)

Hura and Tarek manage to kill the two assassins who have tried to kill them. However, later on that night while they are in the fondouk, six more assassins will attack them again. There were some traders that night in the fondouk and their camels were tied in the courtyard. Hura tells Tarek to untie the animals and push them to run away in order to veer the assassins' attention and to meet her outside. Hura scissored her legs around the sides of her horse in front of the saddle, hung upside down on its neck and pulled Tarek's horse behind her by the reins ... If anyone was looking, all they could see would be two riderless horses and a mule moving slowly toward the door. (Malt, 2002, pp. 150-151)

Thanks to her wits, Hura manages again to escape from the assassins. She is always alert to danger.

Although the Wazir Walid disappoints Hura and refuses to send troops to save Tetouan from the Portuguese, Hura does not give up her determination to save Tetouan. While in Rabat, she meets a pirate called Nabil who tells her "I'm legal. I got a Commission. A Marque from the Pasha. I got the right to clear our waters of infidel shipping – Portuguese, Spaniard, Dutch, all of 'em" (Malt, 2002, p. 163). Listening to Nabil, Hura immediately thinks about an idea to save Tetouan. She thinks of hiring pirates to attack Christian ships in the Mediterranean and use the money to hire mercenaries to protect Tetouan. She tells Nabil "I came here to learn about piracy" (Malt, 2002, p. 162). Tarek interferes to explain "That's what Lady Hura wants to know. How privateers work.

She’s wantin’ to ... give letters of Marque to privateers in Martil” (Malt, 2002, p. 163). Hura intends to gain money from piracy. She says “Money is what I need to hire mercenaries. I’ll get it from the pirates who use our ports” (Malt, 2002, p. 171).

In fact, Hura even intends to become a pirate herself and raid Christian ships. She thinks Martil “could easily become a pirate haven. She had learnt much from Nabil. If that donkey could succeed as a pirate, surely she could too. She would learn sailing from Tarek” (Malt, 2002, p. 176). Hura does her best to provide protection to her city. She jeopardizes her own life in order to save the lives of the inhabitants of Tetouan. She is a very brave, smart, and powerful woman.

Al-Hurra’s piracy against the Christian ships in the Mediterranean is also documented in history. Athar explains that al-Hurra had a fleet of ships specialized in piracy (Athar, 2008, p. 66). ElWahhabi also writes that al-Hurra’s fleet of ships allied with the Turkish Barbarossa’s fleet and together they struck fear in the hearts of Europeans, especially after they raided on Gibraltar in 1540 and returned loaded with booties and captives (ElWahhabi, 2004, p. 30).

Another example which demonstrates Hura’s power is when Kleinatze warns her against the Barbarossa pirates. He says “I thought you should know about the biggest pirates of all, maybe the biggest threat we have here ... The European Kings quake before these terrors of the Mediterranean – the Barbarossa brothers”(Malt, 2002, p. 220). He warns her that Suleiman the Magnificent “vowed to make Spain Muslim again, and Tetouan, um, Martil, is the best launching port. He gave those pirates – the Barbarossa brothers – Letters of Marque” (Malt, 2002, p. 247). He also informs her that they “are coming. They are very close and raiding villages all along the coast. It’s likely they want Tetouan” (Malt, 2002, p. 247). Hura’s remarkable response demonstrates her powerful character. She declares “I’m not going to sit here like a dove. I’m going to the hunter, to Barbarossa in Algiers. I’ll join with this Khair” (Malt, 2002, p. 248). She is very brave. She is not afraid about herself. She is afraid about her city. She decides to join the Barbarossa in their piracy against the Christian ships in order to protect her city. She is a remarkable woman.

Accompanied only by Tarek and Habib, she goes to Algiers to meet Khair Barbarossa. When they reach Algiers, Hura tells Khair “It is I who give you the Marque of Privateer to the Berbers. I also promise that you will have a tenth of all the Spanish and Portuguese booty you capture. From Algiers west to the Pillars of Hercules” (Malt, 2002, p. 254). They both bargain the percentage of the booty and Khair declares “We’ll go to this port ... I will see if it suits me” (Malt, 2002, p. 255). With her wits, Hura manages to convince the famous Khair Barbarossa to work for her. She is very courageous, intelligent, and powerful.

Hura's agency also appears in her final meeting with the Sultan of Fez. When Hura arrives in Fez, the Sultan invites her to his palace. When they meet, the Sultan tries to provoke her by undermining the importance of women and telling her that women belong to the harem. However, Hura's answer is very clever. It shows that she is well educated and very smart. She says

Surely, you honor women highly in Fes. I heard that your great Karawiyyin Mosque was founded some seven hundred years ago by Fatima, bint Mohammed ibn Feheri, a wealthy woman from Tunisia. All Fes must be proud of her ... And her sister, Miriem, founded the Mosque of the Andalous, isn't that so?(Malt, 2002, p. 283)

Being confounded, the Sultan switches the topic. He has not expected such an answer from her. He tells her

Yes, I've heard of you and your exploits. You're the Pirate Queen. Your city does a good business in piracy. Getting rich, no doubt ... I've heard how you cut off the head of one Portuguese officer, escaped from prison, and then killed that Portuguese Captain, Dias. How did you escape from the prison? Was the jailer blind? How did you get Barbarossa and his men to fight for you? Have you some special power over men? (Malt, 2002, pp. 283-284)

The Sultan surprises Hura because he seems to know a lot about her. Very modestly, she answers him "If I have any talents, they are dedicated to the service of Tetouan and to my family" (Malt, 2002, p. 284). When she asks him about the reason he invited her, the Sultan informs her "I invited you because you interest me. There are no other women like you ... You will marry me. And of course, your gift to me is Tetouan" (Malt, 2002, p. 284). Admiring Hura's strong character, her intelligence, and her achievements, the Sultan of Fez, decides to marry her. Nevertheless, Hura's reaction is remarkable. Although she is aware of his supreme power and she is inside his palace, she is not afraid of him. She violently shouts in his face "I am a free woman, I will not be ordered to marry" (Malt, 2002, p. 284). Hura appears very powerful. She challenges the King of Morocco and proves that she is not a powerless or submissive woman. She is a free woman and no one can impose anything on her, even if he is the King of Morocco.

To sum up, against the recurrent Orientalist representations of Arab women in Western literature, Carol Malt's novel provides another discourse, which disrupts the Orientalist tradition. In fact, gender creates contradictions within the text and destabilizes the colonial discourse. It seems that, as a female writer, Malt has been fascinated by the story of this remarkable Moroccan woman. That is why, she has allowed Hura to prove her agency and, consequently, her novel is not tainted with the recurrent prejudices about Arab women. Hura manages to penetrate men's world and prove that she is not powerless or docile. She challenges Western stereotypes about Arab women and

confirms that Moroccan women have agency. Hura’s powerful character also shows the limitations of Said’s theory. The natives are not silent and powerless as Said describes them in *Orientalism*. They have a voice, they speak, and they defend themselves.

References:

1. Malt, C. (2002). *The Free Woman*. Pensacola: Ethos Publishing.
2. Athar, M., A., & Sohayb. (2008). *Sit al-Hurra: Amirat AlJihaad bi Chamal AlMaghreb*. Tangier: Alto Press.
3. Bekkaoui, K (1998). *Signs of Spectacular Resistance: The Spanish Moor and British Orientalism*. Casablanca: Imprimerie El-jadida.
4. ElWahhabi, A. (2004). “Assayyida al-Hurra al-Amira al-Mujaahida.” *Daawat Alhaq*, 3, pp. 21-34.
5. Mills, S. (1991). *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism*. London: Routledge.
6. Porter, D. (1983). “Orientalism and Its Problems.” In *The Politics of Theory*. Eds. Francis Barker, et al. Colchester: University of Essex, pp. 179-93.
7. Sabbagh, S, (ed.). (2003). “The Debate on Arab Women.” *Arab Women: Between Defiance and Restraint*. Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press.
8. Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Chemlal Said

Negotiating Gendered Spaces in Zakia Tahiri's Film *Number One* (2008)

(Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes)

Abstract

This article questions how gendered spaces are (re)presented in Zakia Tahiri's debut feature film *Number One* (2008). It deconstructs the private-female/public-male dichotomy from a feminist approach, which endeavours to disrupt spatial divisions. The film introduces a comic narrative whereby it negotiates the socio-cultural perceptions that associate women with home and men with the workplace. I argue that *Number One* aspires to disturb the private/public spatial duality, which still exists in the contemporary Moroccan society, yet it does not manage to offer its female characters solid alternatives that can help them out. Tahiri's light comedy gives the spectators the impression that the narrative is not imbued with a true feminist agenda. The film will be closely analysed from a gender approach, showing how gender roles are simply regenerated, but not really disoriented though the film director's intention might be the converse.

Key terms: Moroccan women's cinema; gendered spaces; gendered identity; patriarchy; workplace.

Introduction

Towards the end of the nineties in the last millennium, there were only four female filmmakers in Morocco when it comes to directing feature films. The list included Farida Bourquia, Farida Benlyazid, Izza Génini and Fatima Jebli Ouazzani. Towards the end of the second decade in the twenty-first century, the number is around twenty women directors, including overseas ones. With a considerable rise in the number of women film directors and the remarkable imprint their films left on the sector as a whole, Moroccan women's cinema has nowadays gained a strong foothold in the cinematic scene. Added to the pioneers, many newcomers, including Zakia Tahiri, are playing a key role in redefining women's issues from a feminist perspective.

Of a Moroccan father and a French mother, Zakia Tahiri was born in Lille, France, in 1963. After passing her adolescence in Casablanca, she went back to France in order to hone her talent as an actress, attending the *Cours Florent* and the famous school of the *Rue Blanche*. During the eighties, she carried out different cinematographic tasks alongside her original career as an actress. In 1982, she worked as an assistant director with the French filmmaker Claude Lelouch while shooting *Edith et Marcel*. Later on, she worked as a casting director with the renowned Italian director Bernardo Bertolucci in his *The Sheltering Sky* (1990), an adaptation of Paul

Bowles’ 1949 novel. She also worked as a casting director with the French filmmaker Nicolas Klotz in *La Nuit sacrée* (1993), an adaptation of Taher Ben Jelloun’s 1987 novel. Though Tahiri carried out various cinematic tasks, she was mainly known, mainly at her beginnings, as an actress.

Tahiri’s acting career came to the fore in the eighties when she played one of the principal roles alongside the well-known French actress Catherine Deneuve in Alain Corneau’s *Fort Saggane* (1984).¹ While her previous experiences were marked by technical and acting mastery, her recent cinematic life has been known for being a film director. This newly job has been a culmination of the various posts she had been taking up since the eighties, which allowed her to gain considerable expertise in the field. Her first step in filmmaking was *Origine contrôlée*, a 2001 comedy co-directed with Ahmed Bouchaala, a co-direction that culminated in filming some other various telefilms for French and Moroccan channels. In 2008, Tahiri solely directed her debut feature film *Number One*, a comedy about the social perceptions of the 2004 Family Code version. Seven years later, she made her tele-documentary *Chabab! (Youth, 2015)*, which unveils how some Moroccan youths think of some contemporary issues, such as freedom, religion, sexual harassment, gender, and so on.

The home versus the workplace

After the enactment of the Family Code in 2004, widely known in Morocco as the *Mudawwana*, Tahiri, as a diasporic filmmaker, released her debut feature film *Number One* (2008), which can be read as her own reflection on the gender dynamics animating the country in the recent decades. Set in Casablanca, the film focuses on the daily routine of a middle class couple. While the husband, Aziz (acted by Aziz Saadallah), works as a manager in a textile plant, his wife, Soraya (Nezha Rahil), is a housewife. If his everyday life is characterized by liveliness and vivacity, hers is marked by monotony as she keeps doing domestic chores on a daily basis. Being illiterate, she usually spends her time between “the four walls,” to borrow Amina’s words in Farida Benlyazid’s *Women’s Wives* (1999). Doing the housework, watching television, or flipping through fashion magazines are merely her daily feats. Her function can be outlined in serving her husband and meeting his expectations; whenever he comes back from work, he must find everything is kept neat and tidy.

In contrast to his wife, whose time is usually spent inside the home, Aziz is most of the time outside. He is all the time busy and joins his friends in a café in the evenings after a hectic day at work. He seems to be more ‘humane’, cheering up, smiling and chatting with his mates when in the café, yet he relentlessly and badly behaves towards the females, be they at home or work. He does

not hesitate to bare his teeth on his wife's face for trivial reasons. Continuous tensions mark the couple's relationship.

Tahiri examines the gender dynamics and relations animating today's Morocco. In a comic way, her film negotiates the private-female/public-male dualities. Interestingly, the opening scenes introduce the distinct types of the lives Aziz and Soraya are leading. In a contrasting manner, the filmmaker explores the sort of gender roles socially attributed to each one of them. To do so, she makes use of the cross-cutting editing technique.¹ The camera keeps cutting between Aziz rushing to drive his car to work and his wife simply doing the dishes. Their movements are telling in the sense that they reflect the gendered positions they assume within the society. She is nearly motionless, standing up almost still in the kitchen while he is active, hurrying up and driving fast. The presence of the car in this scene goes hand in hand with Susanne Cowan's (2000) view that it serves as a means to "access the public sphere, and a tool with which to gain power" (p. 314). Aziz's car allows him access to the public space and displays his social class as it is the only vehicle that enters the Maroc Star, the plant he runs.

The film attempts to re-present the Moroccan social realities, as not all women have advanced to equal status with men yet. While males are playing the 'Number One roles', being the leaders of both the private and public spaces, females are lagging behind at work and at home alike. Aziz runs Mr Laraki's factory, where women are simply oppressed employees, construed as machines with no souls or identities. In a tellingly symbolic scene, Aziz introduces them to Mademoiselle Morel, a French client, not by their names, but by the number tags on their smocks. The use of numbers instead of names suggests that they are like prisoners, whose freedom and dignity are denied (el-Bazi, 2011, p. 60). Working in bad conditions, women (including also Soraya at home) are exposed to all feelings of humiliation and inhumane treatments.

If Aziz aspires to be promoted to 'number one' by his boss, Soraya does not dream to attain any promotion whatsoever apart from making her husband lenient with her. Away from leading a happy marital life, each one of the couple tends to keep him/herself aloof from the other to the extent that lack of communication is the prevailing atmosphere at home. In a scene, even if Aziz greets her as he comes back home from work, Soraya does not greet him back. When he opens the door, she hides the fashion magazine she is flicking through and rushes to get dinner ready. Before saying good night, the only conversation that they have is when she informs him about her intention to go to the *hammam*, a traditional Turkish bath, the next day. Aziz promptly turns her request down claiming that she usually does so. Although "the only public spaces accessible to women in some places are the *hammam* (public bath) and the *siyyid* (the tomb of a dead saint) (Sadiqi & Ennaji,

2006, p. 88),” Aziz breaks the patriarchal norms by not allowing his wife to gain access to the *hammam*. He suggests having a shower at home, instead. For Soraya, the *hudud* (borders) are whatever her husband forbids.¹ From his phallogocentric point of view, her ‘natural’ place is home and she has not to trespass it. He trammelsher movements within the house and considers her merely an “*object de désir*,” an object of desire (Gallaoui, 2002, p. 72).

Fed up with Aziz’s repressive behaviour, Soraya, ushered and encouraged by a friend of hers, decides to visit Chama, a sorceress, in order to put an end to his ill-treatment. Dinia & Oumlil (2016) claim that Tahiri’s film shows how women are conscious of their oppression (p. 50). Though her *hudud* are demarcated by her husband, the wife manages to pass from the interior to the exterior space without his own permission. Having eaten a magic potion in dinner, however, a key change occurs in his discipline towards women in general. “While poking fun at the enduring superstitious beliefs in twenty-first century Morocco,” Boutouba (2014) points out, “the witchcraft episode is comic and can be viewed as a metaphor for change” (p. 32). Yet, this is unconvincing how witchcraft can be a catalyst for change as far as women’s situations are concerned.

Overnight, Aziz becomes caring and affectionate, friendly behaving towards his wife and the female employees. In a hallucination, he imagines a social situation where gender roles are totally reversed as men’s movement is trammelled within the private space while women are freely moving in the public. The males are doing menial chores, whereas the females go out for work and enjoy their time in cafés. Through this reversal, the film director proposes that a change in the males’ mindsets should take place *vis-à-vis* the subordinate positions attributed to women. Thanks to this mirage, Aziz imaginatively, at least, reconsiders the daily life his wife and her counterparts are routinely leading. Having regretted what she did, Soraya puts in dinner another potion so as to overturn the first one, but her husband has not eaten even a bite of it. He, however, finally resumes “his former life, but with a new personality” (Armes, 2015, p. 135). *Number One* champions a change in the males’ behaviour towards women, who are not the ‘managers’ of their own lives yet. While they are still lagging behind, men are playing the ‘number one roles’ not only in the public space, but also in the domestic life.

Aziz is the manager of both the plant and the house. When at home, Soraya is under his total control and should conform to his dos and don’ts. Similarly, the female employees cannot utter a word in his presence. He and his wife are representatives of the private and the public spaces in the film. Sadiqi & Ennaji (2006) view that the private space is culturally associated with powerless people (women and children) and is subordinated to the public space, which is culturally associated

with men – who dictate the law, lead business, manage the state, and control the economy, both national and domestic (p. 88).

Powerless, Soraya is associated with the domestic life while her husband leads business and controls even the private space. “Although the home is traditionally thought of as the feminine realm,” Cowan (2000) maintains, “the father controls this space” (pp. 308-309). It is culturally assumed to be ‘a space of her own’, yet the wife cannot act in a relaxed way inside when Aziz is present.

While having dinner in a scene, she cannot even continue watching a TV programme about the newly enacted Family Code that really captures her interest. When noticing this, Aziz rushes to turn the TV off. Despite the fact that the dinner table is “the hearth that the family gathers around” (Cowan, 2000, p. 308), it becomes here a moment of contestation. In her husband's presence, Soraya does not control the home. “In one sense a woman controls the whole house,” Katherine White (quoted in Cowan, 2000) contends, “but in another she may feel she owns nothing personally but her side of the wardrobe” (p. 307).¹ For Aziz, the wife is dependent on him and thus he ought to protect and look after her. Linda McDowell (2003) believes that women, in contrast to men, “were dependents, to be protected and kept close. They were to provide sustenance and nurture to their menfolk and children through the construction of a place of leisureed and domestic calm” (p. 12). If Aziz is busy with the business life, his wife is occupied with providing sustenance to him and their children.

Unlike the males, whose success is portrayed in the public sphere, the females manifest theirs in the domestic life. The home for a woman “is a facade, which she must maintain to portray success to the other” (Cowan, 2000, p. 307). Whenever back home from work, Soraya gets dinner ready as quickly as possible in order to show her successfulness before her husband's eyes. Women, Josephine Little (quoted in Cowan, 2000) states, are “judged and valued for abilities in domestic sphere” (p. 308). While Aziz's success is measured by his successful running of the factory in general and convincing Morel to sign the contract in particular, his wife's is measured by her housework management. At the film's ending, he is going to advance to Number One, but she is already so when it comes to doing the domestic chores on a daily, non-stop basis. If the world of business is characterised by movement and flux, the realm of the house is marked by slow pace and stagnation.

Whenever filming Soraya or her apartment, Boutouba (2014) observes, Tahiri repetitively uses the brown, beige and grey colours, which “echo the arid emotional landscape that she inhabits” (p. 31). Because of the sort of the relationship that signals the couple's life, the domestic space

for her becomes a space of confinement in which “communication and emotions are suppressed and where violence could erupt at any time” (Boutouba, 2014, p. 32). Domineering, Aziz shifts the function of home from a place of emotional ties to that of contentious and tense clashes. His wife feels like a prisoner inside her home,¹ where silence is, for the most part, her utmost option.

Number One aptly deals with the gendered division of space. It successfully re-presents the partition of home and workplace; the first is associated with women, whereas the second is ‘reserved’ for men. The home is regarded, Chris Barker (2004) points out, “as the domain of the ‘private’ and the feminine whereas sites of paid work have been coded masculine within the public sphere. Homes have been cast as the unpaid domain of mothers and children, connoting the secondary values of caring, love, tenderness and domesticity” (p. 187). The females are attached to the domestic space as it is thought to be a place of reproduction, not production. Jane Rendell (2000) stresses the idea that the ideology behind the division of “city from home, public from private, production from reproduction, and men from women is both patriarchal and capitalist” (p. 103). This ideology justifies, in a sense, why the males’ work in the public space, unlike the females’ at home, is paid. Some feminists, say, Dolores Hayden (quoted in Cowan, 2000), however, argue against the grain of this assumption as they call for re-considering the home as women’s workplace. “Society defines the ideal home as a warm and supportive place for men and children,” she contends, “but for women it has always been a workplace, where a woman’s work is never done” (p. 307). If Aziz’s work is paid, Soraya’s is unpaid though it seems to be more arduous.

The home is not only a pure place of reproduction, but a “site of multiple activities, including production, consumption and reproduction, a place of waged and unwaged work, of inequality and pain as well as pleasure and security” (McDowell, 2003, p. 17). In contrast to the domestic space’s unwaged work, “places of paid work have been regarded as the domain of men, connoting the primary values of toughness (either physically or mentally), hardness, comradeship and reality” (Barker, 2004, p. 187). *Number One* introduces a narrative that aspires to aptly unveil the gendered norms predominant in Morocco, yet it does not disrupt these norms. Instead, it tries to show us how a present-day but gendered society is in the twenty-first century. Tahiri does not succeed in subverting the phallogocentric agenda, but in uncovering how this agenda works by negotiating its construction of gendered spaces.

An attempt to disorient the gendered spaces

Even if its narrative focuses mainly on how male-centred mindsets (re)generate gendered spatial divisions, *Number One*, if read in its entirety, does not offer its female characters any possible alternatives through which they can relocate their agencies and voice themselves. The film

can be construed as a simple attempt to diagnose how males and females are defined in their relations to the home and the workplace. Although Soraya aspires at some occasions to subvert the physical and symbolic *hudud* demarcated by her husband's phallogocentric mentality, she at the end of the day keeps the status quo.

In his attempt to convince Mademoiselle Morel, described as a radical French feminist by Mr Laraki, to sign the contract with Maroc Star, Aziz, carrying out his boss's instructions, invites her to dine out together. Her condition that his wife should join them caught him by surprise. He is embarrassed, but forced to agree to her request. On their way to the restaurant, Aziz asks Soraya to follow his tips on how to behave in a respectful but attractive manner. She has to take her cues from the clients in such an upmarket restaurant. She who is so timid at the outset ends up being talkative, seizing the opportunity that she cannot be humiliated or interrupted by her husband in such a sensitive deal. Playing on her husband's dire need to win the contract, she turns the situation to her own advantage. She acts as she likes and does things she has not been able even to think of in his absence, let alone in his presence. Through smoking, drinking, chatting and laughing with the French visitor, Boutouba (2014) argues, Soraya "reverts gender roles and recasts her husband as the powerless and voiceless spectator" (p. 36). She succeeds in managing the public space in her own way, not in her husband's. Indulging in long but friendly chats with each other, Morel and her comrade pay no heed to Aziz's presence. Being ignored by them is intensified by the camera's focus on them, cutting to him just to display his unsatisfying and rude gestures. By overusing the close-up technique when filming the females, Tahiri tries to focus only on their perspectives.

Number One highlights Soraya's standpoint to the detriment of Aziz's. When having dinner, she seizes the chance to show him what a 'modern woman' would be like: free in her movements and ways of speaking and behaving. She urges him to adjust his perception of gender roles to a more equitable and Western one as well. Though she has never smoked before, she asks Aziz, while mimicking a couple sitting beside them, to light up a cigarette provided to her by Morel. Her interest does not lie in smoking at all, but in subverting his androcentric conception of her femininity. Instead of imitating the restaurant's customers, as Aziz instructs her before to do so, she cleverly turns the tables on him by forcing him to mimic them. Instead of being submissive as usual, she turns out to be smart enough to dismantle the patriarchal conventions from within the males' space(s).

Soraya manages to unsettle not only her husband's prescriptive teachings, but also the males' appropriation of the public sphere in general. Her performance represents an "instance of subversive mimicry" (Boutouba, 2014, p. 36) through which she mutes her husband and manipulates the French

client. Utilising her own disruptive methods, she proves to him and to the spectators alike that she can play an essential role in business. She becomes the key to her husband’s success in winning Morel’s signature of the contract. Tahiri suggests that females can do well if they are given access to the public space, and that the patriarchal orders do harm to both women and men. Without their help, the film implies, men cannot succeed. Aziz is ultimately promoted to Number One only by the female employees’ support, as they go on strike demanding his return after Mr Laraki had fired him.

If the home is almost a silencing ‘prison’ for Soraya and her female neighbours, the only place available for them to feel at ease and break their silences, then, remain the rooftops. They can freely occupy them and render them spaces of their own. To please themselves, they usually gather there for chatting. As the males are most of the time in the public space, females get a grip on the rooftops. In urban areas, Mounira Charrad (2001) asserts, “there is a quasi-public female space where much informal socializing takes place. Women get together on rooftops” (p. 66). She goes on arguing that if streets are primarily associated with men, the roof terraces are *parexcellence* feminine.

While Soraya shows her neighbours some women’s photos in a magazine on the rooftop, her friend, Fatehia, comments: “The woman abroad,¹ you see, is always elegant and good-looking even if she happens to work in the fields; it’s amazing!” Comparing women here and there, Rachida replies: “The difference between her and us is that when she intends to have a baby, she decides when, how and why to do so.” As they burst out laughing, Fatna joins them and utters: “May God pardon us?” Unlike in the English language, the last sentence in the Moroccan Arabic can connote another meaning, which is something like: “May God change our status?” Unconscious of the changes taking place in contemporary Morocco, mainly the 2004 *Mudawwana*, the females are still fervently aspiring to a social transformation of their situations. The rooftop, for them, becomes a space of daydreaming about a better future in which freedom is the utmost principle, akin to the one enjoyed by European women. Instead of contextualising their feminine subjectivities within their own culture, as is the case of Nadia in Farida Benlyazid’s *Bab Sma Maftouh (A Door to the Sky*, 1988), Tahiri’s female protagonists model their social identities on Western culture.

Conclusion

In her debut feature film *Number One*, Zakia Tahiri has made an effort to expose women’s femininity on screen through a story whereby the private-public spatial division is re-presented from a feminine point of view. Her aim is apparently to contribute to the process of voicing women that Moroccan women’s cinema had already initiated. Yet, her narrative has not been tailored in accordance with her aspirations. What on the surface seems a social-realist text is actually a non-

feminist film since it perpetuates “the sustained belief that women are obliged to wait on men, relying on the will of the masculine to transform the status quo.” Consequently, “men are advanced to “number one,” while women are left behind preparing their dinners” (Orlando, 2011, p. 152).

The film does not manage to introduce a disruptive paradigm in which females succeed in deconstructing the gendered spatial partitions. At the ending of the film, Aziz advances to Number One while women resume their daily routines as downtrodden employees and housewives. They are not advanced to such position; that is why Orlando (2011) accuses *Number One* of not being a “feminist film, socially transformative film” as Tahiri “never insists that women must find the strength to stand up for themselves” (p. 152).¹ Instead of redefining their social identities and relocating their agencies, they simply cheer up when men climb up the social and business ladders. Finally, the female workers in the factory resume their work without any change whatsoever in their working conditions while Soraya goes on preparing dinner for Aziz, and manifesting her success in keeping the house tidy. Tahiri's women prove to be submissive and amenable, waiting a change to be brought about by males. Soraya is kept at home while Aziz is chosen to be ‘Man of the Year’ by a women's magazine.

Note on translation:

All translations from *Darija* or standard Arabic are mine; otherwise it is indicated.

Notes:

¹ Zakia Tahiri also acted in two French-Algerian films: Ahmed Bouchaala's *Krim* (1995) and Said Ould-Khelifa's *Ombres blanches* (1991). In Morocco, she played major roles in Farida Benlyazid's *A Door to the Sky* (1988) and Mohammed Abdurrahman Tazi's *Badis* (1989).

¹ Cross-cutting editing is “limited as a term to the linking-up of two sets of action that are running concurrently and which are interdependent within the narrative” (Hayward, 2006, p. 110).

¹ I adopted this sentence from Fatima Mernissi's autobiography: “The *hudud* was whatever the teacher forbade” (1994, p. 3).

¹ In an analogous argument, Elizabeth Wilson claims that “the private space was – and is – a masculine domain; although the Victorians classified it as feminine it was organized for the convenience, rest, and recreation of men, not women” (quoted in Cowan, 2000, p. 309).

¹ Cowan (2000) notes that “[s]ome women feel like prisoners in their own homes, having no private space within their house, yet no method of accessing the outside world” (p. 303).

¹ The film's French subtitles translate “the woman abroad” (from *Darija*) as “la femme Européenne” (the European woman).

¹ In a similar argument, Armes (2015) argues that “Aziz's story represents that of a country undergoing change, but the fact that the film's plot turns on magic rather than on the emerging self-awareness of a new generation of women limits its relevance as a social document” (p. 135). In another

corresponding view, Housni (2015) notes that *Number One* has not left its own imprint on the Moroccan cinematic repertoire as it introduces a light narrative (p. 89).

References:

1. Armes, R. (2015). *New voices in Arab cinema*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
2. Benlyazid, F. (1988). Dir. *Bab Sma Maftouh (Une Porte sur le ciel/A Door to the Sky)*. France-Média (France), SATPEC (Tunisie), and Interfilm (Morocco).
3. Barker, C.(2004). *The SAGE dictionary of cultural studies*. London & California: SAGE Publications.
4. el-Bazi, A. (Winter 2011). Hinama tousbih al-mara’a maoudou’a iftitan wa masdar khishya(When the woman becomes an object of enchantment and a source of fear).*Wachma*, 6, 59-61.
5. Boutouba, J. (Spring 2014). The moudawana syndrome: Gender trouble in contemporary Morocco.*Research in African Literatures*, 45(1),145-162.
6. Charrad, M. M. (2001). Women ally with the devil: Gender, unity and division. In *States and women’s rights: The making of postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 51-67.
7. Cowan, S. (2000). The gendered architecture of the home in cinematic space. *Built Environment*, 26(4), 303-315.
8. Dinia, D., & Oumlil, K. (Spring 2016). Women in contemporary Moroccan cinema.*Journal of Middle East Media*, 12,40-59.
9. Gallaoui, M. (2002). Femmes et cinéastes. In *La Critique au pluriel*. Casablanca: Imprimerie Najah Al Jadida,69-79.
10. Hayward, S. (2006). *Cinema studies: The key concepts*. London & New York: Routledge.
11. Housni, M. (Spring 2015). Assinimayyat al-Maghrebiyat: Cinema li al-hanin wa li atta’abir(Moroccan female directors: A cinema for yearning and expression). *Al Cinema Al Arabiyyah*, 2, 84-91.
12. McDowell, L. (2003). Place and Space. In *A concise companion to feminist theory*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 11-31.
13. Mernissi, F. (1994).*Dreams of trespass: Tales of a harem girlhood*. New York: Addison-Wesley.
14. Orlando, V.(2011). *Screening Morocco: Contemporary film in a changing society*. Ohio: Ohio University Press.
15. Rendell, J. (2000). Introduction: ‘Gender, space’. In *Gender, space, architecture: An interdisciplinary introduction*. Eds. Rendell, J. et al. London & New York: Routledge, 101-111.
16. Sadiqi, F., & Ennaji, M. (Spring 2006). The feminization of public space: Women’s activism, the family law, and social change in Morocco.*Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, 2(2), 86-114.
17. Tahiri, Z. (2008). Dir. *Number One*. Made in Morocco, the Moroccan first (SNRT) and second (2M SOREAD) channels, the Moroccan Cinematographic Centre (CCM), Fonds Francophone de Production Audiovisuelle du Sud, and the Moroccan BMCE Bank.

Bitari Wissam

**Gender and Migration in Academia and the Change in Perspectives
of Empowerment: A Critical Reading in Some Arab Migrant Literary Texts.**

(Mohamed First University, Oujda)

Abstract:

Gender has gained momentum in many academic fields including migrant literature. Given the fact that gender is considered as a social construct, migration studies has rethought the change that gender roles and relations undergo when human subjects are marked by movement. However, scholars tend to view migration as a liberating phenomenon especially for women who are offered the opportunity to rebel against what used to be the norm in their countries. This view is shattered due to the heterogeneity that marked women's experiences and which rendered migration as a more problematic experience due to the multiple offers and restrictions it puts in front of women. In this paper, I am trying to provide an analysis of some Arab literary texts including *Leila Hallaby's West of the Jordan* and *Fadia Faqir's the Cry of the Dove* to review the concept of empowerment that is most often equated with migration while talking about women's experiences.

Keywords: Gender-Migration- Academia- Literature- Heterogeneity

Introduction:

Migrant literature in general and Arab female migrant writings in specific challenge normative social, cultural and political practices. In other words, their writings aim at deconstructing all that has been taken for granted in society. Specifically, gender is tackled from different perspectives that go beyond perpetuating the same discourse of empowerment that is always equated with movement. With recourse to movement, gender practices prove to be revisited when migrant subjects encounter cultural dislocation. However, what is at stake is to what extent can we safely claim that empowerment is a result of migration especially when we envision women?

Arab female migrant literature is not a monolithic literature that represents gender in the same way. Hence, this literature is bombarded by heterogeneity. The heterogeneity it embodies is not only based on the axes of class, gender, religion or race but it is also rather based on the specificity of human experience. That is to say, migrant individuals' experiences are what differentiate them from one another regardless of what types of axes they share with others.

Since migrant subjects are heterogeneous, we can never claim that migration empowers one of the sexes without accounting for the possibility of disempowerment that they can face as well while in movement. In this regard, based on transnational theory, I argue that Leila Hallaby’s *West of the Jordan* and Fadia Faqir’s *the Cry of the Dove* review the concept of empowerment by positioning migration in two positions. These positions are that of empowerment whereby gender relations are shattered to reclaim power to the marginalized and a position of restriction in which gender relations and practices are reinforced in movement.

The article is divided into two parts. While the first part lays down the theoretical perspectives from which the novels are analyzed, the second part is devoted to analyzing the concept of gender empowerment in relation to migration.

Theoretical Standpoints: Gender and Differences in the Politics of Location

My aim in this article is to draw attention to the concept of empowerment with regard to the heterogeneity of migrant experiences without falling in the trope of generalizing other’s experiences based on their gender, race or religion. Arguably, the diversity of migrants’ experiences plainly contributes to impacting and getting impacted by the space of settlement. Put it differently, the space of home and diaspora affect and get affected by human relations and roles. This impact is solely manifested in migrant narratives and mainly those which pay attention to the issues of gender.

Arguably, movement is subjectively experienced and lived. That is to say, in spite of sharing the same gender, race and religion, the subjectivity of migrants’ individuals intervenes and hinders the similarity or homogeneity of experiences. Hence, gender relations and roles are different and subjectively lived from one person to another. Moreover, movement from one place to another shatters the concept of empowerment in that we can never claim that the home country from which migrants migrate is a space of restriction and the host country is a space of liberation.

Along with the issue of empowerment which is at stake in migration, space of home is not a space that can be reduced to being a space of empowerment or disempowerment for individuals. However, “it is a space of belonging and alienation, intimacy and violence, desire and fear, the home is charged with meanings, emotions, experiences and relationships that lie at the heart of human life” (Alison Blunt, 2005, p.5). In the introduction of his book, Alison Blunt refers to the ambivalent position home space occupies. He sheds light on the multiple, contradictory and the plural features of the notion of home which saves it from the reductionist views of essentialism. Thanks to the contradictory notions attributed to home by Alison Blunt, home can be either a space

of empowerment or disempowerment. The multiple significations of home are distinctively experienced from one person to another.

In other words, oppression or liberation, space of home cannot be generalized to either of them. In this way, we cannot generalize the experiences of third world women as they are not a homogenous entity. Though they share many aspects of life, their experiences differ with regards to their relation to the home country. Their relationship to the homeland and the host country may be both a source of empowerment and a source of failure. In his theorization of gender and diaspora, James Clifford affirms:

Life for women in diasporic situations can be doubly painful-struggling with the material and spiritual insecurities of exile, with the demands of family and work, and with the claims of old and new patriarchies. Despite these hardships, they may refuse the option of return when it presents itself, especially when the terms are dictated by men. At the same time, women in diaspora remain attached to and empowered by, a 'home' culture and tradition-selectively. (James Clifford, 1997, p.259).

Against generalizing women's relationship to their homelands, James Clifford claims that women hold contradictory attitudes toward the space of home and diaspora which signifies that both spaces cannot be reduced to a stable state of powerlessness or powerfulness depending on the experiences of each subject.

However, if home can be empowering for women who reside in diasporic space, it can also be a room of psychological, physical and mental terror for women. According to Yenle Espiritu in *Home bound*, "home is problematic because the construct of home is inseparable from power relations, home can simultaneously be an unsafe, violent, and oppressive site for people from the margins such as women" (Yen Le Espiritu, 2003, p.15). That is to say, the male /female relationship in the home country is that of power relations where one dominates and the other resists. This power relation can be shuttered in that it is not static and at any time roles can become subverted which deviates home from being defined into one single category.

Moreover, patriarchy is not a homogeneous aspect of third world societies. It is not always fulfilling men's masculinities and hindering women's femininities. Patriarchy should not be a homogeneous framework to impose on diverse geographical, historical and personal contexts (Lindsey Moore, 2008, p.7). Patriarchy can be enhanced and perturbed when affected by movement depending again on the personal experiences of both men and women.

In other words, if home is proved to be "both a place of violence and nurturing, a place to escape to as well as to escape from" (George, Rosemary Marungoly, 2003, p.15), diaspora space can

also be considered both as an alternative where gender relations become prone to radical transformation or where they can be reinforced or worsened. Furthermore, diaspora space cannot stand as an epistemological category of analysis, separated and distinct from the stiflingly exchangeable intersectionality of race, class, gender and sexuality. Haideh Moghissi states that “a gendered understanding of the reasons, processes and consequences of migration, therefore, will undoubtedly offer new aspects for understanding and conceptualizing Diaspora” (Haideh Moghissi, 2006, p.106). That is to say, paying attention to the diverse reasons that bring about migration will definitely offer new approaches to gender in diaspora. The problematic that arises while looking at gender in terms of Diaspora is to what extent is the home space an oppressive site for men and women? And, to what extent is diaspora space a liberating site of gender equality?

In diaspora space, women are expected to protect and nurture the spiritual essence of the national culture to preserve the religio-cultural identity in question. Sabah Firoz Uddin claims that women are regarded by men as the protectors of the home culture and says:

They [women] must not lose their essentially spiritual (that is, feminine) virtues; they must not, in other words, become essentially Westernized. The essential distinction between the social roles of men and women in terms of material and spiritual virtues must at all times be maintained. There would have to be a marked difference in the degree and manner of Westernization of women, as distinct from men, in the modern world (Sabah Firoz Uddin, 2013, p.126).

It is clearly shown that women’s movement in diaspora space or the host country is restricted as they are always seen as the upholders of the culture of their home country and any deviation from the previously prescribed male rules will result in their punishment.

Even though there are some restrictions that subdue women in the diaspora space, women can also establish a new space where they go beyond the normative rules such as protecting one’s ethnic identity so as to maintain their equality as their male counterparts. Considering migration as a response to social conservatism and familiar constraints, women emancipate themselves through refusing to be relegated to the maintenance of ethnic status.

From a feminist standpoint, the migrant is an embodiment of the contemporary condition of dislocation "not only in spatial terms but as crossing existing categories, of gender restrictions and bodily limitations" (Sandra Porzanes ,2002, p.206). To explain, female subjectivity reconfigures itself through the continuous process of movement. In Sandra Porzanes words, “Migrancy empowers women and ethnic minorities, by emphasizing shifting identities and cultural negotiations” (Sandra Porzanes ,2002, p.206). Significantly, according to Sandra Porzanes, women’ empowerment goes hand in hand with their construction of selfhood in terms of hybridity and

multiplicity. However, to what extent is hybridity a praxis of power for women? The following part is tackling the issue of migration space in terms of the extent to which it is both a space of liberation and restriction.

A Critical Reading in Fadia Faqir's *The Cry of the Dove* and Leila Hallaby's *West of the Jordan*:

Along with the issue of empowerment that becomes debatable in migration studies, Fadia Faqir and Leila Hallaby eloquently provide readers with narratives accompanied with diverse themes. The major theme that invades the whole two narratives is gender and dis/empowerment. Both of them tend to represent it while paying attention to the heterogeneous experiences of characters regardless of their gender, nationality or race.

Endowed with a transnational vision that is split between space of home and diaspora, Leila Hallaby and Fadia Faqir revise the significance of space in defining the liberation or the restriction one can face. During their narration, both of them choose heterogeneous characters whose difference lies in their particular experiences.

In relation to differences, Ella Shohat strongly calls attention to heterogeneity while analyzing certain groups that are seen as identical and taking into consideration the different interaction everyone is engaged in" (Shohat, Ella, 2002, p.68). The interaction she talks about refers to the subject's relationality to space, time, culture and other individuals because, in the context of this article, what shows whether a woman is empowered or disempowered is her relation to different constituents.

Salma, in Fadia Faqir's *the Cry of the Dove*, is an exiled subject who has been cast away by her family in Hima due to an illicit relationship that results in her pregnancy. From the very beginning, we get acquainted with the fact that Hima as her home village is a space in which she was psychologically and physically subdued. Salma's relation to her home space represents what Susan Stanford called "sick of home" (Susan Stanford Friedman, 2009, p.191). During the narrative, Salma is constructed as an ill-being who is always tormented due to the melancholic memories she recalls about Hima. The relationship she maintains with her homeland is that of disempowerment.

The disempowerment that characterizes Salma's experience in Hima is recalled through her memories in that her memories become weapons through which a discovery of her attitude with regard to home is offered. For instance, what shows that home space for Salma is a space that is restrictive, disempowering and violent for women is the prison Salma was imprisoned in. Recalling the prison, Salma does not only focus on the malaise she faced there but she also narrativised her female companions' mal conditions in that place.

Beside the ill-treatment of female prisoners, prison is used as a strategy to inform readers that to be imprisoned in an androcentric country does not mean that you are guilty as the prevalent system dominating these countries always dehumanizes minorities. In other words, female prisoners are victims of both poverty that characterizes Hima village, and the violence the male of the village exercises over women. One of the examples that show the inequalities existing in Hima space is madam Lamaa’s story. Due to her husband’s decision to look for a second wife, Madame Lamaa is put in the prison because she was caught standing naked in the street due to her mental and psychological suffering. Yet, this event is a minor incident in the narrative as Madame Lamaa is a minor voice. However, this event is obviously offered to critique how home space is a space of violence. Nourra’s response to Lamaa’s story is a direct criticism of the institution of marriage in Hima. She says: “They threaten us with taking on a second wife to keep us in our place” (FadiaFaqir, 2007, p. 152). Polygamy is merely used, in Fatima El Mernissi’s view, by men to subdue women (Fatima El Mernissi, 1985, p.12). The practice of polygamy in Hima is based on culture and not religion. It is practised to perpetuate women’s submissiveness.

Another aspect upon which women are disempowered is Islam as a culture. In the novel, the religious discourse is manifested in honour-killing that is the major theme of the novel. Honour-killing is not an Islamic practice but a cultural one and within the novel honour is reduced to women. To be a man does not necessitate following your religion and preserving your honour. Yet, the concept of honour in the novel is more cultural than religious. That is to say, men have no honour to protect because they are men whereas women are men’s honour. What shows this cultural thinking is when Salma and Hamdan are engaged in an illicit relationship. Though both of them committed a sin that is forbidden in Islamic law, it is Salma who is threatened by death and not Hamdan. The irony that shows the duplicity men embody is that Hamdan is a religious person who is described as having “a praying expression on his face” (p.16); however, his manners are inhumane. When Salma informs him that she is pregnant, he says: “You are responsible. You have seduced me with the yearning tunes of your pipe and swaying hips” (p.171). Hamdan’s attitudes suggest the fake religiosity the males of Hima exhibit to hide behind their immoral deeds. Besides, he has never called Salma by her name; he always calls her, “my slave” (p.21) and “my whore”(p.21). These two words suggest that back at home; Salma is seen as a sexualized body whose job is to satisfy Hamdan’s desire. Although she transgresses the norms of her society when she is engaged in an illicit sexual relationship, she is still considered as a passive and a sexual object. Her transgression does not make of her a woman who owns her body but it makes of her a property of another man.

Despite her transgressive acts in Hima, Salma does not reach empowerment until she moves from Hima to Exeter. Moving between empowerment and disempowerment is a state that Salma occupies in Exeter in that migration does not totally empower women. If it saves them from the inequalities that are based on gender, it does not necessarily protect them from inequalities that are based on class and religion. To begin first with how Salma has been empowered in Exeter, facing the miserable conditions of poverty in the host country, Salma and Parvé start looking for whatever jobs that may help them survive. First of level, Salma has worked as a tailor with an English man named Max. What is normative in Hima is that women are reduced to housewives but in Exeter, Salma is able to go beyond the private space and becomes an independent woman. Similarly, Parvin who is a Muslim Indian and who has fled from an arranged marriage her father had proposed, decides to be an independent woman. After falling in ten interviews, she does not lose hope in looking for a job that helps her. Moreover, Parvin also gets married to a Christian man which is not the norm in India. Rebelling against social standards is also an act of thinking beyond the social, cultural and religious conducts. Similarly, when Parvin is granted a job, she accompanies Salma to celebrate the event in the Café. As a discursive space, cafés are reserved for only men in Hima and India in the novel. By normalizing their frequent visits to the cafés, both Salma and Parvin disrupt their cultural rubrics.

Another incident that shows the blurring of the public and the private space is when Salma gets rid of her veil which her father imposes on her. While removing the veil, Salma states: "It felt as if my head had been covered with raw sores and I had taken off the bandages" (p.108). Comparing the veil to the "raw sores" is significant; it stands for the painful effect Salma suffers from when her body is monitored by the male patriarch of her family. In Exeter, Salma is eager to remove it without being afraid of being killed because she regains her agency that was once deprived of in her homeland.

Going beyond normative dichotomies is also shown when Salma frequently goes to bars to have fun. In Hima, bars are public spaces that are designed for only men. This dichotomization in Nancy Duncan's words is "frequently employed to construct, control, discipline, confine, exclude and suppress gender and sexual difference preserving traditional patriarchal and heterosexist power structures"(Nancy, Duncan, 1996, p.128). However, after regaining power over herself, Salma does not only transgress private spaces but she also shows a great willingness in transgressing traditional manners. When she was working as a waitress in a bar, she accepts without objection to change her traditional clothes to accommodate the needs of the new job's requirement. The new space, in which she is living, allows her to rebel against what once was considered a fixed, immutable and

constant attributes. Salma in diaspora space has proved that space in Nancy Duncan’s words: “is thus subject to various territorializing and deterritorializing processes” (p.129) whereby Salma decenters what once was considered a male based space.

However, those incidents that Salma encountered does not make of her a totally empowered subject because diaspora space is also a space of racism that the Diasporic subjects experience before totally integrating themselves in the new country. The incident that enhances this idea is when Dr Charles refuses to give Salma medicine saying that "she is foreign and waste NHS money"(FadiaFaqir, 2007, p.140). Calling her “foreign” excludes her from one of the basic human rights and which is health care. In this case, Salma decides to rely on Pavé to help her face Dr Charles whom Pavé after insulting him, Salma says to him: we are both British and soon we will be sitting in your very seat" (p.140) .This racial discrimination is resisted by Salma who long ago was denied self-esteem. Although diaspora space consists of discrimination, it also helps women construct their own agencies in this novel by resisting any type of racism. From this incident, we can see that female migrants show solidarity against types of racism and sexism. Another kind of resisting racism is when Salma is in the bar and an English man approaches her asking from where she is but when she doesn’t answer him, he tells her: “I know why you are not saying. Because you are from Argentina”(p.211). Refusing to be engaged in any sort of dialogue with him is a resistive act against his racist attitudes toward other nations; if he does not feel racism against Argentinean people, he would not have told her so. In diaspora space, Salma also experiences sexual harassment from men in the Bar where she is looked at as a sexual object. However, not all men whom she encounters sexualizes her. It is true that diaspora (Exeter) is a space of terror but what differentiates it from Home (Hima) is the heterogeneity of male attitudes. Not all men consider women as sexual objects and deny them dignity. The incident in the bar where Salma is harassed by an old man but is rescued by her employer Allan proves this fact. Exeter is still a space where she retrieves her dignity as a subject and not an object. Despite the mal condition of her work, she felt protection when Allan kept her behind the bar beyond the reach of drunken eyes and hands.

Hence, FadiaFaqir’s *the Cry of the Dove* is a narrative that shows how empowerment cannot be totally linked to migration because women do not only face gender issues but they also face class and religious issues which typically hinder an entirely empowering process of liberation. Likewise, as an American-Jordanian writer, Leila Hallaby’s narrative is marked by fragmentation in terms of style as well as in terms of characters. She focuses on narrating the life of four female cousins which makes of her narrative a heterogeneous product. Relying on the four characters, Leyla

Hallaby's *West of the Jordan* shows us that despite of sharing the same gender, nation, family and religion, these characters negotiate themselves with regards to empowerment in a different way.

Starting with how diasporic space alters gender relations and emancipates women, Soraya in *West of the Jordan* goes beyond the brutally gendered mindsets that used to attack them in the home country. There is a very significant incident that shows how the new lifestyle this character encounters reshapes her personality and rebuilds her agency. As for Soraya in *West of the Jordan* whose feelings are fraught with resentment once thinking of going back to Jordan, she eloquently acknowledges the freedom she owes to America. In a passage where she is thinking of going back home, she admits:

I choose what I do. I have always chosen what I do. We are in America now, [...] who would think I would go back, just to watch my grandmother watching the day that sits slow [...] No matter what, I won't let that noise make me forget. It will not be the one to steal my youth and spit my soul into the gutter.

Music loud, loud, loud, to drown it all and make my escape plan (Leila Hallaby, 2003, p.190-191)

The passage purveys two main ideas. To start with the first one, Soraya is acknowledging the fruitful presence of America in her life because this place does not hinder Soraya's choices. In spite of being a revolutionist girl back home, American space enables her to carry on her independent decisions and autonomous lifestyle. The second idea revolves around going back home. Soraya ridicules this type of thinking by firstly mocking the lifestyle of her grandmother who is represented as immobile when she says "watching the day that sits slow". Then, the word "noises" is chosen to describe her thoughts about going back home. The choice of the word "noise" which literary refers to an unbearable sound that distracts human attention implies the invisible thoughts related to going back home that haunts Soraya's thinking and which tends to distract her life in America. Considering going back as a thief when she says "it will not be the one to steal my youth and spit my soul into the gutter" suggests how unwelcoming, subduing as well as restricting the home space is. Moreover, the word "gutter" refers to the stable place that carries off rainwater. Using this word to refer to going back home shows that Soraya considers home space as a stable space that does not allow change on the part of its inhabitants. Generally, this passage is a clear reference to how American space empowers women to choose and how home space encloses them into a "gutter".

Explicitly, Soraya's experience in diasporic space proves that it is more emancipatory than the home country whose traditions deprive her of freedom of choice. The conclusion that arises amidst these reflections on Soraya's experience is that empowerment is realized in America. However,

given the fact that *West of the Jordan* is a plural narrative whose voices are heterogeneous, we can't generalize the thought of empowerment on the whole novel as there are other cases such as that of Halla's mother which signifies the ambivalence that surrounds empowerment in diaspora. In this vein, James Clifford draws attention to the question of the reinforcement or the loosening of gender subordination. In this regards, he says:

On the one hand, maintaining connections with homelands, with kinship networks, and with religious and cultural traditions may renew patriarchal structures. On the other, new roles and demands, new political spaces, are opened by diaspora interactions . . . they [women] may find their new diaspora predicaments conducive to a positive renegotiation of gender relations (Clifford, James. 1999 ,p.227)

Based on the dual nature of migration, Soraya proves to achieve empowerment through which she renegotiates her attitude with regards to her homeland that is seen as a repressive space. However, diaspora space can be also a space in which gender travelled traditions migrate in that patriarchal attitudes, instead of being shuttered, are renewed.

These travelling patriarchal cultures are demonstrated through Halla's mother experience in America where one of her family's friends produces stereotypes about her saying that she spent nights in her boyfriend's house. This results in obliging her to come back to Palestine. Though later her family knows that all that has been said is but lies and gossips, they have not allowed her to pursue her studies again in America. This event enhances the travelling gendered attributes that tend to always subdue women.

If women seem to be positioned between liberation and restriction in diasporic space in Leyla Hallaby's *West of the Jordan*, home space proves to be different from that which is in the *Cry of the Dove* in that even if there are restrictions, women can resist there. In words, staying put is not always a restrictive position that women are exposed to, it can have a liberating atmosphere in which women empower themselves. For instance, Mawal, in *West of the Jordan*, is the only character who stays in Jordan for a lifetime. She grows up in a family where virginity matters and women right conduct is celebrated. However, Mawal trespasses her tribe's right conducts and speaks her mind. That is to say, in her own way, she fuses public and private binaries. In the narrative, there is a specific episode which shows, regardless of Mawal's stability, her deconstruction of gender attributes that require a woman to follow the patriarchal orders.

My mother has led me to believe that feelings and thoughts such as these will take me straight to hell, or make me turn out like my untame cousin Soraya, *who ate too much cereal when she was young and has the foolishness of an American in her blood*, and that may be true but I don't much

care. I want to sit in the garden and hike my dress up to my knees so my legs can feel the sun as it kisses them.(p.19)

The quotation is full of meaningful aspects regarding Mawal's gender situation. It is possible to see the different personality of both Mawal and her mother. While her mother resorts to religion to restrict her daughter's behaviors and condemns her feelings, Mawal trespasses the frontiers her mother establishes by gaining authority over her body. Using personification to describe the sun is an attempt to show the entanglement of nature power with that of Mawal's one. The choice of a natural device to represent Mawal's body is evocative in that it shows the harmony that exists between women and nature. Nature was long conceived as a threat to women due to the hierarchical relationship patriarchal mindsets construct with regards it. Women were denigrated due to their natural attributes such as menstruation and birth giving. Their natural attributes are thought to be promoting their self-deficiency. However, in this passage; Mawal embraces her body and the sun welcomes her body. What proves this is when she says "so my legs can feel the sun as it kisses them". Kissing is a sign of love; affection and harmony. Mawal embraces nature that promotes her body and dismisses culture that subdues her and restricts her movement. That is to say, Mawal shuts public and private binaries at home without the necessity of trespassing the borders of home.

On a similar note, Mawal shows indifference to the discourse that requires a woman to be virgin at her wedding. When Mawal and Hanan were riding a bike and the latter failed down and lost her virginity, her mother kept her underwear as a proof of her honour. Mawal comments on the incident and states:

One funny thing was that her mother saved her bloody underpants and wrapped them in a newspaper from the day we had the accident "so when she gets married, she'll have proof that she's a girl," which I didn't really understand. (p.148)

The quote exemplifies the sarcastic attitude Mawal develops with regards the law of virginity. In fact, virginity is represented as one of the requirement that a woman should abide by regardless of the imposed experiences that she can go through. Mawal in this passage relates virginity to a joke that is incomprehensible. It goes without saying that Mawal was aware of the position that virginity occupies in her society. Stating that "I didn't really understand" means that this law of virginity is an illogical one related to the chastity of women. The inclusion of a character who lost her virginity out of an accident and not as a result of an illicit sexual relationship shows the irreligious paradigm upon which virginity is developed in the narrative.

Destabilizing women ‘self-confidence is one of the premises of virginity that is much concerned with men rather than women because, without the existence of men, the discourse of virginity won't be established as a rule that must be established. Within the same line of argumentation, Leila Hallaby includes the discourse of virginity and explains it through Mawal’s words to show the cultural dimension of this discourse that is implanted in people’s mind. Through articulating this discourse, Mawal is publicizing the private because this concept of virginity is mainly linked to the private space.

Conclusion

The analysis of Fadia Faqir’s *The Cry of the Dove* and Leyla Hallaby’s *West of the Jordan* proves that empowerment is a debatable notion to be discussed in relation to migration due to the heterogeneity of women’s experiences that negate similarity. What has been found during this analysis is that even if space impacts women, it cannot be reduced to a source of empowerment or disempowerment because differences are at stake. Saying so, empowerment must be deconstructed from being thought of as a result of migration especially when we talk about women. Sometimes it is empowering but at other times there are different issues that hinder the process of liberation especially when we talk about race, religion and class issues. Gender discrimination or biases are not the only problems women face, but they are rather consolidated by other problems.

Empowerment should be always revisited in Academia so as to pay attention to the process that it travels through. If we are meant to achieve empowerment in all bases, we must widen our knowledge and go beyond gender issues because there are other issues that hinder women’s empowerment such as poverty, joblessness and lack of education. Until these three issues are solved, we can never talk about women ‘empowerment.

Bibliography

1. Blunt, Alison . (2005). *Domicile and diaspora: Anglo-Indian women and the spatial politics of home*. Blackwell Publishing.
2. Duncan, Nancy. (1996). *Body space: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, London and New York :Routledge
3. Espiritu, Yen Le. (2003). *Home bound: Filipino American lives across cultures, communities and countries*. London: University of California Press
4. El Mernissi, Fatima. (1985). *Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Muslim Society*. Cambridge: Library of Congress
5. Faqir, Fadia. (2007). *The Cry of the Dove*, New York : Black Cat
6. James Clifford. (1997) . *Diaspora*. In Clifford James, *Routes: Travel and translation in the late Twentieth century* (pp.244-277) .Cambridge: Harvard UP,1997.
7. George, Rosemary Marungoly.(2003). *The Politics of home: postcolonial relocations and Twentieth-Century fiction*. In Yen Le Espiritu (Ed.), *Home bound: Filipino American lives across cultures, communities and countries*. London: University of California Press.
8. Hallaby , Leila.(2003). *West of the Jordan*, Boston: Beacon Press.

9. Lindsey Moore, (2008). *Arab Muslim Women: Voice and Vision in Postcolonial Literature and Film*. London: Routledge
10. Moghissi, Haideh. (2006). *Muslim diaspora: gender, culture and identity*. London : Routledge Islamic Studies.
11. Sabah Firoz Uddin. (2013). *Navigating Between the religious and the secular: responding to the Muslim 'woman question' in diasporic Britain*. Diss. University of California
12. Sandra Porzanes, (2002). *Diasporic subjects and migration*. In Gabriele Griffin and Rosi Braidotti ,(Eds.), *Thinking differently: A reader in European women's studies* . London: Zed Books.
13. Shohat, Ella.(2002). *Area studies, gender studies, and the cartographies of knowledge*. *Social Text* 20.3, 67-78. Print. Susan Stanford Friedman. (2009). *Bodies on the Move: A Poetics of Home and Diaspora*, Qtd in Layla Al Maleh, (Ed.), *Arab Voices in Diaspora* . Amsterdam- New York: Rodopi

Mouhcine El-Hajjami

Women and Subalternity in Moroccan Contemporary Cinema: Yasmine

Kassari’s *Erraged* (The Sleeping Child) (2004)

(Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes)

Abstract

The question of gender has constituted a critical concern for experts in all domains of academia including social sciences, linguistics, politics and education. Due to the controversial debates it has evoked in regard to the discourses of representation, gender studies critics have transformed the subject to the cinematic realm. Visual portrayals of male-female dichotomies, patriarchal culture, and women’s resistance have become crucial motives in postcolonial feminist film literature. The image of woman in cinema today poses a lot of problematic questions; she is either depicted as a potential subject of the male gaze, a victim of patriarchal and colonial oppressions or a freedom seeker who is in constant search for her agency. Thus, Moroccan contemporary cinema in its treatment of lived reality is greatly influenced by the mainstream culture, yet it could not keep pace with the socio-economic transition that women are undergoing in today’s Morocco. To this, the image of Moroccan woman on screen is still frustrating and pathetic reflecting the gender inequities that are determined by family, society, and cultural mores. By examining the representation of woman in contemporary Moroccan cinema, the present paper argues that film discourse constructs and maintains fixed stereotypes on gender role and women in particular. To back up this argument, a critical film analysis will be applied to explore the socio-cultural deterrents that influence the portrayal of woman on screen turning her into a subaltern other. The length-feature film that will be tackled in this paper is: *Erraged* 2004 (the *Sleeping Child*) by Yasmine Kassari.

Keywords: Gender roles, Moroccan cinema, women, stereotypes, patriarchal oppression, subalternity, film discourse.

Women’s status in Morocco is still facing a lot of problematic challenges that are mainly attributed to a gendered distribution of social and legal rights, and also to some inherently rigid patriarchal practices. These challenges among various others stand as a hurdle towards the quest for gender equity, and thus influence women’s representation at all walks of life. To understand how gender roles along with the image of woman are reshaped in the Moroccan social context, reference should be made to the realm of film discourse. Said so, the representation of gender issue in

Moroccan contemporary cinema has taken different dimensions; however, it remained homogeneous and unchanging in its portrayal of woman as a subaltern other. For example, in social drama films, woman is either depicted as a victim of domestic violence, or a subservient object of patriarchal or colonial oppression.¹

As a controversial socio-cultural issue, patriarchy has had an immense impact on films produced by male filmmakers of the past eras. Films such as: *Lalla Chafia* (1982) by Tazi Mohamed Ben Abdelouahed, *Chergui* (1975) by Moumen Smihi, and Souheil Ben Barka's *Blood Wedding* (1980) have featured women characters suffering from the weight of ill cultural norms or struggling against abusive treatment exerted by their male oppressors. For instance, Ben Barka's *Blood Wedding* screens the tragic fate of a young woman kidnapped by a man during her wedding just because he wants her for himself only. In the end, the wicked woman becomes a mark of dishonor in the eyes of her family and tribe.¹ In *Lalla Chafia*, an innocent daughter Fatima is subjugated by her adamant patriarchal father who vehemently assaults her for refusing to abide by social norms, and out of greed, he gets her marry an old rich farmer to assure his own profit at the expense of this unwanted marriage.¹ Criticizing the role of the female figure in the Moroccan film scenes, Gayle, S. (2009, p.309) writes:

Most Moroccan films reflected a more pessimistic viewpoint about the changes available to women. If not death, then divorce, insanity, abject misery, despair, or prostitution seemed to be the primary options offered to film women by male filmmakers.¹

In the same connection, Orlando (2009) argues, in her critical remark on the cinematic representation of women in Morocco, that "women's roles in Moroccan male filmmakers' works tend to be pessimistic, casting them often as victims of socio cultural mores, misery, and poverty."¹ Getting the image of woman tied exclusively to such subordinate film subjects have made filmmakers blind towards portraying her as a dynamic social actor in her community. Even worse, their cameras have turned the female body into a major cinematic element to cater for the voyeuristic desires of the male spectators.¹ Cinema, in this respect, displays a range of visual preferences that serve to quench the pleasure of the male gaze; it is also seen as an influential discourse that- according Mulvey (1999, p.58) organizes "ways of seeing and pleasure in looking."¹

The Moroccan cinema critique and film-director Idriss Chuika believes that gender issue should be corrected and treated rationally in cinema. For him, woman should not be seen as a mere subservient or a "subaltern" other, but she should be represented as a visible active agent and, a real founder of social relations inside society. Chuika adds that in many Moroccan movies, woman has often remained dominated by and subject to patriarchal hegemony.¹ To clarify his critical argument,

Chuika makes reference to Mohammed Abdurrahman Tazi’s recent movie *lbyra* (the Spinster) that was released in 2013. The film’s title stands for a social stigma marked upon girls who are not yet married in Moroccan society. For Chuika, this film did not succeed in subverting the stereotypical judgments made on single women as victims of cultural disgrace, and hence it failed in constructing a self-liberating space for women to retrieve their agency.¹

Gender role on screen is constructed following the mainstream culture; therefore, the audience expects the female character to play roles that are determined by man.¹ In this context, Gayle (2009) criticizes the film themes that limit woman’s role and leave no room for her emancipation; she explains: “while Moroccan films show women in more traditional roles and even adapting to more modern social requirements, no film shows a true liberation for women in Morocco.”¹ A relevant case in point to analyze in this regard is Yasmine Kassari’s feature-length movie *Raged* (2004) or (The Sleeping Child). The film was shot in a remote rural area situated in the Atlas Mountain in the north-east of Morocco. In this tribal community, there begins the story of the film protagonist Zeinab. Soon after her marriage, the husband will leave her for illegal migration to Europe. As the case of Zeinab, almost all women in the village are destined to stay alone bearing the hardships of their lives; just as Orlando, V. (2011,p.124) puts it “Women are left to fend for themselves, to preserve and endure silently while their men go off to Spain to find work.”¹ The young women are also supposed to stay in one fixed space, and be subject to the eye watching of their mothers and in-laws. Men, unlike, are the present-absent in the village, however their patriarchal hegemony reshapes gender role over daily lives within the village.¹



Fig. 1 Zeinab and Halima watching their husbands leaving the village

As shown in the caption above, both Zeinab and her friend Halima stand in sorrow watching their husbands heading for Spain. Implicitly, these women speak on the behalf of all the other female voices in the village, but they remain unable to convince their husbands to stay with them. This explains that women in the film are doomed to be obedient in male-dominated communities. Therefore, they cannot negotiate nor express objections over the decisions made by men. According

to Spivak (1996) these women fall within the scope of subalternity which is a reference to the oppressed female subjects who are denied history and cultural identity, and hence their attempt to speak is met with negligence.

For Spivak (1996, p.117) "the subaltern as a female is even more deeply in shadow"¹ just as is the case of Zeinab and Halima in this movie. In regard to their marginality in both real life and in cinema, the filmmaker wanted to produce this film to speak for a fringe of countryside women who are deserted by their husbands for clandestine labor in Europe.¹ Theoretically, Kassari's cinematic representation of the women in the village can be situated within the narratives of colonial otherness. In feminist colonial discourse, for instance, woman has been dealt with as an inferior "other" that lacks the power to negotiate or resist male domination. In this context, Mohanty (1991) argues that colonialism has discursively constructed a body of "knowledge" or "scholarship" about third world women depicting them as passive irrational and voiceless bodies who need the white civilized "self" to represent them. Therefore, this essentialist form of knowledge has reconstructed gender dichotomies that turned third world women into mere subordinate objects of patriarchal and colonial appropriation.¹

Throughout the film, patriarchal power seems to be passed down by men to old women who, in their turn, perpetuate the male-constructed norms of conservatism dominating the tribe. From a Foucauldian standpoint, the old women play a panoptical role in their surveillance over their daughters' acts. In so doing, the women internalize man's power of control even when they are not physically present.¹ In this connection, Fanon's theory of 'Inferiority Complex'¹ sounds more convenient in its approach to these women because they accept to remain controlled by their male patriarchs. An example on this from the film is when Halima goes to meet her fiancé on the other side of the valley to avoid people's eye watching; she cannot dare go for a date with him inside the village, because this may cause disgrace to herself and her family.

In this film scene, Halima tries to contest the dominant patriarchal and traditional norms in her community, yet, she is caught by male relatives who assault her because their customs do not allow her the right to date a male stranger secretly. In part, it seems that Kassari has adopted a feminist postcolonial discourse to open a margin of liberation for the women in the village in the example of Halima. Kassari could have made the women in the film more emancipated and less governed by their men. In this context, the postcolonial feminist film critic Shohat (1994) has put emphasis on the salient role cinema can do in re-establishing a feminist discourse that can empower women in subaltern positions by deconstructing patriarchal and western stereotypes about gender and womanhood in third world nations.¹



Fig.2 Halima meeting Hassan in the forest

However, the filmmaker does unconsciously contradict the discourse of resistance in several scenes in the movie. She has made the women more dependent on their husbands as if they could not continue to live in their absence. For instance, to inquire about the condition of their husbands abroad, the women have to move frequently outside the village to watch them on videotapes. The way how the women communicate with the husbands is asymmetrical and mono-directional; in other words, man's power and monopoly of the speech makes the woman a passive listener just as shown in the caption below. Zeinab has to consult her husband-who is located far away- to give her permission to go out of the village knowing that she engages in daily activities along with the other women which men themselves can't handle out. By engaging the women in such gendered power relations, the filmmaker does empower masculine hegemony and minimize the females' will to be free objects.



Fig.3 Zeinab watching her husband on the videotape

In defense of their rights, the film director has associated women's resistance with the unseen world of superstition and magic without providing a rational alternative that could help the oppressed women break the chains of traditions. Zeinab is advised to see a white magician in the

village that will perform a superstitious ritual to make the fetus sleep in her womb until the return of his father. The fqih or white magician handles an amulet to Zeinab and asks her to keep it so as to stop the further growth of the baby. Women's resistance to masculine oppression in Moroccan film discourse has always been associated with the world of magic as if it was the only solution available to take hold of power. For instance in *El Chergui* by Moumen Smihi, Aicha resorts to magic to prevent her husband from marrying another younger spouse; while the poor woman comes to perform the eccentric ritual as is ordained by fqih, she lost her life. In fact, associating such irrational practices with gender resistance distorts the image of woman and denies her the ability to use her mind wisely to outwit the man.



Fig. 4 Zeineb with her mother-in law consulting the fqih

To conclude, this article has attempted to shed light on the status quo of woman in Moroccan contemporary cinema with strong focus on her subalternity. The critical analysis of Kassari's "the Sleeping Child" has disclosed the role of traditions and patriarchy in constructing a subordinate female other that can't seek freedom or speak her voice. Despite the fact that the film tried to make the male characters physically invisible in the village, their patriarchal presence has been strongly maintained by the old mothers turning the hope for real gender equity and woman's liberation far-fetched.

References:

1. Chuika, I. (n.d.). Almar'at fi alsynama almaghribia bayn altanmit wal muealaja almunfatiha. [Woman in Moroccan cinema between stereotyping and constructive critique]. Retrieved from <http://www.bayanealyaoume.press.ma>.
2. Gayle, S. (2009). *What Moroccan cinema? A historical and critical study 1956-2006*. Mayland: Lexington Books.
3. Gerald, M.&Donna, E. L. (1996) .*The Spivak reader: Selected works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*. New York: Routledge.
4. Kassari, Y., (2004). *Erraged*. United Kingdom: AlloCine. Moroccan, Belgium.

5. Kasari, Y. (n.d.). Assoora nadra wa mawaaqif [Image: A View and Attitude]. Retrieved from [http://www. elaph.com](http://www.elaph.com).
6. Mohanty, C. (1991). *Under western eyes, feminist scholarship and colonial discourses third world women and the politics of feminism*. In Ch. Mohanty, A. Russo, &L. Torres. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
7. Markmann, C. (n.d.). *Frantz Fanon, black skin, white masks*. Retrieved from <http://www.umass.edu>.
8. Orlando, V. (2011). *Screening Morocco: Contemporaryfilm in achanging society*. Ohio: University Press.
9. Mulvey, L. (1999). *Visual pleasure and narrative cinema. Film theory and criticism: Introductory readings*. In.L. Braudy & M. Cohen. New York: Oxford UP.
10. Shohat, E. &Stam, R. (1994). *Unthinking eurocentrism multiculturalism and the media*. NY:Psychology Press.

El Ouardi Fettah

Destabilizing Patriarchal Paradigms in Saudi Arabian Society Rajaa AlSanea's

Girls of Riyadh(2008)As a Case Study

(Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes)

Abstract

The last few decades witnessed the emergence of a very considerable American writers of an Arab origin who have been able ,through their narratives and cultural texts, to forge a new body of literature in the American mainstream culture that focuses mainly on the immigrants experiences in the hosting countries vis-a-vis their lived past in their homelands. Laila El Alami, Mohja Kahf, Diana Abu Jabir , Rajaa AlSanea, to name just a few, are typical examples of an increasing Arab-American voices who have been able through their works to occupy very significant positions in the contemporary American literature. The purpose of the present paper is,therefore, to delve into Rajaa AL Sanea's pioneering novel, *Girls of Riyadh* with regard to the socio-cultural and historical context of women's status in Saudi Arabia. Employing an analytical textual methodology, and drawing on a feminist and postcolonial feminist perspectives , the following article will be accordingly devoted not only to illuminate the socio-cultural and historical background of Saudi women's status ,but also to examine the gender bias they have experienced in their patriarchal society. Then, it will further go deeply to explore how Rajaa Al Sanae, speaking from diaspora context and taking the advantage of the 'new discourse' of third space, destabilizes and directs severe criticism to the patriarchal paradigms that are deeply rooted in Saudi Arabian cultural mind-sets.

Key words: Arab women's writers in diaspora, postcolonial feminism, Saudi Arabian Society, Rajaa Al Sanea

Introduction

Historically speaking, the USA, Europe, along with Canada is undoubtedly known for hosting such a large number of immigrants from Arab descent. The USA, for example, remains to a great extent the destination of many Arab migrants, who were driven by many forcesto leave their homelands and settle in different parts of the States in the hope of seeking a better life. Hence, the few last decades witnessed the emergence of a very considerable American writers of An Arab origin who have been able ,through their cultural narratives and texts, to forge a new body of literature in the American mainstream culture that focuses mainly on the immigrants experiences in the hosting countries vis-as-vis their lived past in their homelands. Laila El Alami, Mohja Kahf,

Diana Abu Jabir, Laila Ahmed, Zainab Salbi, Rajaa AL Sanea¹, to name just a few, are typical examples of an increasing Arab-American voices who have been able through their works to occupy very significant positions in the contemporary American literature. Interestingly, this paper will closely examine Rajaa AL Sanea’s pioneering novel, *Girls of Riyadh* with regard to the historical context of women’s status in Saudi Arabia. That said, employing an analytical textual methodology, and drawing on a feminist and postcolonial feminist perspectives, the following paper will be accordingly devoted to illuminate the historical background of the women’s status in Saudi Arabian society. Then, it will further go deeply to explore how Rajaa Al Sanea, speaking from the diaspora context and taking the advantage of the third space, manages to destabilize patriarchy by criticizing severely a number of social traditions and cultural mind-sets that place women as a second citizen in Saudi society.

Saudi Women: Historical Background

To better understand Saudi women’s status, I find it appealing as well as of a great interest to start this section by approaching Saudi Arabian women’s conditions with regard to socio-cultural, religious, and political backgrounds of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Geographically speaking, Saudi Arabia is an Arab country which is situated in the region of the Arabian Peninsula, which basically includes the six Gulf countries together with Yemen. Politically, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a number of families and diverse ethnic and religious groups who have been ruling Saudi Arabia since the conquest carried out by Abd al-Aziz Ibn Saud during the first quarter of the 20th century.

In brief, Saudi Arabia is ruled by a king who draws his power from the Islamic religion. In different words, the Saudi Arabian political system is an absolute religious monarchy whose laws are tremendously derived from Islamic Shari’a (the laws of Islamic teachings). Hence, it is no surprise that women’s status in Saudi Arabia is accordingly based on these Islamic beliefs, which have been often misinterpreted and ideologically decoded to establish gender biased structures in Saudi Arabia. Thus, Saudi women are deemed as merely a second citizen after men due to the widespread passed fallacy and assumption that their inferiority emanated from the Islamic teachings. That is, it is very important to note that there is growing confusion between religious teachings and cultural practices which mostly serves male’ patriarchal ideology. Some customs, such as the belief that women should not drive cars or practise Law or Engineering are not from Islamic law but have become entrenched in the culture (Hamdan, 2005). Saudi society is built around tribal and Islamic affiliations and it is difficult to differentiate between Islamic laws and Arabic traditional norms (Al Lily, 2011)

As a result to this complex situation, women in Saudi Arabia had been, by law, banned from driving for years, an act which was related to politics and traditions rather than to religion. In fact, the fact that women were not allowed to drive was no surprising till the November 1990 demonstration, during which forty seven veiled women decided to take a daring and rebellious act by driving cars on the King Adu Al Aziz highway in Riyadh. In November 1990, 47 women drove in a parking lot in Riyadh to protest the driving ban. The traffic police took the women into custody, and would not release them until their male guardians signed statements that they would never drive again (Shmuluvitzn 2011,p.1). As a result, those participants, together with their husbands were severely punished not only by confiscating their passports, but also by suspending them from their jobs. It went even worse as Eleanor Doumato puts it “some of those who participated were subsequently harassed by phone callers, accusing the women of being agents for Western vice” (Doumato, 2007, p31). This incident coincided the Gulf war, which enabled it to gain more political significance on one hand, and it was highly attacked, on the other hand, by male extremists and conservatives who viewed it as a rebel act against traditional and cultural values. Hence, Saudi women ironically had to wait till 2018 to be granted this right after a long struggle and protest led by Saudi Arabian Women in the few last decades.

The veil is another appealing issue in the Saudi Arabian society which exacerbates their status within the Saudi Arabian society .Unlike many other Arab and Islamic countries either in the middle East or somewhere else, Saudi women are rarely- if never seen unveiled when outside their homes or when they are in any public sphere. It is even dictated by law to cover their full bodies and heads with the veil and ‘Abaya’. Women in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) are legally required to wear the abaya, with the shayla or rectangular head scarf, in public(Lindholme, 2010).If caught unveiled, they will be in real trouble with regard to The Committee of Morals and Virtue police¹.Hence, Women have little room for manoeuvre when it comes to choose whether to wear on veil or not expect those who happened to immigrate to other countries which grant women more rights and freedom as in the case of Rajaa Al-Sanea, whose work is under analysis. In this context, she maintains that:

Aside from the morals and the Islamic teachings, I didn't have any restrictions. I was brought up by a liberal family. They didn't force me to wear the *hijab*. I started wearing it two years ago by personal choice because I wanted to do it for God” .When abroad many Saudi women do not veil since, as they put it, “it would attract more attention than modesty”(Yamani,1996).

Saudi women are bound by traditions as well as by policy to put on the veil while in Saudi Arabia to avoid confrontations with The Committee of Morals and Virtue as well as religious

scholars who most of them -if not all condemn unveiled women. It is only outside Saudi country that women can sigh with a relief of the very deeply rooted traditions of their homeland. In addition to the issue of the veil, women are not allowed to move outside their homes unless they are accompanied by their male relative always known as ‘Mahram’ along with not being permitted to travel without consent of a male guardian.

Moreover, arranged marriage is one of the most common phenomenon in Saudi Arabian traditions and cultures. Unlike women in some Arab countries which somewhat tolerate and grant more personal freedoms to women in establishing premarital relationships and choosing one’s spouse, Saudi Arabia policy forbids these sorts of relationships between men and women. In this regard, Rakan argues that “unmarried men and women cannot stay or travel together to prevent any possibility resulting in premarital pregnancy, which is prohibited” (Rakan, 2014). Women are, therefore, not allowed to meet men in public places unless they are married. Rather, it is mostly their parents who decide on their spouses regarding many qualities and aspects of the spouse such as class, race, tribe, and religion to name a few. Rakan goes further to note in this context that the “expectations for marriage are tribally based” in Saudi Arabia (Ibid).

Furthermore, when a potential groom comes and asks for a girl’s hand for marriage, it is almost the parents who arrange a short meeting during the potential bride and groom can only make a very short eye contact and catch sight of each other with a presence of their parents. It is through this short meeting that with the wedding date can be set after the groom and the bride agree on the marriage.

The result of the parents choosing wives or husbands for their sons or daughters according to social considerations reflects itself in divorce which is fairly common in Saudi Arabia. Hence, Saudi women live very miserable social and cultural conditions including arranged marriage, divorce, women’s freedom and many other problems as we shall discuss them more broadly in the light of *Girls of Riyadh* in the following section.

Destabilizing patriarchal paradigms : A Critique of Social Practices in *Girls of Riyadh*

Girls of Riyadh is a novel written by Rajaa Al Sanea originally In Arabic language and was published in Lebanon by Saqi Books in September 2005 .Then, it was translated into English by both Rajaa Al Sanea and Marilyn Booth in 2008. Generally speaking, The novel deals with the lives of four young Saudi university student girls who must live according to the cultural traditions of Saudi society. Rajaa Al-Sanea’s *Girls of Riyadh* is structured as a series of fifty one emails sent anonymously by one of the young woman whose identity is not revealed throughout the novel. That is, *Girls of Riyadh* is a novel narrated by an unknown young girl who sends weekly e-mails from

her internet group, of which is the administrator, to the subscribers in Yahoo. From the very start, she seems to have perceptible intention to reveal the anecdotes of her four girlfriends who are kept behind walls and whose lives and hopes are spoiled in the name of the misuse of religion, rigid conservative beliefs, and traditional practices. In her endeavour to reveal the true lived realities of Saudi women, the narrator quotes Nizar Al Qabani's poem, as shown in the following passage suggests, not only to give voice to her four girlfriends to articulate their sufferings and struggles, but also to thousands of women whose stories are neglected, buried, and never heard about. The unknown girl/ narrator says:

I shall write of my girlfriends, for in each one's tale I see my story and self-prevail, a tragedy my own life speaks. I shall write of my girlfriends, of inmates 'lives sucked dry by jail, and magazine pages that consume women's time, and of the doors that fail to open. Of desires slain in their cradles I'll write, of the vast great cell, black walls of travail, of thousands, thousands of martyred, all female, buried, stripped of their names in the graveyard of traditions. (Alsanea, 2008, p.3)

Throughout the novel, the unknown narrator seems to be aware of every single detail of the lived realities of her four characters. Hence, she reveals details about the lives of her four close female friends--who have been friends since schooldays; Lamees, Qamrah, Sadeem, and the half-American Mashael. These four central characters of the novel are attractive female university students in their early 20s, fashionable, bright and from the middle-upper class Saudi Arabian families. The narrator follows their life stories for twelve months seeking and struggling to find settlement either by love marriage or by traditional marriage arranged by their families.

As the story reveals, each one of the four girls experiences constant failures disappointment except Lamees, who succeeds in both her professional career and her personal life by the person she loves. That is, Lamees succeeds in making a love match, she gets married to Nizar, a man of her choosing and goes with him later to Canada to pursue her Boards in Medicine. Sadeem is engaged to Waleed, but their marriage is never fulfilled. He divorces her after allowing him one night to make love with him before the wedding marriage is set. Sadeem even experiences a second and a much deeper disappointment when she meets a new man called, Faris whom she thinks he loves her more than she loves him. Again, Faris disappoints her by dumping her and marrying a girl whose family has chosen for him. Qamrah, a conventional and traditionally bound girl is married to Rachid in traditional way which results into her trauma after discovering that he has had a lover all along, a Japanese girlfriend whom he cannot marry. Then, Qamrah ends up divorced and pregnant. Michelle, a half-American girl, falls in love with Faisal, but his family namely his mother shows strong

objection due to Michelle’s low social status together with her identity as being of an American mother. Hence, akin to Faris, Faisal leaves her and decides to marry a girl of his family choice. To take revenge, Michelle strongly determines to attend Faisal’s wedding to exhibit her beauty and free spirit by dancing in front of the bride and the groom to show that she is more beautiful than the Faisal’s bride. These four middle-upper class girls enjoy expensive cars, first-class flights, spend summer vacations in Western countries, and use all the tools of modern technology, but still subject to arranged marriages, where strict tradition holds sway.

The weekly sent emails spark high debate within Saudi Arabia society and it causes a stir as they spread gradually to reach a larger audience of the internet users. As a reaction to stop her, the narrator notes “I heard that King Abd-Al-Aziz is trying to block my site to dam up the channels of communication and ward off malicious acts, scandalous deeds and all causes of corruption or evil”(Alsanea, 2008, p.84). This may also account for the banning of the novel in reality as it was not allowed to be published in Saudi Arabia when it was first written, it was rather published in Lebanon as we have mentioned above. Moreover, all the 51 chapters in the form of e-mails in the novel starts with a verse from Quran, Hadith ¹, a quotation of a well-known international thinker, a piece of poetry, or lyrics from a famous Arabic song that helps the reader has a deeper insight of the whole chapter.

The novel tackles substantial themes and debatable issues of the lived experiences of Saudi Arabia women in the modern world vis-a-vis their patriarchal society. Challenging her highly conventional and traditionally bound society, Alsanea’s debut novel daringly reflects the private world of Saudi Arabia’s social and cultural conditions under which both men and women are victimised. At the same time, it uncovers the lives of the most privileged Saudi women who apparently share the same hopes and dreams as their counterparts’ women in Western world. Through the employment of her main four female protagonists: Lamis, Gamra, Michaelle and Sadeem as well as the mysterious female narrator of the tale, Al-sanea presents a penetrating diagnosis of social realities of Saudi society and its manifestations such as: anxiety, unfulfilled hopes, and growing anger and dissatisfaction of Saudi Arabians as we shall examine in depth in the forthcoming section.

In fact, Rajaa AL Sanea is not against Islamic religion as many Saudi public and religious scholars claim. She is rather against the misuse and the interpretation of the religion that usually leads to the oppression and the endurance of women in Saudi Arabian society. On the contrary, she intends to make of Islam as a source of her inspiration for demanding a woman’s denied rights. Hence, he has sought her sense of power, her sense of identity, her freedom, and her equality with

men through the basic teachings of Islam. In this regard, she makes it clear from the beginning of the novel when she starts her novel by quoting a verse from the Qur'an which relates people's better change to the change of their beliefs and realities: "Verily, Allah does not change a people's condition until they change what is in themselves." Quran, The Chapter of Thunder, Verse 11" (9, in the Arabic version).

In writing *Girls of Riyadh*, Al-Sanea benefits from her knowledge of the Islamic teachings to show how gender roles and the social traditions practiced in Saudi Arabia contradicts the religious instructions which subsequently lead to the oppression and subordination of Muslim women. She even rejects certain elements of traditions, especially with regard to gender, and used her knowledge of Islam to denounce unfavourable traditions. In an interview conducted by Silvia Radan with Rajaa Al Sanea and was held at the Abu Dhabi International Book Fair and at Jashanmal book shop, she contends that:

People see Saudi Arabia as a very conservative country regarding Islam, but they do not know that there are traditions not based on religion, which really control our lives. That is why I wanted to talk about different traditions and customs in cities and villages in Saudi Arabia that people don't really hear about or know about. There are girls who are not very conservative Muslims, yet they are very traditional. I wanted to portray this difference between Saudi traditions and the Islamic religion.¹

Rajaa Al Sanea makes it clear here that she is not blaming Islam as a religion, but she is rather pointing the finger at the traditions, the practices, and the misinterpretations of the Islamic religion among Saudi people which is always behind women's sufferings. This perception is shared by a Saudi Arabian researcher Hamda Amani Al Ghamdi, who argues in her article entitled "Arab Women's Education and Gender Perceptions" that "cultural traditions governing Arab Muslim societies subordinate women" and she adds:

I draw from my personal experiences as a Muslim Saudi woman who grew up and completed undergraduate studies in a conservative, patriarchal society. My gender has been constructed by my Islamic faith and the Arab culture of Saudi Arabia. I read and memorized the Holy Quran from a very young age. The Quranic text does not contradict scientific discourse, which I found fascinating; indeed the Quran's teaching to women contradicts the cultural traditions and practices I have experienced and observed. For instance, while I found the Quran supports women's leadership, powerful male elites in most Arab Muslim societies prevent women from practicing that right (Amani, 2006,p.59).

In the same vein, separating the Islam as a religion and its misinterpretations, Naway El Saadawi alleges in one of her interview entitled “Arab Women and Western Feminism: an Interview with Nawal El Sadaaw” that:

Yes, quite a lot of people in the West think that Islam is the major element in oppressing Arab women, but in fact this is not true. If we study Islamic scientifically, look at its origin, compare it with other religions –Judaism,Christianity, and other Asian religions-we find that almost all these religions have similar attitudes to women. Indeed, sometimes we find attitudes to women much more tolerant or progressive in Islam. So it is not Islam, it is not religion even that oppress women. And Islam is not one Islam. There is the Islam of Saudi Arabia, the Islam of Tunisia, the Islam of Lebanon. What you find is that governments and politicians invariably pick from religion what suits them and use it to justify their position.¹

Akin to Nawal El Saadawi, Rajaa Al Sanea among others considers herself as a catalyst for changing Saudi women’s social realities and conditions through her literary work .That is, she is strongly determined to critique the Saudi society in the hope of changing it into a better life, though it is not easy regarding the particularities of Saudi society that is strongly bound to traditions and tribal considerations. In this context, she avers:

In fact, I aspire to be the first to signal the beginning of change. These are social changes that are not connected to religion. This is why I am not anxious about discussing them through my writings. Silence is evil. I hate negativity and refuse to wait for others to act on my behalf. It is my duty to me and to my children in the future. I fear I will mellow out with age and lose my motivation and courage, as has happened with others (El Okeily, 2007, interview).

As one starts reading closely the novel under study, she/he can easily notice the writer clear-cut intentions to break the silence that has been long placed on very controversial issues and topics in Saudi patriarchal society .Accordingly; Girls of Riyadh tackles as well as criticizes a wide range of social traditions and practices that are prevailing in the Saudi Arabian society and this section will accordingly reveal these practices through the four different characters of the novel.

From the very beginning of the novel, the writer invites the reader to look at gender roles and relations in Saudi society and how they are regulated by Saudi patriarchal norms. In other words, Rajaa Al-Sanee raises the issue of the arranged marriage as one of the most common social practise in her society along with its destructive effects on both women and men respectively. Hence, she opens the novel by exposing the story of Qamrah Al-Qusmanji, who is married traditionally to Rachi AlTanbal,an educated young man who is studying his degrees in the USA and they have never met before.

Before the wedding, Qamrah had seen Rashid only once, and that was on the day of the shoufa, the day set for the bridegroom's lawful viewing of the bride-to-be. The traditions of her family did not permit the man seeking the engagement to see the bride again before the contract-signing. Moreover, in this case there was no more than a two-week gap between the signing and the marriage celebration itself, and Qamrah's and Rashid's mothers agreed between themselves that Rashid would not see his bride during that time, so that she would have no interruptions as she prepared for her wedding. (Al-sanea, 2008, p.51)

In the light of this passage, Rajaa Al Sanea reveals how marriage is set between the couple even though they do not know each other enough as they are banned by traditions. As we have mentioned above, the couple are not allowed either to meet together or to speak to each other before the marriage contract is signed. Ironically enough, the merely chance they have to catch glimpse of each other is deeply regulated under the rubric of Shoufa¹ with the presence of their families. Alsanea deeply resents her criticism to the tradition which does not allow men and women see and/or meet to exchange ideas, nurture friendship and develop their social skills before they are married. The perception of marriage within Saudi Arabian society goes in tune with Simone De Beauvoir point when she argues that "for girls, marriage is the only means of integration in the community, and if they remain unwanted, they are, socially viewed, so much wastage. This is why mothers have always eagerly sought to arrange marriages for them.(De Beauvoir ,1989,p.427).

The narrator goes on describing the Saudi Muslim wedding of Gamrah, where weddings in Saudi Arabia are seized and used by older women as it usually gives a space for them to scrutinize the young women who might be possible prospective brides for their sons. In return, young women do their best to show their beauty and great manners at weddings in a way to attract the attention of prospective mother-in-laws. In other words, it is the mothers and fathers who choose the wife for the son, or the husband for the daughter on the basis of social position of the family in the society and the wealth they have. Mothers choose their son's future wives either through matchmakers or when they meet girls in marriages or any other occasion of gatherings. Therefore, girls interested in marriages have to attract the attention of the mothers by showing good conduct so that they may have a chance to be chosen. Within this context, the narrator says:

The strategy of *yaaalla yaaalla*, which means 'get going, but just baaarely', is the most foolproof path to quick marriage proposal in our conservative society. The idea is to be energetic and constrained at the same time. 'And after that you can be as foolish as you want,' according to Um Nuwayyir's counsel. At weddings, receptions and social gatherings where ladies meet, especially the old ladies looking to make a match, you must follow this strategy to the letter: —You

barely walk, you barely talk, you barely smile, you barely dance, be mature and wise, you always think before you act, you measure your words carefully before you speak and you do not behave like a child.(Al-sanea, 2008, p.6)

This passage further suggests that the concept of marriage loses its value, as an institution that should be based on an intellectual match, reciprocal feelings, and love between the couple to the social and cultural expectations of patriarchal societies like Saudi Arabian one. This attitude leads marriage to be regarded particularly as a business where one seeks profits and a shelter to escape social stigmatization especially among women .That is to say, marriage,as we learn through the above passage, haunts and obsesses women’s mind due to the fact that women suffer a lots in case they don’t get a chance to marry a man as early as possible. They fear being called ‘spinsters ‘within their society if they miss the opportunity for marriage as if they are to blame for not having been able to draw men’s attention and this may account for viewing men as their saviour. This obsession is highly asserted in Qamrah’s friend’s rhetoric question as the narrator puts it: “why isn’t me up there?”(Al-sanea, 2008, p.8)

Provided that marriage is almost usually arranged by parents based on a set of social, religious, class, and tribal considerations, Rajaa Al Sanea critically questions the success as well as the growth of a marriage set under these unfair conditions. Hence, she reveals the miserable outcome of this sort of marriage under women and men are both victimized.

In this regard,Rajaa Al-sanea shows these sufferings through Qamrah’s experience within and after marriage when she finds herself living with a man who does not show any affection or caring towards his wife. That said, the marriage failure indications emerge very early during the wedding party when Qamrah’s friends ask Rashid to kiss his wife’s to show affection towards her. His reaction was appalling and not expected as he “sent the girls a scathing stare that sliced them into silence” (Al-sanea, 2008, p.10) says the narrator. Rajaa Al Sanea reveals here that Rachid along with thousands of Saudi men can hardly kiss their wives in front of others as it is an immoral act in their eyes which is largely rejected by their society.

Moreover, after marriage, both Rashid and Gamrah travel to Italy namely to Venice, where they have decided to spend their honeymoon and later they emigrate to Chicago, where Rachid,Qamrah’s husband is doing his Phd . Given that she is imprisoned in her mother’s strict pieces of advice and instructions to show refusal and objection to her husband, Qamrah is unable to enjoy her marriage’s life and interact with her husband as the narrator says:

Her mother’s Golden Rule was spinning in her mind. Don’t be easy. Refusal – it’s the secret to activating a man’s passion. After all, her older sister Nafah and Hessah did not give themselves

to their husbands till the fourth night. But she was setting a new record: it had been seven nights and her husband hadn't touched her. Rachid hadn't touched her even though she has been quite ready to ditch her mother's theories after the first night. (Al-sanea, 2008, p.11)

The above extract is very telling as it shows that women's oppression is not always rendered by male hegemony, yet women themselves sometimes stand behind and are the source of women's oppression as in the case of Qamrah's mother, who does not only choose her daughter's husband but also, she is charged to teach her daughter ascribed attitudes and traditions she is supposed to do to lead ironically a happy life. By doing so, she is implicitly perpetuating patriarchal structures that limit women's freedom in terms of sexual freedom. In this context, Cheryl Rubenberg avers that: 'it is women who teach girls the rightness or the truth of their traditionally defined roles, responsibilities, relations, and restrictions. Mothers provide their daughters with things that are haram, eib, and mamnoua' (Rubenberg, 2001, p.79). With this in mind, women are driven to undergo very dreadful and deplorable conditions that have subsequently serious consequences on their psychological side and their lives in general.

It is of a paramount importance to note that sexual education in general and sexual freedom in particular is another serious issue raised by Rajaa Al Sanea in this novel to highlight the lack and the total ignorance of sexual knowledge and skills that prevail among both Saudi men and women. Indescribing Qamrah's experience in bed with her husband Rachid, the narrator says:

.....after a few moments of innocent seduction, he took things into his own hands. She gave herself up to it despite the enormous confusion and anxiety she felt. She closed her eyes, anticipating what was about to happen. And then he surprised her with an act that was never on her list of sexual expectations. Her response, which was shocking to both of them, was to slap him hard on the face then and there! Their eyes met in a stunned moment. Her eyes were filled with fear and bewilderment, while his were full of an anger the likes of which she had never seen. He moved away from her quickly, dressed hurriedly and left the room amid her tears and apologies. (Al-sanea, 2008, p.26-27)

As the passage certifies, both Qamrah and Rachid can hardly extricate themselves from the constructed clichés and social stereotypes they have in mind towards sexuality as being a taboo though they are legally married. Ironically enough, instead of enjoying their special moment and satisfying their sexual desires romantically as a married couple, Rachid and Qamrah find themselves unable to make love and interact pleasingly due to the ignorance of such a matter which ends in sort of tragic experience.

Qamrah's suffering is aggravated throughout the marriage life with her husband Rachid. In Arab society in general and Saudi Society in particular, a woman impatiently seeks marriage as she thinks that it is source of settlement and happiness towards her life. However, in the case of Qamrah, it goes otherwise as it turns out to be a nightmare and a tragedy. This is highly reflected when Qamrah starts feeling doubt and low self-esteem with her husband and says: "My husband whom I love, hates me. He wants to throw me away". (Ibid, p.50)

In fact, there are many instances that testify to her suffering and bewilderment with her husband and For instance, Rachid seems to be somewhat influenced by the western culture and therefore he despises her wife with the veil (Hijaab) and says: "Why don't you wear ordinary clothes like the other women here? It's as if you are trying to embarrass me in front of my friends with the things you wear! And then you wonder why I don't take you out with me" (Ibid). By asking her to give up wearing the Hijaab, Rashid here is not promoting her freedom as other liberal women in the West, but rather he is seeking his own interest and image as Hijaab for him becomes a source of irritation and 'embarrassment' to him with his Western liberal friends.

To please her husband and seeks his praise, she passively and surprisingly takes off her veil and her coat one day after persuading him to take her to the theatre, yet his reaction was as shocking as the usual once he watches her and expresses his blatant disapproval: "Taking them off isn't making you look any better. So just put them again"(Ibid,p.51). Interestingly, by revealing men's ambivalent attitude towards the veil, Rajaa Al-Sanea critically calls into question the real motive behind wearing the veil which leads to a rhetoric question: Do women put on the veil as a way to express their obedience to God as it is implied in a Saudi religious discourse? Or is it merely a means by which women show their obedience to the male hegemony?

Not surprisingly, Qamrah is not leading a happy life she has ever wished to live. She is really enduring regarding her husband, Rachid and his constant maltreatment and abuse throughout the marriage life in the USA. Qamrah's marriage goes worse and her plights are aggravated under these conditions. In short, her constant sufferings and endurance can be painfully reflected in the following questions which obsess her mind:

So why would he marry me if he didn't want me? Gamrah asked herself time and time again. She asked her mother whether she had heard anything from Rashid's family to suggest that he had been forced to marry her. But did it make sense that a man - and he was every inch a man, whatever else he turned out to be - would be forced to marry a woman he didn't want, no matter how compelling the reasons? (Al-sanea, 2008, p.51).

Being aware of the worse consequences of divorced women within her own society especially the disgrace she thinks she might bring to her family if divorced, Qamrah does her best; even at the expense of her own happiness, to save her marriage from loss. In other words, she struggles to keep her husband by mistakenly following her mother's tactics to give birth to a child as way to preserve a husband. "She had long heard her mother and female relatives repeating the wisdom of previous generations, that if all else fails; pregnancy was the only way to ensure that a marriage continues" (Ibid, p.84). This is, however, not the case with Qamrah, regarding once again Rachid's reaction when he learns she is pregnant. Instead of being enchanted like every single man receiving such news, Rachid abuses her physically as well psychologically and then he decides to send her back to her homeland after deciding to divorce her. Qamrah's marriage is doomed failure after being divorced and having had to return to live a life of misery and boredom in her parents' house.

In a virtual re-enactment of Sadeem's tragedy, the divorce papers were delivered to Qamrah's father two weeks after Qamrah landed in Riyadh, effectively blocking all possible maternal machinations. It appeared as though Rashid had just been waiting for the moment in which he felt he could justifiably rid himself of the wife that had been imposed on him (Ibid, p.98).

This passage is a typical example of the dreadful consequences of the arranged marriage in Saudi Arabian society with regard to the case of Rachid and Qamrah, whose marriage was planned and arranged by their families on tribal and family basis. More importantly, Rajaa Al-Sanea raises through this passage the issue of divorce as being of the most common problems in Saudi patriarchal society under which women's status is aggravated. Put differently, Women, as represented by Qamrah, are passively divorced by their husbands without even having their permission. That is, when a Saudi man decides that his wife is no longer an asset, he can easily desert and divorce her, but yet he can still live and enjoy his life without any restrictions, on the contrary, a woman fear divorce and can hardly divorce her husband with the regard to her vulnerable position as being highly dependent on men in many aspects of life which ultimately leads to bearing a big burden in their society.

According to Nawal El Saadawi, she argues that "the great majority of Arab women are still, terrorized by the mere word, divorce which means hunger, no home, and the unrelenting remarks of those around them" (El Saadawi, 1980, p.205). Hence, when a woman is divorced, she is put under a lot of pressures and her freedom becomes more restricted as she is deemed as "a menace to man and society, and the only way to avoid the harm she could do was to isolate her in the home, where she could have no contact with either one or the other" adds Nawal El Saadawi (El Saadawi, 1980, p.136).

In this context, Rajaa Al Sanea poses a very serious and rhetorical questions which reveal the agony, social stigma, and the endurance women undergo in Saudi society in the marriage circle. Hence, the narrator wonders:

Is divorce a major crime committed by the woman only? Why does not our society harass the divorced man the way it crushes the divorced woman? I know that you readers are always ready to dismiss and make light of these naïve questions of mine, but surely you can see that they are logical questions and they deserve some careful thought. We should defend Um Nuwayyir and Gamrah and other divorcees. Women like them don't deserve to be looked down on by society, which only condescends from time to time to throw them a few bones and expects them to be happy with that. Meanwhile, divorced men go on to live fulfilling lives without any suffering or blame. (Al-sanea, 2008, p.172)

Having to live under such miserable conditions, especially in a society which lays full blame on women when it comes to divorce, women, according to Rajaa Al-Sanea, become therefore more subject to severe psychological trauma. To summarize these plights, the narrator says:

Gamrah suffered a great deal of pain as a result of her divorce from Rachid....Night times was the worst: Since returning to the family home, she had been unable to sleep for more than three hours a night—she, who had never found it hard to sleep ten—or twenty—hours at a stretch before her marriage and even during it! Now she would wake up tormented in anguish (Al-sanea, 2008, p.100).

In the same vein, the narrator recounts the story of Sadeem, the second character of the novel, as being somewhat similar to that of Gamrah. In brief, Sadeem's tragic experience is almost the same as Gamrah though they have a completely different personalities and characters.

Sadeem, as we learn through the novel, is a girl whose mother died since her birth, and therefore she is raised by her father and her eldest aunt, Badriyyah who acts as a mother figure as her mother died at an early age. Sadeem, who is pushed to marry against her wishes as an act of revenge her cousin, Tarik, who senses strong feelings and love towards her after she is disappointed and dumped by her two lovers Waleed Al-Shari and Firas. Sadeem's first tragic story begins when she is left by her fiancé Waleed as she allows him one night to have more freedom with her in bed before the wedding party. Provided that Sadeem is now officially married in papers to Waleed, she sees no harm in getting closer and pleases him sexually since he is her legal husband though the wedding party is not set yet. The result is that Waleed disappears and never shows up after that night and he sends her the divorce paper as he thinks she has had many previous sexual experiences with other men.

Once again Rajaa Al Sanea reveals social hypocrisy that is strongly embedded in Saudi society through the experience of Sadeem. In fact, women are doomed to endure and suffer more under the men's double standard attitude and hypocrisy that are highly pervasive as the case of Waleed suggests. Paradoxically, Waleed is strongly determined to make love with her wife, Sadeem as he seems unable to wait till Eid Al-Fitr after which the wedding party will take place.

Since Sadeem had vowed to make her beloved Waleed happy that night, and since she wanted to erase his disappointment over her insistence on delaying the wedding, she allowed him to go further with her than ever before. She did not try to stop him- as she had gotten used to doing-when he attempted to cross the signing of the contract—She was convinced that he wouldn't be satisfied unless she offered him a little more of her, —femininity, and she was willing to do anything to please him, the love of her life, even if it meant exceeding the limits she has spent her lifetime guarding (Al-sanea, 2008, p.32).

In the light of this, we come to know that it is Waleed, who pushes Sadeem to make love with him and therefore she decides mistakenly to offer him more of her in the hope to gain his praise and his satisfaction since she is officially his wife; however, his reaction is appalling and paradoxical as “she kept calling through the entire week, at different times of the day and night, desperate to reach him. But his cell phone was always switched off and the private line in his room was always busy” (Ibid, p.33).

It is even worse for Sadeem when Waleed eventually sends her divorce papers claiming that he no longer feels comfortable with her. Being divorced now, Sadeem is shocked and she blames herself as she does not wait till after the wedding party. Sadeem never tells her family about that night since she knows deeply she will be viewed with suspicion and she will never be understood by her family and society. She believes the reason that Waleed has divorced her is that he thinks she is an easy girl who had previous sexual experiences. Hence, she collapses emotionally onto herself to suffer more as a divorcee.

Had she been wrong to give herself to Waleed before wedding celebration? Did it make any sense at all to believe that that was the cause of him avoiding her? Why, though? Wasn't he her legal husband, and hadn't he been her legal husband ever since they signed the contract? Or did getting married mean the ballroom, the guests, the live singer and the dinner? And what she had done - did it somehow deserve punishment from him? Hadn't he been the one who initiated it? Why had he encouraged her to do the wrong thing and then afterward abandoned her? And anyway, was it wrong; was it a sin, in the first place? Had he been testing her? And if she had failed the test, did

that mean she was not worthy of him? He must have thought she was one of those girls who were easy! ...? (Al-sanea, 2008, p.).

Rajaa Al Sanea poses here other rhetoric questions through her character Sadeem, which do not only give deep insight about the hypocrisy of Saudi patriarchal society, but also they show how this hypocrisy causes deep psychological and emotional trauma.

Sadeem's tragedy is further deepened in London, where she goes to recover from the trauma of her previous experience with Waleed. There she meets in a birth's day party a Saudi young man called Firas Al Sharqawi, who is a diplomat and a well-known politician. After their first contacts, she falls in a love with Firas perhaps stronger than her first lover regarding his special respect and kindness he shows during his encounters with her.... "Until finally, praying for Waleed's return turned into praying for Firas's presence" (Ibid, p.143). However, Firas turns out to be a traditionally bound man despite his great intellectuality and therefore she is destined to suffer more aggravated depression as their relationship cannot accordingly go forward to marriage. That said, Firas's social status as a politician does not allow him to marry Sadeem regarding her marital status as a divorced woman. Because of the very negative stereotypes held about divorcee women in his society coupled with his family rejection, Firas is not brave enough to challenge this view as he is afraid of this prospective marriage which may bring social stigma as well it may destroy his image with his family and his position as a politician. With this in mind, Firas is finally engaged to a girl of his family choice which ensues Sadeem's confusion and causes deep pain inside her heart as the narrator comments in the following passage :

Was it possible for Firas to marry someone other than her? How could such a thing happen? After all this love and the years they had spent together? Did it make any sense that a man of Firas's strength and resourcefulness was unable to convince his family that he could marry a divorced woman? Or was it just that he was incapable of convincing himself of it? Had she failed, after all of her attempts, to reach the level of perfection befitting a man like Firas? (Al-sanea, 2008, p.).

Alsanea here reflects on two important things. Firstly, she uncovers the social hypocrisy of Saudi men represented by Firas, who is obviously unable to marry a woman of his own choice and give it in to his family and secondly she shows the plight of divorced women in the Saudi society who are looked down and viewed unfavourably as immoral women especially if they happen to be intellectuals and have a free spirit like the case of Sadeem.

The story of the Michelle is quite different from both Gamrah and Sadeem regarding her disposition and her attitudes towards traditions. Being born to a Saudi father and to an American

mother, Mashael, as her real Arabic name or Michelle, as her mother and friends are used to call her is more herself and is more liberal. For that reason, she does not suffer as much pain and suffering as her friends do vis-à-vis her love relations. On the contrary to her friends, she relatively enjoys more freedom. Even though Michelle falls in love Faisal, whom she thinks he is the right person as he loves her infinitely, their relationship is broken up due to the family considerations. Their love relationship does not span more than a year and is ultimately doomed to failure when Michelle asks Faisal to marry her and his reaction does not seem different from Firas, Sadeem's lover due to Faisal dependency on his family. In this regard, the narrator says:

The family of that girl was not of their sort. They must ask Faisal's father, since he knew infinitely more about genealogies and families. But from the start, his mother suggested, this line of conversation did not augur well. The girl had tricked him! Aah, the girls of this generation! How awful they were! And aah, for her young, green son- she never would have expected him to fall into the trap of a girl such as this! She asked him who the girl's maternal uncles were and as soon as she heard that the girl's mother was American, she decided to bang the door shut for good on this fruitless dialogue around this utterly ridiculous topic. So countless mothers before her, she resorted to the oldest trick in the book: "quick, son! Get up, hurry, get me my blood pressure medicine! My heart, oh, my heart, I think I am dying..." (Al-sanea, 2008, p.94-95).

It can be argued that this passage is very significant as it reveals the extent to which forces such as family belonging, class, race, and religion can play such a very crucial role in judging as well as deciding on the marriages between men and women in Saudi Arabian society. Faisal is not allowed by his family to marry Michelle, the girl he loves, due to the fact that she is, on one hand a half-American, which is highly rejected in Saudi society culture, and on the other hand, she belongs to simple unknown family which is not an asset in the eyes of Faisal's family.

Hence, Rajaa Al Sanea critically calls into question these unjust practices and beliefs that ban individuals from choosing their right spouse regardless of their family genealogy, and /or their class and cultural backgrounds. These maltreatments and stereotypes are further manifested through Michelle's rhetorical questions: "why am I forced to act a part in front of others? Why does not this society respect the difference between my family and other Saudi families? Everyone considers me a bad girl just because my mother is American! How can I live in such an unjust society? Tell me how, Faisal!" (Ibid, p.91)

Equally important, Rajaa Al sanae also criticizes the contradictions of Saudi people vis-à-vis their behaviours and attitudes. Though Michelle's father is very liberal, he rejects her marriage to her cousin, Matti due to religious differences as explained in the following:

Michelle discovered that the epidemic of contradictions in her country had got so out of control that it had even infected her parents. Her father, whom she had regarded as a rare symbol of the freedom of Saudi Arabia, had (himself!) now smashed the pedestal she had put him on, thereby proving the truth of the proverb: anyone who lives with a people becomes one of them!(Ibid, p.83-84).

After Michelle’s disappointment and failure to get married to Faisal as well her family rejection to get engaged with her cousin Matti, she relatively recovers quickly and moves forward to pursue up her studies in Dubai, where she finally works at one of the satellite TV channels owned by the father of her Emirati girlfriend, Jumanah.

Unlike all her other three girlfriends Gamrah, Sadeem, and Michelle who are destined, as we have studied above, to undergo a constant disappointment and failure in their personal and social life, Lamese ,their fourth friend seems, on the other hand, completely different from the rest. That is to say, Lamese has been able to achieve success in both her career and her personal life though her first short-lived experience is not a success. In brief, she seems to be more prudent and wiser than the rest in the sense that she has chosen a man of her own choice whom she loves, not to mention that she moves to Canada with her husband to pursue her studies in Medicine major.

More importantly, Lamese is deemed to be adequately knowledgeable in different areas and disciplines. For that reason, her three girlfriends keep consulting her and enquiring about their potential relationship matches taking into account her deep knowledge about the horoscope field as well as computer science discipline. Also, she takes the charge of teaching her friend, Gamrah how to have access to the internet by surfing and chatting with internet users. By doing so, she helps her break the routine and recover from the trauma and the plight ensued by her divorce from Rachid. Before she meets Nizar, Lamees first Seems to like Ali a Shiite¹, the brother of her friend, Fatima. In brief, he studies Medicine with Lamees at the same University, which make their encounters more frequent. However, their relationship does not last long enough as they are caught in a café by the Police of Morals and Virtue ,and are brought to investigation regarding that dating is not sanctioned in Saudi Arabia and it is even deemed as a punishable offense. Here, the narrator says after they catch and start investigating them:

There, they put Lamees and Ali into two separate rooms and began interrogations. Lamees could not bear the hurtful questions put to her. They asked her in detail about her relationship with Ali. They used coarse language and they forced her to hear words that would have embarrassed her even in front of her most intimate girlfriends. After trying for hours to appear self-confident and completely convinced of the rightness‘of everything she had done, she collapsed in tears. She really

did not believe that she had done anything that was cause for shame. In the next room, the interrogator was putting pressure on Ali, who lost his cool completely when the man asserted that Lamees had confessed to everything and that he might as well come clean.(Al-sanea, 2008, p.139).

Not only does Rajaa Al Sanea address here the gender segregation policy that is deeply entrenched by the Saudi regime, but she also raises the issue of racism that is based on religious fanaticism among Saudi people and regime itself. Because Ali is a Persian Shiite boy, Lamesse is not even allowed to establish a casual friendship with Ali, let alone loving or marrying him due to the long constant political, historical, and religious conflict between Shiite and Sunni¹ ideologies. This idea is asserted when Lamees “had heard a policeman whispering into her father's ear that they had found the boy was ‘from the rejectionist sect’. He was a Shiite from Qatif and so his punishment would certainly be worse than hers”(Al-sanea, 2008, p.140). Hereby, Al-Sanea critically questions the individual's freedom in general and women's freedom of choice in particular to be with the person she likes regardless of their religious affiliation, class, race, or otherwise.

Conclusion

As a conclusion, it is fair to note that Rajaa Al Sanea has boldly exposed through her four protagonists together with the anonymous narrator myriads of highly debatable issues such as arranged marriage, divorce, women's freedom, and women's status in general in Saudi Arabian context. Significantly, Al Sanea has insightfully criticised almost all the social contradictions and cultural practices which usually -if not all the times perpetuate largely gender roles and stereotypes, under which Saudi women are victimised and doomed to go through plight and very traumatic experiences as we have witnessed in this section. In fact, women, as discussed in, in the novel under analysis are still accordingly victims of severe patriarchy, strict traditions, tribal relations and misuse of religion in a very conservative society like Saudi Arabia.

References

1. Alsanea, Rajaa ,(2008). *Girls of Riyadh*. Trans. Rajaa Al Sanea and Marilyn. Penguin Book: New York
2. Alharbi, Rakan. (2014). “Comparative Analysis of Marriage under Islamic Law between Saudi Arabia and Egypt”. 10.13140/RG.2.2.10816.02567.
3. Al Lily, A. E. A., (2011). On line and under veil: Technology-facilitated communication and Saudi female experience within academia. *Technology in Society*, 33 (1-2): pp. 119-127
4. Amani, Hamdan (2006) . “Arab Women's Education and Gender Perceptions: An Insider Analysis”. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 8(1), 52-64,
5. (2005). “Women and education in Saudi Arabia: Challenges and achievements”. *International Education Journal*, 6 (1), 42-64.
6. Eleanor, Doumato (1990). “Gender, Monarchy, and National Identity.” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 19.1 : 31-47. *JSTOR* 22 Oct. 2007 <<http://jstor.org/search>>.
7. El Okeily, Omar. "Asharq Al-Awsat Interviews The Girls of Riyadh Author Rajaa Al Sanea." *Asharq Al-Awsat Newspaper* 25 Jan. 2006.

8. ElSaadawi, Nawal (1980). *The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab world*. Trans. Sherif Hetata (London: Zed Books).
9. Cheryl.A.Rubenberg,(2001). *Palestinian women : Patriarchy and resistance in the West Bank* (USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
10. De Beauvoir, Simone (1989). *The Second Sex* .USA : Vantage: Books Edition .
11. Lindholm, C. (2010). Invisible No More: The Embellished Abaya in Qatar. Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings. Paper 34. Retrieved from <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/34>
12. Shoshana Shmulovitz.(2011). “The Saudi Women2Drive Campaign: Just Another Protest in the Arab Spring?”. Volume 5, Number 14 .
13. Yamani, Mai(1996). “Some Observations on Women in Saudi Arabia.” *Feminism and Islam: Legal and Literary Perspectives*. Ed. Mai Yamani. New York University Press: New York, 263-81
14. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318457978_Comparative_Analysis_of_Marriage_under_Islamic_Law_between_Saudi_Arabia_and_Egypt (Accessed on 23 Sep .2018)
15. <https://www.khaleejtimes.com/article/20090327/ARTICLE/303279929/1002>
16. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/030639688002200205>

El Houssine Khadiri

**Resisting the Double Oppression and the Quest for Home and an Identity the
Case Fadia Faqir's *My Name Is Salma* (2007).
(*Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes*)**

Abstract

The present paper entitled "Resisting the Double Oppression and the Quest for Home and an Identity the Case of Fadia Faqir's *My Name Is Salma* (2007)" offers a critical reading of a selected novel among the Anglophone Arab American and Arab British literature that is fundamentally concerned with confrontation and subversion. Fadia Faqir, Mohja kahf, Najat El hachimi, Zana Mohcine and others have appropriated the diaspora space to subvert the inaccurate narratives of Muslim women and have ventured to construct a space of agency, equality and respect for Arab women in both the homeland and the Western ethnic borderland. Fadia Faqir's *My Name Is Salma* typically explores the intersections of Western stereotypical and racial discourses that have intensified in the post-September 11/9 era, and the Oriental gender based discrimination namely honour crime. These issues are analyzed through postcolonial lenses; theories of feminism are used to analyze honour-based violence and patriarchal gender discrimination while Stuart Hall's conceptualization of identity, and Homi. K Bhabha's hybridity, ambivalence and Third space are applied to analyze the identity formation in this novel.

Key Words: Anglophone Arab Women's literature, Resistance, Identity, hybridity, feminism, honour crime.

Introduction

The terrorist attack of the September 2001 and the War on Terror enact dramatic change in the Arab image in the West generally and in American in specific. Agony, hatred, scrutiny and violence against Arab and Muslim reached their extreme scale. Many scholars support a similar argument like Amaney Jamal and Nadine Naber. They argue in *Race and Arab Americans Before and After 9/11* that the media have framed Muslim and Arab Americans through the process of racialization. This is a unique phenomenon experienced by Arabs, and the 9/11 attacks have played a crucial role in its formation. Jamal and Naber claim that it was not until 9/11 that these minority groups became visible in discussions of race and ethnicity in America (Aneta, 2016). Thus, Arabs were classified as the threatening "other" and depicted as inferior and "white but not quite" who do not fit into the American mainstream. This energize the Arab diaspora writers mainly women to

write premeditated works to define Arab community in the US and correct the stereotypes of Arab in the eye of the west challenging the marginalization of Arab women on basis of their ethnicity and sex.

The Arab diasporas found themselves located in a place of liminality and, as a result, the common make up of their identity are “mimicry”, “hybridity” and “ambivalence”. These peculiarities of identity resonate in most of Arab women diasporic literature in the sense that they portray their female protagonists as hybrid subjects who undergo various experiences in attempt to construct their subjectivity within the overpowering secularism of western culture and rigidity of their original Arab culture. Faqir Faqir’s *My Name is Salma*, for instance, tells us about the precariousness of her female character who flee death of dishonor in her motherland to find herself in a state of in-betweenness. Faqir adopts a non-linear narrative form which is fashioned in mixing the present and the past, English and Arab and cross-cultural journey between Jordan and England. The young Arab Bedouin girl Salma grapes between two different identities and undergoes a life time of journeying and the search of the self.

This article is a critical study of honour crime and the marginalization Arab Muslim women in the British society as portrayed in the Anglo- Arab writer Fadia Faqir's novel *My Name Is Salma*. The article explores the double oppression that the novel’s heroine faces in both her Bedouin society and in the new British society where she seeks refuge from the threats of murder made by her brother in the name of honour as a way of cleansing the family’s honour and reputation. from a feminist perspective, the study analyses honour- based violence with special emphasis on the role of patriarchy and its effects on the protagonist's ultimate tragic death. At the same time, concepts of hybridity, and the third space are employed to analyse the identity formation in the novel.

Primitivism and Honour Crime through a Feminist Perspective

Fadia Faqir is one of the Arab feminist and diaspora writers who engage in criticizing the Arab patriarchy and questions the oppression of Arab Muslim women in the name of Islam which is intertwined with Arab tradition and culture. Faqir uses her works to fight against her society’s traditional norms that engender women powerless and voiceless. In her writing either prose or critical, Faqir tries to display that Arab women are oppression and subjugated by the traditional norms of their honour based-societies because of their gender as women. In this novel, the author chooses Bedouin society because it is proud of its old norms and traditions. Bedouin people still have their own way of life in the Arab World and are still "congregated in groups, families, clans, tribes" (Faqir,2007,p.249), and have their individual culture and laws which are deeply rooted in their behaviour.

Bedouin societies are renowned for their caring about certain cultural and moral norms such as honour, courage, hospitality and fortitude. In this novel, Fadia Faqir exposes patriarchy coercion and the inaccurate interpretation of Islamic teachings which subsidize the violation of Arab women's human rights. This section is meant to examine, from a postcolonial feminist perspective, honour crime and gender discrimination faced by Arab women in general and Jordan and beyond. Through the dialogic narrative in *My Name is Salma*, Faqir decodes the persecution of a young woman and the exilic trauma in Britain as a result of honour crimes.

Speaking on the issue of honour killing, it is defined as honour based violence that includes physical harm injury, and killing or psychological harm like threatening, singling out and persecutions. Honour based violence occurs when a female relative is perceived to smear the family honour by having a sexual relationship outside the marriage wedlock. This practice is deeply rooted in most Arab honour based-societies like Jordan. Gill Aisha explains that the concept of honour crimes includes all forms of violence directed towards individuals in the name of honour. It is a punishment that aims at cleansing the dishonour through the use of emotional, social or physical coercion against a female relative whose behavior crossed a fundamental cultural boundary. The punishment involves the killing of the transgressor of the code of honour. Honour killing is in general defined as: "the murder of women for suspected deviation from sexual norms imposed by society". Perpetrators are not only the husbands or partners of the victim, but other male or female family or community members can carry out the act. (Aisha, 2009)

These definitions are very useful for the purpose of the study since Fadia Faqir's *My Name is Salma*, explores the cultural aspects and the social traditions pertaining to the issue. It maps out the general constitutional violence perpetuated against females within the framework of patriarchal structures. Through the protagonist Salma, Faqir displays the different scenarios women, who are engaging in, or being suspected of engaging in, sexual practices before or outside marriage, go through. The character of Salma is the first female to be suspicious of bringing shame and dishonor to her family where her mother anticipated her ultimate tragic death saying "You smeared our name with tar, your brother will shoot you between the eyes" (Faqir 2007, 37).

The novel reports a number of honour killing of female 'sinner' in the village of Hima while Salam is the last to be shot between the eyes by her brother Mahmoud whose duty is to purify the family's dignity and reputation. One should note that the family honour can only be tarnished if a female relative engages in inappropriate sexual behavior as Pitt Rivers notes in his article "Honour and social status" that *The honour of a man is involved therefore sexual purity of his mother, wife and daughters, and not in his own*". He further argues that "*The honour of a man and of a woman*

therefore imply quite different modes of conduct. This is so in any society. A woman is dishonoured, loses her vergüenza, with the tainting of her sexual purity, but a man does not. (Rivers, 1995) The Egyptian feminist Nawal El Saadawi shares the same stance arguing that *"the man's honour is safe as long as the female members of his family keep their hymens intact"*. (Nawal, 1980)

What this implies in the fact that honour and reputation of the family according the Jordan ‘society is related to women’s sexuality and thus this institutional code is primarily meant to restrict women’s freedom of the body and sexuality. For instance, Salma has always been under the control of her father and brother. Her father imposes on her to wear the traditional “black Bedouin madraga” (15) which cover her whole body. He also observes the development of her body as she grows into an attractive woman and ordered her “Your breasts are like melons, cover them up! My father haj Ibrahim would said” (Faqir, 2007, 13) last she might seduce male in the village. Salma’s brother, on the other hand, is deemed superior to her whose fundamental duty is to exercise certain vanquish over his sister.

My brother Mahmoud kept an eye on me while brushing his horse. I started hunching my back to hide my breasts, which were the first thing Hamda, noticed about me” (Faqir 2007, 13). The implication that this statement yields is that women’s bodies don’t belong to them but rather to their male guardians. The author shows that freedom of the body and sexuality is censored in Arab Islamic word and in Jordan in particular. Faqir notes *“I was forced to wear the veil by my father, a reluctant tyrant. He imposed things on us like praying five times a day, a 7 p.m. curfew... all kinds of things that made me react against institutional religion. Some of my siblings and I felt like we were in a camp, a confined space, an army, and that our father treated us like cadets.”*(Lindsey, 2011) In this interview Faqir unveils the fact that her relation to Islamic religion is much more about obligation and imposition rather than a personal choice or out of personal conviction which she reflects in her novel through the character Salma.

To unmask gender based discrimination and the biased nature of Jordan patriarchal society, Salma recounts her love story with Hamdan which is more a master- slave relation rather than love and human interaction. Hamdan, as Salma recounts, perceives her as his own slave, whore and simply a body he uses to please his voyeuristic desires. In the novel, Salma fell in love with a young Bedouin man whose handsome look and gaze makes her heart melts. She follows her grandmother advice to “follow your heart always daughter of mine” (Faqir, 2007, 31). The two young loves arranged meetings under dark and in remote place for fear to be seen together in the village. Despite the rigidity of their community, they ventured to cross the social red lines by practices sex outside marriage contract. However, Hamdan has never reacted to Salma as an equal partner. When arranging to meet, “If I were not waiting for him out there among the vines Hamdan would make a shrill sound

as if he were calling his dog back to the barn" (Faqir, 2007, 50) Hamdan used to dehumanizes Salma calling her with shrill, the same manner he used to call his dog. This implies, in simple terms, that Arab women in many Arab societies are value free in Jordon particularly if they give themselves to a man they love.

In the novel, there is no single statement that indicates that Hamdan and Salma are equal, he never uses her name to call but rather Salma is conceived of as a worthless slave and 'whore' "My whore is still here! He would say and take me quickly." (Faqir, 2007, 36). In the opposite, Salma, being born and raised a society that favors men, addressed her lover with glorious attributes "He would tag at my hair and say 'you are my courtesan, my slave. Yes master, I would say'" (Faqir, 2007, 50/51).

Salma's life turns upside down when she discovers that she is pregnant from the man she trusted most and dared to give her life to. She realized that Hamdan's promises of marriage "our wedding camel caravan crossing the village, carrying us to our own dwelling" (Faqir, 2007, 177) were simply plots to objectify her and please his sexual needs until he knows about her pregnancy. At this particular moment, Hamdan put off the mask to show his tyrannical patriarch face holding her responsible over the deed. "You are responsible. You have seduced me with the yearning of your pipe and swaying hips" (Faqir, 2007,.177). what Fadia Faqir intends to echoes is that only women become responsible for the violation of cultural code of sexuality. Men are set free and reflect the undemocratic basis of Bedouin society. Many feminist, indeed, get frustrated at this fact. Fatima Daoud notes that "a woman cannot do what a man can and in case a man and a woman are partners in the committing of a wrong deed, it is the woman who is to blame and the man is let almost scot-free and is not held accountable for his wrong deeds. (Daoud, 2016) In this respect, Salma's life becomes in real danger as her name put in the black list of Bedouin honour code. Her father and brother won't sleep a wink until they purify their family name with her blood. "I will never hold my head high as long as she is breathing, said my father." (Faqir, 2007, 111)

Reading Salma's situation from a feminist stand point, the crime against women committed on the name of honour is, in fact, an instrument and a part of a broader pattern of patriarchal domination and control of women bodies, sexuality and life. This brutal penalty is meant to trace the frontiers of an illicit acts deemed condemned by society. At the same time, it is meant to give a direct or a symbolic lesson to other member of the community on the consequences of honour code violation as Gayatri Spivac affirms in her study "*The Body and Beyond: Representation of Body Politics*" that "Body politics is conceptualized as the negotiation of power via the body through processes that may operate either directly or symbolically". (Gayatri,2015). In the case of Salma,

she is incriminated alone for the commitment of adultery wife Hamdan, who played a part in the whole scenario, is actually held free and no one accused or promised to kill him as a result.

The novel seems to point out that Salma stands for and document Jordanian women precarious set of life experiences within the patriarchal Honour based-regime. Through Salma, Faqir could highlight the traumatic experience of fragmentation, disconnectedness, persecution and numerous honour killing that Salma had witnessed before she was killed by her chauvinist brother. When her irresponsible lover deserted her, Salma's life turns into an endless night mar. After her family had discovered about her pregnancy and Salam's attempts of abortion were futile, Salam's name joined the honour black list and was, consequently, sentenced to death. Salma could never escape a her death penalty without the help of her school teacher Miss Nailah "I rushed in then stood in the middle of room. Beating my chest with my right hand, 'I place myself in Allah's protection and yours. Miss Nailah. What is it? I am pregnant". (Faqir 2007, 23)

As a consequence, Salma will be set free from prison after eight years of suffering and detachment from her family and mainly daughter. Her school teacher knew that Salma is going to live longer if is remains in Jordan and with the help of the prison governor and Khairiyya she was shipped to lebanon to start a new life. Despite the fact that she will leave all her life, friends and family behind, Salma was delighted to get out of prison. "My mind was kissing everything: the spacious blue sky, the green plains, and the large trees, even the donkeys and other cars. I was free" (Faqir 2007,.70). later, because her brother was an insistence persecutor and follow her footsteps, Salma was obliged to flee to Lavant in Lebanon and later to Britain to avoid her imminent death. Andrew Vic Onyango observes that "Honour" killing is important in the process of Salma's identity formation in that it is the cause of her flight from the Levant to Britain. After her arrival in Britain, Salma is still haunted by the ghosts of her past in Hima. She keeps imagining that her brother Mahmoud is out on the loose in Britain in an attempt to hunt her down and kill her. She reflects her agony saying "(...) dark figures behind the curtained and said " yalah, tukhni wkhalisni (shot me and let me get it done). It will be my deliverance" (Faqir 2007, 97).

As a fugitive, Salma could never avoid feeling guilty over her past sins and blames herself to let her baby daughter in the hands of her merciless brother and father. In fact, this introduces the reader to another aftermath of hounor killing phenomenon mainly psychological violence. The feelings of shame, guilt and humiliation accompanies Salma throughout her entire life in Britain, she reflects this through "When he finally let go of me I was so sad to be still alive. I deserved to be mocked, beaten, even killed. I abandoned her, let them take her away" (Faqir 2007, 41). Layla, the abandoned daughter of Salma is also a victim of honour crime. Her uncle Mahmoud drowns her in

the Long Well claiming that Layla has also brought dishonour to the family's name just like her mother given that she is the product of Salma's sexual relations.

In many ways, Fadia's *My Name is Salma* is first a response to the experiences of pain and sufferings of women in Jordan, it is ought to be read as a resistant literature as it unmask the gendered power relation where decades of patriarchal exploitations and aggression are answered by the author through the character of Salma who rejects the culture on which the men's supremacy is founded. The novel tackles one of the most internationally controversial issue pertaining to the Arab culture namely honor crime. The later, as Faqir intended to show, is deeply rooted in many Arab societies and it is intertwined with Jordanian collective patriarchal cultural beliefs and it constitutes a strong apparatus of patriarchal domination over Arab women. Dealing with such an issues, in fact, is a courageous gesture of liberation. *My Name is Salma* represents the life of women who violated their society's cultural norms and consequently were sentenced to death. None of the females who are suspected of an illicit love affair or dared to crossing the honor codes could escape imminent death including Salma.

From Ambivalence to the recreation of hybrid Identity in British Ethnic Borderland

Being a prominent feminist voice of the Middle East, Fadia Faqir, through *My Name is Salma*, sensitizes and inflames the public of gender discrimination, misogyny and honor based violence prey upon Arab women in many conservative Arab societies particularly in Jordan community. However, Faqir's novel goes beyond the exploration of gender-based violence to centralize on the experience of immigration, diaspora, and the marginalization Arab minorities encounter in British ethnic borderland. The most important remarks many critics note on Faqir's literary works is her attempts to foreground trans-cultural and cross-ethnic identifications. The novel opens original insights of Arab women diaspora experiences as she highlights the marginalization of a particular category of Arab women immigrants namely the uneducated, and unskilled young female immigrants. Nash notes that the focus on Salma's experiences in Britain is powerful. He rightly points out that the novel presents a theme that has not been explored adequately by previous Arab British novelists since the eponymous protagonist is an Arab woman refugee rather than an educated middle class Arab woman. (Yousef, 2011). In this regard, the novel appraises the protagonist's maneuver and procedures to engender cross-ethnic identification and bridge the gap between the West and the East. This section explores the sense of otherness and alienation embodied in Fadia Faqir's *My Name is Salma* as well as the transitional experience toward a multicultural hybrid identity in a postcolonial Western context.

The experience of otherness and alienation resonates throughout the novel since Salma, as a black Arab Boudioun woman, was not welcomed into the British social fabric. In fact, the marginalization of Arabs and the uncertainty of their ethnic classification is not a current issue but it has a long history until it was resolved in the court in the USA. Yet, in British ethnic and racial discourse, Arabs remain an unrecognized racial category and rendered an invisible minority in Britain.

In this broader perspective, Fadia Faqir intends to defend Arab minority rights in the diaspora. In her novel, she foregrounds the dilemma of Arab refugees and subalterns who are rendered invisible by virtue of their ethnicity and their social status. The character of Salma dramatizes and rearticulates the double oppression, racism, and cultural alienation of women just like her encounter while contemplating self-discovery and self-realization in the UK. As a woman, Salma is not only tormented when she crosses her conservative society's honor code and Brokenhearted to have her baby daughter taken from her custody but also her exile to Exeter in England exacerbates her feeling of dislocation. She has to deal with the hardships of living in a milieu where the individual is luminal. When Salma invades the British *mise en scène* and as a veiled Muslim woman she encounters bigotry as happens to be in an unsympathetic culture toward the headscarves and a country where Islam and religious affiliations are generally questioned. Salma is detained by the immigration authorities for two months where she reports racial maltreatment from the Prison guard who asked the Porter where she is from, she answers that Salma is an Arab, he responds “Fucking Arabic! She rode a camel all the way from Arabia to this dump in Exeter, he said and laughed” (Faqir, 2007,15). The Porter also reproduces the same racial discourse and stereotypical attitude vis-à-vis Arab when he refuses to share the room with Salma “I am not going to share the room with an Arab’s she spat (Faqir, 2007,15). Moreover, Salma is always obliged to hide her origin and Arab identity in order to be accepted into the British socio-cultural and economic sphere. When she meets an English man (David) who asked about her origin, Salma discards her real belonging and lied that she is Spanish otherwise she is to be rejected. She says in this vein: “If I told him that I was a Muslim Bedouin Arab woman from the desert on the run he would spit out his tea. I am originally Spanish” (Faqir, 2007,30).

Based on Salma's disclosure, Arab women refugees in particular are perceived as others who don't fit into the British Western entourage since she faces antipathy from people around her because of her oriental womanhood. Obviously, British people perceive Arabs through an orientalist perspective and are deemed inferior to the people from the West. This reminds us again of Edward Said's conceptualization of the Orient. He says in *Orientalism* that “Arabs, for example, are thought of as camel-riding, terroristic, hook-nosed, venal lechers whose undeserved wealth is an affront to real

civilization. Always there lurks the assumption that although the Western consumer belongs to a numerical minority, he is entitled either to own or to expend (or both) the majority of the world resources. Why? Because he, unlike the Oriental, is a true human being". (Logge, 2000). The way Salma is fantasized and dehumanized reminds of the old-fashioned prejudices that were produced centuries ago and still persist and recycled in the western mainstream media and popular culture mainly after the drastic events of 9/11. It should be noted that the way the Orientals are portrayed in western media aggravate the feeling of estrangement of Salma since she is treated on the based on those stereotypes.

Salma, an Arab refugee, is not acknowledged a full citizen in Britain but rather she is always made invisible. She is not considered a human being who can walk on the same footing with British people. This marginalization is reflected in Salma's saying "He kept me in the background and never called me to the front of the shop while he had customers around" (Faqir, 2007, 277). The Restaurant owner believes that Salma is a different other whose Arab feature and black skin would impact his business as British people are not ready yet to accept the presence of a traditional Arab woman around them. The Restaurant owner also considers Salma to be an exotic other and he treated her accordingly by putting her in the shadow.

Fadia Faqir wants the reader to inter Salma's skin to experience displacement, depreciation and exclusion Arab minorities face in British context. This fact is reinforced through many characters in the novel who fail to recognize Salma as an Arab woman. for instance, neither the Prison guard nor her boss Mr. Max acknowledge her origin as an Arab. When Salma reached England "the guard pointed at my veil and said Turkish (Faqir, 2007, 116). Additionally, Salma's boss "I fore saw with dread the next few minutes. How many times had I been asked this question since I came to Britain? After years of working in his shop, Max, my boss, still asked, where did you say? Shaaami Hiiimaa?" (Faqir, 2007, 68). These abstracts clearly imply Arab as ethnicity is dismissed and meant to be ignored in British ethnic and racial discourse which makes Salma and a majority of Arab women maximize their feeling of isolation.

Andrew Vic Onyango remarks in his study of Fadia Faqir's novel *My Nam is Salma* that: "As an Arab immigrant in England, Salma is a subaltern who has been condemned by the society to a life on the fringes. Mainstream English society does not care about her, cannot see her and is therefore oblivious of her presence. For them, she does not exist. This is aptly depicted when Salma writes her university essay for Dr. Robson; her conclusion is about her experience as an alien in England: "They, and I, think I do not live here, but I do, just like all the women who were ignored in those tales" (Faqir, 2007, 221). The same stance is held by Suaad Muhammad Alqahtani who

believes that being Arab, Salma must also suffer marginalisation, racial slurs, and sexual exploitation in England. Salma could not understand why people in England “look at [her] all [the] time as if [she had a] disease” (Faqir, 2007, 102). Her alienation is aggravated by her life in this culture that “enforces the supremacy of everything that is Christian, Western, [and] white” (Muhammad, 2017)

The frequent incidents of marginalization, both in her motherland and in the exile, consequently, increase Salma sense of alienation and disharmony with British people and even with herself. The novel is full of images and scenes that recount the feelings of cultural alienation from the very moment reached Exeter “I had tasted my first fish and chips, but my mountainous Arab stomach could not digest the fat, which floated in my tummy for days.” (Faqir, 2007, 9) The taste of food seem uneasy to swallow for Salma since she is used to different taste in Hima and even different eating habits in the sense that in her village she used to eat with her bare hands but in Lebanon, she is exposed to eating with knife and fork. as far as Salma’s appearance and dressing style is concerned, Salma appears alien even to herself in her black Bedouin madraqa robe. The later, refers to her traditional society but in British society Salma feels that is a different other. For instance, when Salma check out the newspaper for a job, she finds out that she is far away from the requirement of a suitable Sales girl. “I was neither presentable nor able to speak English well. Nothing that would suit a woman like me with no looks, no education, no experience and no letters of recommendation”. (Faqir, 2007, 17) Salma’s awareness of herself as a culturally dislocated object after years of stay in Exeter and being seen as strange and invisible makes her realize how difficult it is to live a an alien traditional woman she says every morning, I was reminded of my alieness” (Faqir, 2007, 37)

The repeated encounters with racism, and bigotry and Salma’s realization “It was not easy living here in England as an ‘alien’” (Faqir, 2007, 37) contributed extensively to the protagonist identity construction since she realized In order for her to fit into her newly adopted society she must adjust her identity with the prerogative of British society at the same time conserve her Arab Muslim roots. Salma realize that “Salma resisted, but Sally must adapt” (Faqir, 2007, 9) and with the help of her Pakistani friend Parvin, she begin her journey of identity formation to adopt to diasporic life. It is worth mentioning that the protagonist is assisted both in her tribe in Hima and in Exeter in England by other women. This reinforces the fact that Faqir called and advocates solidarity between women and transnational sisterhood. The Protagonist subjectivity is transformed from the milieu that salma happen to be and she creates a third space for her hybrid identity to emerge. Following Stuart Hall conceptualization of postcolonial identity that one’s identity is never

static and unchanged and that person's identity construction is greatly influenced by the environment in which one lives. Our protagonist employs different strategies of assimilation and resistance to form her own subjectivity that blurs the East/ West boundaries. Stuart Hall insists in Cultural Identity and Diaspora that cultural identity:

Is a matter 'becoming as well as 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories, but like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to continuous 'play' which is history, culture and power. (Ashcroft, 1995) .

Stuart Hall's premise on Cultural Identity which undergoes constant transformation is of great consistence with and very relevant to analysis of Salma's Identity transformation since Salma forms her own individuality based on her past experiences and future Horizons. The protagonist's identity is subject to transformation from the very moment she leaves Hima toward Lebanon and later to England given that she goes through unique experience in her new adopted environment. When Salam flees away from her village in which she is sentenced to death, her adopter, Miss Asher, changes her name from Salma Ibrahim El-Musa to Sally Asher taking an English name. Having an English name and moving to England embody very courageous step in process of Salma's identity formation. However, Salma was resistant to change but she wants to keep her Arab Islamic "No I want Arab name" (Faqir, 2007, 184) except for the fact that if she uses her Arab name she will be considered a foreign students and pay the university fees and also she may be sent back to her homeland. For this reason and in order to keep her Arab along with an English name Salma opted for a hybrid name "Sal". Nayera El Miniawi contends that "In *'My Name is Salma'*, the heroine is obsessed of her name. The meaningful quality of the name identifies the individual with the collective, and it is this communal self that Salma wants to retain. "Salma uses the diminutive 'Sal' to avert confusion over the second part of her name, the encasing part. Sal is the interstitial person slipping into being Salma or being Sally". (Miniawi, 2018)

As it has been explore previously, the protagonist seems unfit to her new environment given that she suffers immense racism and marginalization to the extent that she is looked at like a 'disease' Salma has no option but to reinvent herself by embracing a hybrid identity. While in Exeter, the protagonist finds it difficult to integrate in British economic life particularly with her headscarf and loose clothes that connate her Islamic and Arab origin. This fact is manifested in a conversation between Salma and her guide friend Pervan. Parvin says: "We have to look for a job , said Parvin, but I must ask you about the scarf you keep wearing" (Faqir 2007, 123). At first,

Salma could not put off her veil without which she feels naked. Fadia Faqir say on the situation Salma is put in that Salma “*has to take it off in Britain because her friend Parvin keeps saying —you’ll never get a job with that on. It is painful for her, taking it off, the hardest thing she has ever done. She feels as if she were severing herself from her language, culture and clan.*” (Lindsey, 2011) This reflects the protagonist ambivalence and fluctuation between two identities and two different opposing cultures in which she is confused whether to adhere to the culture in which she was born and arise or assimilate the culture that adopts her.

Despite the fact that the protagonist desires to keep strong ties with her Arab Islamic culture, she decides to take off her veil in view to be integrated and welcomed into British economic fabric. Salma says: “I looked again at my reflection then slowly began untying the knot of my white veil. I slid it off, folded it and placed it on the bed. I pulled my hair out of the elastic band and tossed it out” (Faqir 2007, 129). On the one hand, discarding the veil does not only reflect the protagonist endeavor to sound more British but also it symbolizes a revolutionary act against the traditional patriarchal institution that oppresses women in the Arab world. As matter of fact, the veil was imposed on Salma by her father back in Hima while in England; Salma takes advantage from the liberation the West offers her to rebel against the Patriarchal ‘Islamic’ institutions. In most of Fadia Faqir’s writing, she endeavors to echo her critiques of the Islam or more precisely the male interpretation of Islamic religion that contributes to the subjugation of Arab women. In the novel, the protagonist is subject to different forms of gender-based discrimination which are legitimated using Islam. The protagonist reflect these notions saying that “They put us in prison, took away our children, killed us and we were supposed to say God was only testing his true believers” (Faqir, 2007, 136). In the same regard, Salma continuous reinventing herself and constructing a life, an identity and a space of her own following her friend’s advice.

Parvin advices Salma that she should “*Groom yourself! Beautify yourself! Sell yourself! You are in the West now*”. (Lindsey, 2011) So that she can follow the steps of western women and hold a mirror up to modern British society. Salma behaves accordingly throwing away her traditional Bedouin dress “I was ready to go out for a walk. I wore blue jeans, a T-short and tried veil under my chin out.” (Faqir, 2007, 129) to become the sophisticated English Sally. Having said that, the protagonist seems revolutionary against religion or rather the biased interpretation of the Islamic teachings. She is no long that devotee Muslim woman as she used to be in Hima. Salma no longer does her five prayers a day and yet she considers herself to be a Muslim given that she does not a boyfriend. Sadiq observes that: “You have even forgotten how to pray to Allah” he said what about you? Praying all the time and selling alcohol to in fedels. Business is business also” (Faqir, 2007,

125) he observes also that Salma has changed considerably in the sense that she seems more British semi-practicing Muslim woman. Sadiq says "Salma, Salma, you are becoming a memsahib. Soon you will be English also." (Faqir, 2007, 125)

Notwithstanding, one cannot claim that Salma preached from her Islamic identity given that she still believes that she is a Muslim and she does not dare to, for instance drink alcohol or eat pork. Salma's identity is multi-cultural; she is Salma, the Muslim Bedouin Arab as much as she is Sally, the English rose she becomes upon immigrating to England. Her ambivalence is clear when she says: "I begged myself to follow him, but Salma and Sally refused to budge" (251). This implies that she holds a hybrid identity which she personally acknowledges and articulates.

Conclusion

My Name is Salma remains of the ground breaking postcolonial novels that unmasks the realities of Arab women's oppression, marginalization and invisibility in both Arab countries and western host countries. In many ways, Faqir's novel is a response to the experiences of pain and sufferings of women in Jordan. It is ought to be read as a resistant literature as it unmasks the gendered power relation where decades of patriarchal exploitations and aggression are answered back through the character of Salma who rejects the culture on which the men's supremacy is founded. The novel tackles one of the most internationally controversial issue pertaining to the Arab culture namely honor crime that is deeply rooted in many Arab societies and it is intertwined with Jordanian collective patriarchal cultural beliefs and it constitutes a strong apparatus of patriarchal domination over Arab women. Dealing with such an issues, in fact, is a courageous gesture of liberation. On the other hand, the importance of Fadia Faqir's debut novel appears in its attempt to give some answers to a couple of significant ontological queries related to the racism, marginalization and bigotry faced by Arab women in Britain mainly after the terrorist's attack of the 11/9. Interestingly, this new state of being had prompted a new awareness of the subjectivities, ethnic, racial, religious and cultural identities of Arab that they reflect in their literary expressions. Faqir's novel is more oriented towards, answering back orientalist's prejudices, reconstructing and affirming hyphenated Arab British identity that combine distinct cultures, languages, and ethnicities. The novel translate a sense of disruption of the dichotomies of private/ public, oppressed/ liberated; self / other in view to challenge the popular understating that patriarchy is the only sit of oppressed. The novel is actually read a literary resistance text that aims at unthinking the dominant namely Orientalism and sexism.

References

1. Faqir, Fadia, (2007). *My Name is Salma*. Penguin Book: London

2. Aisha, G. (2009). Honour Killing and The Quest for Justice in Black and Minority Ethnic Communities in the UK.
3. Aneta, R. (2016). The Branding of Arab Muslims in U;S after 9/11: Religion as a New Dimension of Differentiation. United States.
4. Ashcroft, B. (1995). The Post Colonial Studies Reader. New York: Routledge .
5. Daoud, F. (2016). Honour Crime in Fadiq Faqir's My Name is Salma: A Feminist Perspective . Middle East Univesity : Middle East Univesity .
6. Lindsey, M. (2011, November 6). You Arrives at a truth , Not the Truth . (F. Faqir, Intervieweur)
7. Logge, D. (2000). Modern Criticism and Theory. New York: Routledge .
8. Miniawi, N. E. (2018, Aug Monday). ResearchGate net. Consulté le Aug 16, 2018, sur ResearchGate : https://www.researchgate.net/publication/313350785_The_Crisis_of_Identity_in_My_Name_is_Salma?enrichId=rgreq-ec820e878ad4af669f31616f528e2c82
9. Muhammad, A. S. (2017). Western Feminism or Return to Authentic Islam Jordanian Women in Faqir's Pillar of Salt. Arab World English Journal , 77-91.
10. Nawal, E. S. (1980). The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab World. London : Zed Books .
11. Rivers, P. (1995). Honour and Shame: The Value fo Mediterranean Sociaty. Honour and Social Status in J.G Pristiany , 44.
12. Yousef, A. (2011). Cartografies of Identity: Resistance, Diaspora nd Trans-cultural Dialogue in the Works of Arab British and Arab American Women Writers. Manchester: University of Manchester.

Imane Ismaili Alaoui

**Feminine Orientalism: Western Female Travelers Journeying across the
Land of the Moors**

(Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes)

During the early twentieth century, Morocco – the Maghreb or the Land of the Furthest West as some Western travel writers refer to it – constituted an important colonial trope in Western travelogues which were highly masculine, rendering female travel writing deficient from the scene. With this regard, this study analyses the prominent travel narrative *My Life Story* (1911) by Emily Keen, the Shareefa of Wazzan, whose work was borne out of her cultural involvement in Moorish culture as she was married to the Shereef of Wazzan and spent more than four decades amongst the Moors. Her travelogue documents the position of the Western female writer *vis-à-vis* the Moroccan native along with her observations regarding the atavistic and exotic Moorish culture, with tales of her convoluted cross-cultural encounters. Her position as an English writer affiliated to Western hegemony and as the wife of Sidi Al-Hadj Abd al-Salam, the Shareef of Wazzan who typified Moorish cultural elements, sustained her hegemonic position from a double perspective. Within this framework of power relations, Keene tends to reiterate an orientalist discourse which sketches Otherness in a structure compliant with imperialist interests. This rhetoric of differentiation was crucial in sustaining a stable image about the Western world, and travel writing has intensely consolidated this idea. Respectively, Keene discloses an ambivalent discourse in her fascination with Otherness which contrasts with her nationalistic and imperialist adherence. This symbolizes that the colonial rhetoric is weakened by conflicting discursive configurations from which native agency produces an alternative to imperial narratives.

Keywords: Travel writing; orientalism; discourse; ambivalence; agency.

Introduction

Early twentieth century Western travel literature highlighted Morocco, or as often dubbed the Land of the furthest West, as a significant Orientalist locus. It embodies the Orientalist legacy as it constitutes an immensely useful resource in terms of the imagining, re-imagining and representing of the place. First and foremost, the aim of this study is to closely scrutinize and challenge female Western travelogues, while engaging in the same endeavor of postcolonial studies which is “rewriting the history of Western imperial and colonial contact with other cultures” (Hulme, 2007, p. 2). This study argues that the colonial discourse established in female Western travel accounts about

Morocco is a discourse which, in its various processes of representing and screening this Oriental sphere, becomes rather disoriented and productive of novel spaces of native articulation and visibility.

Since most of Western travelogues about Morocco were recited from a male’s perspective – while its feminine counterpart was absent and largely marginalized from the genre –this leads the course of this paper towards devoting its analysis to Western female travel writers. Accordingly, one of the prominent travel narratives would be examined in this paper is *My Life Story* (1911) by Emily Keene, the Shareefa of Wazan, whose work was borne out of her cultural involvement in Moorish culture as she was married to the Shereef of Wazan and spent more than four decades amongst the Moors. Her account is also considered to be interdisciplinary as it combines anthropological, religious, cultural, historical, political, and societal concerns. Through the lines of her account, one comes across convoluted cross-cultural encounters of Keene *vis-à-vis* the Moroccan native, as well as meticulous observations regarding the atavistic and exotic Moorish culture. This paper attempts to assess the reactions resulted of her binary position, as an English writer and the wife of Sidi Al-HadjAbd al-Salam, the Shareef of Wazan who typified Moorish cultural elements. Therefore, it would be convenient to examine the cultural juncture emanated from her position as a representative of the imperialist project while also a Western traveler *going native* due to her abysmal involvement in Moorish lifestyle. Keene’s feminine in one way or another identifies with the masculine’s Orientalist rhetoric in sketching Otherness in a structure compliant with imperialist interests, but this rhetoric is presented to us in a mild sense from that of Western male travelers before her or pertaining to the same era. This rhetoric of alienating the native was crucial in sustaining a stable image about the Western world, and travel writing has intensely consolidated this idea. Respectively, Keene discloses an ambivalent discourse in her fascination with Otherness which contrasts with her nationalistic and imperialist adherence. Hence, this overlapping framework of power relations symbolizes that the colonial discourse is weakened by conflicting discursive configurations from which native agency produces an alternative to imperial narratives.

Defining the Genre of Travel Literature

Travel writing is a literary genre which, due to its interdisciplinary aspect, has become one of the popular and ubiquitous areas of study. It reflects a sense of re-imagining the world through the tradition of exploration and the interaction with other cultures, and it similarly constitutes a prolific source with its far-reaching archival records that traverse other important disciplines and issues.

More recently, however, the genre has been considered in terms of power relations as James Duncan in his book *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (1999) plainly states:

In the first place, drawing on the thematic of Raymond Williams and others, travel and its cultural practices have been located within larger formations in which the inscriptions of power and privilege are made clearly visible. We are thus beginning to understand much more about the cultures of natural history, for example, and the complex dialectic between scientific expeditions in the field and the circulation of their knowledges through metropolitan and colonial centres of calculation (p. 2).

Duncan asserts that scholars started to draw attention to travel writing as a literary genre which interrogates societal and cultural relations of power, and travel became hence a dialectical representation of cultural significations which are deeply informed by power formations; it is also a medium of translating scientific explorations by colonial and canonical means. As a matter of fact, Duncan makes an interesting observation as to the subtle evolution of travel writing with colonial history, in other words, how travel writing has been engaged in the scholarly critique of the imperialist enterprise. Notably, postcolonial studies have enticed much of the attention on travel writing due to its significant project of rethinking colonial history *vis-à-vis* other cultures (Hulme, 2007, p.6), and travel accounts envelop chronicles of cross-cultural encounters between the traveler and the native which rather suggest new modes of reading history.

Western travel narratives, with this regard, disclose the intersection of travel literature with Orientalism as a tradition of representation within the parameters of power relations, or as Edward Said (1978) conveniently puts it, as an ideology which “expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrine, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles”(p. 2). The genre has developed from being a tradition of exploration – encrypted in an objective style which reports and translates the Other as such – to a vehicle of imperialism which consolidates and legitimizes the imperialist structure and presence in the Other's terrain. Notably, Anglo-American travel accounts on Morocco establish an Orientalist discourse which echoes a paradoxical structure enlisting positive attributes to the West while projecting the Orient in subordinate terms. This is disclosed through the intersection of travel literature with other disciplines such as ethnography or anthropology, and through which certain travel writers legitimize their imperialist texts due to the proclaimed scientific objectivity of the aforementioned disciplines, along with the constant validation of the Orientalist tradition which is employed to both confirm Western dominance and suppress the Other's voice. Notably, this study particularly addresses the heterogeneity of Western travel

literature which reclaims a *History from within* and reclaims the Other’s agency beyond the borders of colonial discourse. Hence, this article aims at divulging a genealogy of native voices which constitute a form of anti-colonial resistance which is derived from the discursive inconsistencies which impair the authority of colonial discourse.

Western women’s Travel Writing between Post-Victorian Constraints and Imperialism: The Model of Emily Keene’s *My Life Story*.

Albeit the heterogeneity of travel literature in terms of academic and literary genres, it has largely been gendered and regarded as an exclusively masculine scope. Female travelers also were dynamic during the early twentieth century, and were equally involved in the writing process of the Orient –yet their accounts have gained little, if not any attention due to the constraints of the Victorian period viz; which resulted in a masculine British ideology exclusive of women’s productivity. Notably, Sara Mills (1991) argues that female travelers’ literary productions along with their position towards colonialism highly differed from male travelers, in the sense that they did not identify with colonialist rule as comfortably as males did which also served in the marginalization of their writings:

Women travel writers were unable to adopt the imperialist voice with the ease with which male writers did. The writing which they produced tended to be more tentative than male writing, less able to assert the ‘truths’ of British rule without qualification. Because of their oppressive socialization and marginal position in relation to imperialism, despite their generally privileged social position, women writers tended to concentrate on descriptions of people as individuals, rather than on statements about the race as a whole (p. 3).

As Mills asserts, Western female writings relating to their journeys within the Orient were downgraded and taken as *amateurish* as they were not insufficiently complicit with imperialism. This was chiefly on account of the foregoing social discrimination they witnessed, and which collapsed their imperialist attachment leading to a different version of Orientalism as depicted from a feminine perspective which this study attempts to uncover. In the same vein, it aims at rethinking Western travel history about the Orient which is generally transmitted in masculinist terms, by exploring the specific elements and aspects of women’s travel narratives along with the similarities which they share with men’s.

Emily Keene was a British national who came to Morocco in 1870, and before her marriage to the Shareef of Wazzan, she worked as a governess to the famous American millionaire, Ion Perdicaris and his wife Ellen. What urged her travel to Morocco is that she wished to escape from the exhausting Victorian way of life, or more specifically the “fin de siècle malaise” which prevailed

in the late nineteenth century. Keene was inclined towards seeking the arcane and exotic Moorish style by dwelling within alien places resembling of the Arabian Nights'tales. She took residence in Tangier where she met the Shareef of Wazzan who was so attracted to her manners and splendid beauty in that he made every attempt to wed her and their marriage lasted more than four decades. He was a leader of a sanctuary in Wazzan –a city which appropriated a sacred and spiritual signification and was forbidden for Christians in precolonial Morocco. In this sense, the word “Shareef”alludes to a person who is claimed to be a descent from the prophet, and who is therefore granted a sanctified value. Due to her marriage, Keene was automatically granted the title “Shareefa of Wazzan”and was already a parcel of the Moorish harem. This was the beginning of her 70 years'journey in Morocco which she documented later in England, after her husband's decease, and in which she squeezed her lengthy journey and tales of her personal observations of what she witnessed in her interactions with Moors.

Keene's feminine Orientalism's main feature resides in her Western gaze which she generates in her descriptions of the Shareef of Wazzan as stated in her quote below:

Who, then, was this man who has fascinated me? I used to meet him coming from town, or returning to the mountain, where I was staying with friends, and at length I learnt that it was the Grand Shareef of Wazzan, but that did not convey much to me. I made a closer acquaintance at some musical soirées, which he attended. I certainly thought I liked him, he was so different from the few other Moors I had met (p. 4).

The bewitching character of the Shareef of Wazzan captivated Keene's senses; even she sounds quite surprised at her sudden liking of a Moor, whose character has fascinated her more than his valued position amongst the Moors. As she continues with her description of the Moor who allured her, her Orientalist tone becomes contradictory in the sense that her categorizes Moorish subjectivities in a binary structure –as she distinguishes the Shareef of Wazzan from his Moorish peers. He is depicted in a partial kind of Orientalism which does not thoroughly iterate the repertoire inherent to the barbarian Orientalist ideology, which also resonates with Keene's authoritative supremacy which sort of constitutes a handicap to her involvement with Moors. This Orientalist categorization is used as a kind of justification of her uncanny infatuation with a Moor, which the Western Orientalist ideology strictly forbids. Such a representation reveals the contradictory style of the colonial discourse *vis-à-vis* the native; it is hardly a discourse of absolute authority and dominance, or where only a single voice speaks and represents which is that of the Western Self. The process of power reversal is embodied in the character of the Shareef of Wazzan

who is presented to the reader outside the boundaries of Orientalism, in a positive structure of desire and obsession.

In the same vein, the Shareef’s European dispositions undermine the Orientalist dogma which disseminates a fixed notion about the Orient as antagonistic to Western cultural elements. Keene showcases her husband’s strong interests in all that was Western to the extent that he divorced his Moorish wives and was determined to marry a Western woman. He was immensely open to the West and held liberal views despite his position as the leader of a very influential area in Morocco; he did not enforce his religious beliefs on his wife but he rather supported her and used to accompany her to do her prayers in the church. With this regard, she relates:

I attended a service at my parish church, St. Mary’s, Newington, to which the Shareef accompanied me, and went into the choir while at my devotions. He uncovered in the church, and did the same on visiting Westminster Abbey and St. Paul’s Cathedral. On the whole, the Shareef was glad to have seen London (p. 83).

Given the liberal nature of the Shareef of Wazzan whose position is of religious and spiritual importance, the colonial discourse is constantly destabilized. The Moor is exposed in a positive fashion and in refined attributes unlike what is generally dictated in the Orientalist logic. Keene’s feminine Orientalism, again, interrupts her Western colonial identification along with the Orientalist discourse established by most of male travel writers. This is largely on account of her uncommon marital life and her interaction within Oriental life for more than four decades. Yet her Western adherence was still maintained in some aspects like Christianity, her house which she later furnished in Western style, and travels to her homeland –the thing which urged her discourse at times to appear authoritative. However, the constant Moorish descriptions, particularly those of El HadjAbdesalam, the Shareef of Wazzan, articulate an alternative to colonial and Orientalist history from an English woman who has long been a part of the Moorish essence.

Conclusion

Women travel writing has long been excluded from the literary scene, yet this does not thoroughly make their writings bare from discursive ideologies pertaining to the imperialist enterprise. It can be said that their imperialist identification is not as sustained as that of male travel writers due to the double oppression they received from societal masculine conventions and weak ties to colonialism. Markedly, their literary productions have been considered in this study as an alternative to colonialism itself; their convergence and divergence from their colonial background provides a different version of Orientalism. Their feminine Orientalism rather suggests a different

venue from which to approach other Orientalist characteristics and discursive features that render the eloquence of the colonialist tone destabilized.

References:

1. Duncan, J., and Gregory D. (Eds). (1999). *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*. London: Routledge.
2. Edward, S. W. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
3. Hulme, P., and McDougall R. (2007). *Writing, Travel and Empire: In the Margins of Anthropology*. New York: I.B Tauris& Co Ltd.
4. Keene, E. (1912). *My Life Story by Emily Shareefa of Wazan*. In Levy B. S. (Ed) (Third Impression). London: Edward Arnold.
5. Mills, S. (1991). *Discourses of Difference: An analysis of women's travel writing and colonialism*. USA and Canada: Routledge.
7. Further Readings:
8. Benita. P. (2004). *Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique*. London: Routledge.
9. Lowe. L. (1994). *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
10. Pratt. M. L. (1992). *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge.
11. Spurr. D. (1993). *The Rhetoric of Empire*. Durham: Duke University Press.
12. Thompson C. (2011). *Travel Writing*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Yasmine Zerrouki

Gendered Spaces Revisited: Femininity Conquers Masculinity in

Casanegra and Number One

(Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdullah University, Fez)

Abstract:

This paper explores the representations of gender in cinema and it specifically focuses on the notion of space as a parcel element in determining and shaping gender roles. It departs from the premise that cinematic discourses are constructed within a set of ideologies, agendas, and codes. It endeavors to show how these discourses are interlaced in Moroccan films to produce new imageries and images about gender issues via a diasporic optic. Narrowing down the scale of discussion, this paper examines two top-grossing Moroccan films of the latest years; *Number One* (2008) by Zakia Tahiri and *Casanegra* (2008) by Noureddine Lakhmari. It is interesting to note that this category of diasporic filmmakers gives us a chance to probe the representations of gender in more depth, for their diasporic position spurs various dimensions and visions through which gender issues can be discussed and analyzed. Gender roles are being challenged to end up forming complex and imagined cinematic discourses on gender. Diasporic filmmakers, specifically, end up producing images of gender issues in a very intricate way. Deconstructing such complexities in Moroccan films adds interesting dimensions to the understanding of social constructs and ideologies within the Moroccan society.

Key words: Gender Representations, Gendered spaces, Moroccan films, diaspora.

Introduction

There is no doubt that media plays a crucial role in influencing people’s daily lives, views to themselves and to the world. Films, specifically, have a profound impact on how we see social, economic, cultural and political issues. Cinema, as a vital and strong visual medium that is embedded with codes and signs, affects our perception of other cultures and their people. Cultures are being easily exposed through cinematic representations and people’s interest to discover, learn and explore is at its height. This paper, thus, examines gender representations, and more specifically in relation to space in Moroccan films by Moroccan diasporic filmmakers.

Space is a salient component that allows a nuanced understanding of gender identities’ formation. It is one of the mandatory factors in the cinematic sphere. It shapes the story, orients the viewer and contextualizes the process of the characters’ development and of the plot as well. It is interesting to note that space differs from one film to another and it affects female and male characters differently. Those representations, however, have a vast impact on the viewer and they

convey so much about societies' structures. This paper endeavors to discuss all these elements for a better understanding of the relationship between gender, space, and cinema.

Place is not transparent and unproblematic as one might think of it. It is full of ambiguity, especially when it is metamorphosed to space. Meanings of space become negotiable and questionable in the process of developing, creating, and constructing implications. Yi-Fu Tuan argues that "the meaning of space often merges with that of place, 'space' is more abstract than 'place'. What becomes undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value." (Yi-Fu Tuan, 2003, p.6).

Accordingly, we assume that the terms 'space' and 'place' have different implications. Talking about 'place' in movies can only refer to a physical environment, which is not the case of 'space'. Space, in cinema, plays a crucial role in presenting and contextualizing the story of the movie since it refers to the dimensions of lived experiences and characters' interactions with places. More interestingly, space allows an understanding of gender and cultural identities through filming life practices within different places.

In *Writing Women and Space* (1994), Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose suggest that there are two gendered spaces in society: public and private. They argue that this division of space has a deep hand in determining the roles of both men and women. The private space represents all that is in connection with motherhood and childhood; thus, it is a woman's space. The public space is all that is in connection with politics, culture and economy, and it is a man's space (p.p 1-2). I argue that Moroccan filmmakers, as post-colonial subjects, are aware of the social changes taking place in their societies especially regarding the position of women, which consequently affect their vision while dealing with space in relation to gender. Space, in cinema, becomes a negotiable entity where 'old network voices' are challenged due to the emergence of filmmakers' 'new network' of consciousness.

Movies can go beyond these binary oppositions in patriarchal societies that construct some spaces as "feminine" and others as "masculine" and thus allocated certain kinds of gendered activities to certain *gendered* spaces. However, though these movies strive for challenging such discourses, they still perpetuate gendered views in one way or another. Zakia Tahiri's *Number One* (2008) and Noureddine Lakhmari's *Casanegra* (2008) show how the cinematic space can be highly male or female conquered; meanwhile, there is a challenge and a counter discourse to such conventions. This paper, hence, examines gender representations within cinematic spaces by both male and female diasporic filmmakers.

Spaces of Difference: Disciplining and Reordering Gender Spheres in *Casanegra*

Space in Lakhmari’s movie is portrayed as entirely masculine where male characters outnumber female ones. Interestingly, it takes more than ten minutes to see a female character on the screen. And when Nabila, the antique shop’s owner, appears on the screen she is silenced and is only stared at from a distance by Karim. Nouredine Lakhmari’s *Casanegra* (2008) revolves around two childhood friends-Adil who is 21 years old and Karim who is 22 years old, and they are both put in the margin of society while suffering from all kinds of social and economic problems. They face misery, injustice, unemployment, and violence. They, however, still hope to change their circumstances and help their poor families. Adil suffers from his violent stepfather who always beats his mother and this affects him so badly. He is very pessimist so that he is all the time thinking of leaving his native city which he always refers to as ‘Casanegra’; literally means ‘the black house’. Karim, however, is a bit optimist though his circumstances are not better than Adil’s. He has more responsibilities and duties since he is the only provider for his family. Much space is actually devoted to Adil and Karim in *Casanegra*. They are empowered and given an opportunity to express themselves and express their untold stories. We see Casablanca city through their eyes and hard circumstances, what probably makes it a black place. Interestingly, most of the scenes are shot in the dark, at night, a technique used by the director to reflect the characters’ interior anxieties.

Women, in the movie, are confined to the domestic sphere and rarely or even never shown outside it, such as the case of Karim’s mother and sister. They are doubly marginalized, because of their “gender” within a patriarchal structure and the “masculine” lens of Nouredine Lakhmari. As for Adil’s mother, the only few seconds we see her beyond the domestic sphere is when she is traveling and is escaping her abusive husband. Obviously, Adil’s mother has a job and works outside her home because we see her husband taking her money. Yet, she is most of the time filmed within the domestic sphere and frequently beaten by her husband. Karim’s mother and sister are also never shown outside home though we are informed that his sister goes to school since we see her working on her homework. Furthermore, *Shikha* and Nabila are confined to their workplace and their movements are very limited. *Shikha* in ‘*Ou Tout Va Bien*’ nightclub is never seen outside it. As for Nabila, the only few scenes that show her away from her shop is when in Karim’s company. Still, these two main characters remain very challenging to gendered spaces.

There are two striking characters in *Casanegra*: *Shikha*, a singer/ dancer woman, and Nabila, the antique-shop’s owner whom Karim loves. The belly dancing/ singing woman (*shikha*) works in *Ou Tout Va Bien* (Where everything is allowed) nightclub; an entirely male dominated space. Unlike other previously mentioned female characters, *shikha* is all the time filmed within a male’s

space. She shares male activities inside the nightclub; she smokes, drinks alcohol, and dresses up in Western clothing though *shikha* is usually thought of as being traditional. However, she defines herself in relation to Zrirek, the owner of the nightclub and her husband-to-be, and she is completely dependent on him.

Spaces in *Casanegra* are not just gendered; they are even dealt with and viewed differently by female and male characters. This can be illustrated from two striking similar scenes in the movie. In the first, at night, Karim and Adil are standing in a corner at the top of a very high building at the centre of Casablanca when both scream loudly 'Casa'. Afterwards, Adil comments that nothing seems to be "white" in this city, but overwhelmed with blackness. For him, it is rather "Casanegra" (figure 1).



Figure 1: Karim and Adil screaming "Casa" at the top of a high building (*Casanegra*)

Later on in the movie, another scene shows Karim with Nabila at the same high building corner (figure 2). During that short scene, the light is focused on Nabila while Karim remains in a dark spot.

Nabila takes off her jacket and climbs the building even higher, she screams 'Casablanca' with a very lurid voice (figure 3), trying to make herself heard in a space that is designed by Lakhmari only for men. Nabila is granted an advantage position resisting all the 'blackness' and patriarchal ideologies the filmmaker associated his cinematic space with. It is a counter-discourse to Adil's scene to show how spaces can be seen differently when they are not experienced in the same way and especially with having gender differences in mind. Another interesting aspect to this scene is the actual confidence that is exhibited by Nabila while she is at the top of the building. The camera angle from below gives a certain authority to the subject, Nabila. It grandifies her image and

grants her a position of power, whereas, in Adil’s scene the shot from below puts Karim and Adil in a state of denigration.



Figure 2: Nabila and Karim at the top of a high building (*Casanegra*)



Figure 3: Nabila screaming “Casablanca” on the top of the roof (*Casanegra*)

It is true that most of the movie events take place at night, but this does not mean that there is no single scene filmed during the day. Even when filming the street of “Casanegra” during the day, there is a total absence of women. The space is entirely male occupied either at night or on the day. In Lakhmari’s vision, the space of the city is hazardous and is full of unexpected events. This vision reminds us of an article by Tovi Fenster in which the writer discusses some reasons behind the divisions of space. She claims that “fear of use of public space, especially in the street, public

transportation and urban parks is what prevents women from fulfilling their right to the city" (Tovi Fenster, 2005, p. 242), and here, it is appropriate to suppose that it is the same fear Lakhmari has for not letting women intrude the space of "Casanegra" that is extremely male-controlled and that looks jam-packed with danger. He does rather endow a voice to a male marginalized category to speak and to be heard at the expense of many other categories, including women whose representations disturb the story of the movie.

Masculinity Reoriented in *Number One*: Re-imagined Gendered spaces

There is no doubt that gender representations are so much affected by who is behind the camera. Women are more underrepresented on-screen by male filmmakers than by female filmmakers. Films produced by female diasporic filmmakers highlight more on gender issues and give more space for women characters in their films. They revisit gender roles, challenge patriarchy and criticize the position of women within society. Diasporic male filmmakers, on the other hand, almost always give small if not to say unimportant roles to female characters such is the case of *Casanegra*. Still, they are presenting some intricate challenging discourses of gender representations influenced by their hybrid position that is made up of two different cultural components. This confirms what Hamid Naficy (2001) talks about when referring to some statistics of the number of Middle Eastern and North African diasporic filmmakers.

The majority of filmmakers were men, reflecting the dominance of patriarchy within the sending nations and the general pattern of migrations worldwide, which have favoured the emigration of men ahead of their families to establish a beachhead for chain migration. This gender imbalance also reflects the belief, common to Middle Eastern and North African societies, that cinema is not a socially acceptable, religiously sanctioned, and economically feasible enterprise for women. The patriarchal ideologies of the receiving countries, too, contributed to women's underrepresentation.

(2001, p. 18)

Space, in *Number One*, is also being reconstructed, loaded with new meanings and dimensions. Though it starts highlighting binary oppositions between men's and women's spaces, it later goes to restructure and reshape them. The beginning of the movie emphasizes the division of space in relation to men's and women's cultural and societal practices within a patriarchal system. Accordingly, Moghadam argues that in patriarchal societies the ideal woman's proper role is a

housewife and a mother, a position that for her is noneconomic and correctly played out in the privacy of the domestic sphere. She suggests that men appropriately take the position of the breadwinner and operate in the economic realm outside home. Consequently, this distinction maintains a divide between men and women and also leads to separation of private and public: home and business (2007, p.170). *Number One* highlights these gendered divisions through the depiction of a society that is led by patriarchal ideologies. Zakia Tahiri's *Number One* is about Soraya, a Moroccan woman in her thirties, married to Aziz who is the boss in a factory where there are only female workers. The film displays some contradictions between male and female lifestyles. Soraya is restricted to the domestic sphere most of the time, unlike her husband who is given the chance to venture into “free spaces.” She is a woman who is unsatisfied with the itineraries of her life, as she is humiliated and ill-treated by a husband who embodies patriarchal ideologies. This fact makes Soraya's image in his mind fragile, easily defeated and even totally controlled. When Soraya's feelings of oppression are intensified, she starts deeply thinking about a solution. She is fed up with all the frontiers that limit her movements and begins revolting against the kind of life she is leading; she revolts both against her position as an inferior and submissive woman and against her smallest world that the husband dominates.

Soraya holds the position of an educated housewife who lives within a limited space that is home. Therefore, she is completely dependent on her husband who holds the position of the provider of the family. Man's authority in the family as portrayed in the beginning of the movie, is legitimized by the notion that women are economically dependent, which affects their access to different spaces. As the story develops, gendered spaces are being revisited and rethought in the sense that the public sphere is no longer fully dominated by men. Soraya is allowed by her husband to have a full access to the public sphere freely. Aziz is also violating women's space and shown in the kitchen cooking and doing women's role. According to Zakia Tahiri, patriarchy is the major cause behind male's and female's space dichotomies. That is why the movie goes further to depict an imaginary view of a society that challenges and overthrows patriarchy.

Number One, as a film produced by a woman director, can be looked at as a real challenge to men's hegemonic stand in society as well as an attack on the whole patriarchal system where man is deemed as “number one” and where spaces are highly male-dominated. The movie, explicitly, is a mockery to men's power in the person of the protagonist Aziz Bidaoui. This latter, who considers himself as the most powerful and dominant, will undergo a radical change caused by a woman whom he always considers weak and inferior. However, the techniques the movie director employs are going to undermine and subvert this counter-discourse of the movie.

This image of man's monopoly and the representation of Aziz as the best example of a man who represents patriarchy in all its facets are to soon collapse in the movie. One day, after some women's gossip, Soraya decides to resort to sorcery hoping to change her husband. Soraya seeks the service of Chama, a female sorcerer, who gives her a potion to add to her husband's dinner. The change happens and Aziz becomes another person. He shifts to behave super kindly with his wife and addresses his female co-workers with so much sympathy. He is no longer the autocrat boss, neither at home nor at his workplace. Aziz becomes sympathetic towards everyone and starts to get closer to the female world. Thus, he is now able to feel their sufferings and understand their problems. More than this, he himself gets deeply involved in their private sphere, (figure 4) this time not as a dictator, (figure 5) but as an active participant. As a result, this radical change brings joyfulness and happiness to his wife Soraya and all his female co-workers.



Figure 4: Aziz at work in *Number One*



Figure 5: Aziz in the kitchen in *Number One*

Aziz is the only exclusive case in the movie of a man who undergoes radical transformations. Hence, he is looked at as a misfit in the Moroccan society. His male friends start to feel worried about him and his neighbours blame him badly. This leads Aziz to get worried and when he starts to think seriously about the new change he is going through, he decides to consult a psychoanalyst. Aziz's concern goes to the extent of explaining his new status as being homosexual.

There are two important points about *Number One* which demonstrates a real challenge to men's hegemonic position and an attack to the patriarchal system of the Moroccan society where man is the core of everything. First, it is a reaction to that prestigious position that is monopolized exclusively and solely by men. The message of the movie is clearly and explicitly expressed; if we, as men and women, share the same world, why don't we enjoy the same rights, experience the same lifestyle and have access to similar spaces. Second, that man, who embraces dictatorship whenever he goes and whose words are to be heard under whatever circumstances, at home and work, can be

controlled and transformed in a complete way from that woman whom he considers all the time as helpless and weak. Aziz has lost his authoritative role and the change has deeply affected him. He finally admits the presence of women as full human beings and he no longer denigrates them. When Aziz consults the doctor, he starts complaining about his inability to talk with any woman in the same authoritative old way.

Through the character of Aziz, Zakia Tahiri draws a new vision of men’s attitude towards women as individuals who should be equally treated as men. For the first time, Aziz views women as full beings and acknowledges their identities. Interestingly, he no longer calls the female workers by numbers but by their own names. In another scene, while talking with el-Iraqi, the manager and owner of the factory, Aziz defends the female employees’ rights stating that “they are also human.”(Bouchaala & Tahiri, 2008). In one significant scene when Aziz is driving back home, he looks around him and finds himself in a world that is full of women. He sees women playing the roles of men and men playing the roles of women. Women are sitting in coffee shops, smoking, reading newspapers, walking in the street; whereas, men beat carpets over balconies and do household tasks. This scene portrays how gender roles can be radically changed if gendered spaces are reversed.

One day when el-Iraqi shows up suddenly in the factory, he finds Aziz among the female employees behaving so kindly. The scene provokes el-Iraqi; so he feels very offended and disappointed. He fires Aziz as an expression of his dissatisfaction. His reaction is coming out of a feeling of danger from such transformation that symbolically threatens men’s patriarchal principles. For el-Iraqi, Aziz has broken the rules of his society and has to be punished. Iraqi states ironically: “Is this number one? You are zero”. (Bouchaala & Tahiri, 2008).

It is noteworthy that el-Iraqi is not the only person who attacks Aziz's new status, but almost all the men who notice the change. When Aziz is with his wife at the bank, the bank director feels flabbergasted from the gentle way Aziz deals with his wife especially that he comes to create a personal bank account for his non-working wife. In doing so, Soraya is no longer dependent on her husband which the male bank director considers as another violation of the patriarchal ideologies. His neighbours, as well, blame him for causing more trouble to them in the sense that he becomes the ideal man to the extent that all women ask their men to follow his steps.

It is significant to mention that, by providing such cinematic discourses, the filmmaker wants to highlight the idea that all men in this society share the same patriarchal views. However, the irony of the movie is that most of them are represented as wearing masks to hide their own realities. They all have to appear in front of other people with a certain picture so as to fit in a

society that celebrates patriarchy at its finest. In one particular scene, one of Aziz's friends confesses that he was married to a French woman and he used to clean, cook, and give his salary to his wife and he was very happy with her. When his family in Morocco knew about his life, they asked him to divorce her and come back to his country. Through this character, Zakia Tahiri wants to claim that society is responsible to a great extent for shaping individuals' patterns, as she also criticizes the contradictory beliefs they embrace.

Being aware of the changes he is going through, Aziz resists at the very beginning but after losing hope to get back to his old status, he starts to adapt to his new situation. In this respect, Aziz states:

I, unconsciously, have started to show sympathy to the female employees and I even call for their rights. At the end, I have lost my job. I have become another person. My behaviour towards my wife has changed. I have started to feel freer than ever before and happier. I have got closer to Soraya and I do not see her as I used to do.

(Bouchaala & Tahiri, 2008)

Significantly, Aziz's new behaviour is imposed on him. He himself, at the beginning, was not satisfied with his new life, and the proof is his act of searching for a solution that could put an end to his misery. He has consulted doctors and he, after that, has resorted to a *Fqih*. There is a set of contradictions in *Number One* that can be raised in one main question: If a feminist man cannot fit in the Moroccan society and is severely attacked by men, how can the movie serve as a call for men to dispense with the ideologies of patriarchy that celebrate divided spaces?

It is salient to stress that it is a woman who is behind the change Aziz undergoes. Aziz becomes unable to revert to his normal self. He cooks, he cleans, and he does the laundry. At the very beginning, he was unsatisfied and has resorted to many doors to reverse this new situation. Frightened by the changes in his personality, he seeks the advice of the *Fqih* who admits to be completely powerless in front of the force that has brought in that change in Aziz's behaviour. This act, in fact, can be interpreted as a very powerful feminist statement. That is to say, women's power can ultimately overrule even the most tyrannical man, and the form of this power is represented through a female sorcerer. By depicting Aziz's problem as unsolvable, Zakia Tahiri challenges men's hegemony, claiming explicitly and strongly that women are more powerful and their power cannot be defeated.

Women in *Number One* are bored and even sick of their situations. They know they can fight for their rights, and most importantly, they know that they do not really have to fight against men. Women know that, taking into account the movie, a positive change for women’s interests is possible on men’s side, following the example of Aziz someone who turns into a model which shows the path to a new way of thinking, to an open-eyes stage in which women are now aware enough to continue living that way. Making women completely aware of their conditions is just another technique used to empower the feminist discourse in this movie as Gerda Lerner states in her *The Creation of Patriarchy* (1986): “The coming into consciousness of women becomes the dialectical force moving them into action to change their conditions and to enter a new relationship to male dominated society.”(p.5)

Number One examines the patriarchal practices and ideologies and depicts them as real obstacles to the progress of society. Androcentrism is represented as a stigma that requires being removed so that society can progress and relations between men and women can work out well. To illustrate, Aziz's androcentric ideas are the main cause behind keeping Soraya at home and depriving her of leading the life she has always dreamed of. The movie clearly shows the mistreatment of women by men and their daily suffering from patriarchal beliefs. All female characters are represented as one homogeneous entity and as undifferentiated individuals. In this regard, Chris Barker states in his *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice* (2008) that: “[A] criticism of the concept of patriarchy is its treatment of the category of women as undifferentiated. That is all women are taken to share something fundamental in common in contrast to men.” (p.24). By the same token, it can be claimed that women in patriarchal societies are seen as almost the same. They are all looked at as inferior to men, and thus, consequently mistreated and underrepresented in cinema.

Sorcery, under the light of the movie, is the used weapon against the patriarchal structure of society. When Soraya starts to feel tired of her husband's behavior, she resorts to a sorceress as her last option so that change can take place. Indeed, Aziz has changed and the effect of sorcery works out very well, but, in fact, he has changed only when an extra power is manipulated. In this regard, it can be concluded that patriarchy is a mere characteristic of the Moroccan society that is very hard to change or exclude.

I argue that sorcery in the movie serves not to attack and eradicate patriarchy and to consequently challenge gendered spaces, but to also express the irrationality of women who are to be blamed for their way of thinking and the way they seek solutions for their own problems. Consequently, this act of resorting to sorcery presents women as weak, unwise and irrational

beings. Here once again, we have another confirmation of one of the stereotyped ideas in which women use their minds only to do evil things. That is to say, a woman's intellect is only used to befall others. When Aziz resorts to the *Fqih* to get rid of the impact of magic over him, the *Fqih* expresses his inability and incapability in front of Aziz's case. He could not help him mainly because it is a woman's work. In this respect, he states: "Women are very tough nowadays. The magic they practiced on you is scientifically well studied, and then, I get unable in front of its power now". (Bouchaala & Tahiri, 2008).

The act of resorting to sorcery, as a magic power, only shows that women can never transcend men's power. *Number One*, as a movie that attacks androcentrism and calls for change, itself confirms the impossibilities of change. To illustrate, by providing magic or the use of sorcery as a very effective solution to Soraya's problems, a woman who suffers from her husband's patriarchal ideologies, the movie itself excludes any other solutions and change unless an extra magical power is involved. Accordingly, if women want to achieve the same results as Soraya's, they have to follow the same stream - that is they must all seek the service of a sorceress. It is obviously impossible for all women to solve their problems in the suggested way, as it is impossible, then, for the Moroccan society to change.

Sorcery in the movie has two different implications. First, it could simply show the fortitude of those women to counter attack patriarchal repressions as well as their determination to assert their existence by acting and speaking out. The second implication can, actually, refer to the representation of the weaknesses and irrationality of women as relegated to a secondary position after men. When Soraya tells her friend about her husband's misbehaviour and mistreatment, her friend only suggests the help of a sorceress. They have not argued and discussed the problem and they have not even tried to look for any other logical and reasonable alternative. Sorcery is the first suggestion and only solution they have been able to come up with. Thus, this indicates that sorcery for women is simply just a mode of thinking.

In this regard, women, in the movie, are depicted as very emotional and illogical. Soraya feels very happy at the very beginning because she succeeds in changing her husband but later she starts to pity him and feel sorry for him and she also starts to feel guilty because of what she has done. Though she has got what she has been looking for, she could not get used to the updated way of life. This shows, to a great extent, a massive set of contradictions that indicate that patriarchy can be celebrated by both men and women. Soraya, then, finds-herself unable to enjoy the reality she always aspired for which ultimately leads her to confess the whole story to Aziz.

Conclusion

Diasporic filmmakers have problematized gender issues in their movies, for they negotiate two different views of gender representations driven by their hybrid life where entirely different cultures and ways of life intermingle. They, therefore, end up producing contradictory and imagined cinematic discourses. The representations of gendered spaces are complex by both male and female diasporic filmmakers, but they still have different visions which are mainly determined by their gender in the first place. I suggest that there is a solid link between gender representations on-screen and with who is behind and in front of the camera. This, hence, has a deep hand in shaping gendered spaces in films.

Lakhmari’s vision to space is very complex in the sense that he considers Casablanca’s space as extremely dangerous, thus, it should be highly male dominated. Man is still depicted as the most powerful sex despite all the attempts to subvert such discourses. Male filmmakers focus more on male characters who are assigned leading roles in their movies, while women characters are marginalized. Women, have unimportant roles in the movie, but they are still able to violate male’s space and subvert it from within. It is, however, a modest call for reordering gendered spaces and challenging patriarchal divisions where new visions and new networks of consciousness have to emerge. For male diasporic filmmakers, the main concern is to make movies proposing an outlet through which characters can find relief.

Diasporic women filmmakers, too, construct an imagined world in their movies where women set the rules of society and overthrow the patriarchal regime. There is no doubt that there are certain conditions that lie behind such representations, one of which is the cultural and societal interference/influence of Western principles and values on women diasporic filmmakers’ vision. *Number One* calls for redefining gender roles and the expectations of society. This is because in the end of the movie, we see Aziz rewarded by being nominated as ‘the man of the year’ by a leading Moroccan women’s magazine *Femmes du Maroc*. Still, one of the most problematic issues in the movie is the resort to sorcery in order to empower femininity. Gender spaces would not have been revisited until an extra power has been manipulated. It is the power of magic that definitely can never be a solution. Consequently, Aziz becomes and remains an ‘exception’ that represents gender in reverse. The movie, therefore, does not show so much hope in changing gender roles.

Gender roles have a deep impact on male and female cinematic spaces. They determine their performance, attitude, and ways of life. Cinema remains one of the most popular platforms through which gender roles can be discussed in a particular society. Both films’, *Number One* and *Casanegra*, narrative and aesthetic techniques counter attack those patriarchal ideologies, but to

only end up forming disruptive and complex discourses that do not serve the position of women in society.

Space, in cinema, ends up being a vision and a discourse that is highly constructed. It has a great influence on the development of the story and it affects characters so deeply. It limits their movements and launch new discourses to the viewers as Sandra Carter (2009) puts it, "films might be revolutionary, leading audiences toward new attitudes, perspectives and ideas" (p.8) In short, as it has been previously discussed, Moroccan diasporic filmmakers suggest that gender roles can be challenged through disciplining and reordering gendered spaces in cinema, yet, this leads to the construction of complex gender identities in a society that celebrates patriarchal ideologies.

Bibliography

1. Fiorenza, P. & Jawal, O. & Kettani, A. & Nadifi, A. & Nadifi, M. & Sbeti, D. (Producers), & Lakhmari, N. (Director). (2008). *Casanegra* [Motion picture]. Morocco: Sigma.
2. Bouchaala, A. & Tahiri, Z.(Producers), & Tahiri, Z. (Director). (2008). *Number One* [Motion picture].Morocco: Made in Morocco Films, SNRT & 2M (Soread).
3. Barker,C. (2008).*Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*.London: Sage Publications Ltd.
4. Blunt, A. & Rose, G. eds. (1994) *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*. New York: The Guilford Press.
5. Carter, S. (2009). *What Moroccan Cinema? A Historical and Critical Study, 1956-2006*. Polymouth: Lexington Books.
6. Fenster, T. (2005).“The Right to the Gendered City: Different Formations of Belonging in
7. Everyday Life”.*Journal of Gender Studies*, 217-231.
8. Lerner, Gerda. (1986). *The Creation of Patriarchy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
9. Moghadam, V. (2007). *From Patriarchy to Empowerment: Women's Participation Movement in the Middle East, North Africa, and South Africa*. New York: Syracuse University Press.
10. Naficy, H. (2001). *Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking*. New Jersey:
11. Princeton University Press.
12. Tuan, Y. (2003). *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press.

Manal Dao Sabbah

Islamic Feminist Methodologies of Reading the Sacred Text: Empowering and Apologetic Perspectives

(USMBA, Fes)

Abstract

Islamic Feminists gained access to the religious field through their independent reflections on the sacred text as a space which is well-dominated by men. Unsatisfied with the male-centered interpretations, Islamic feminists devised their own methodologies to subvert the tradition of “single Islam” and to contribute to the Islamic knowledge production from the female perspective. Their methodologies have been inspired by the wave of Muslim liberal thinking which fostered the rational line of Islam. However, while Islamic feminists succeeded in implementing subversive and empowering methodologies, they also resorted to apologetic ones when trying to force their gender-equality vision on the text. This topic will be studied through the works of Amina Wadud’s methodologies of re-reading the Qur’an in *Woman and Qur’an* and Fatima Mernissi’s methodologies of reconsidering the *hadith* in *The Veil and the Male Elite*. These works will be examined in light and in comparison with the methodologies of the Muslim modern liberal thinking.

Keywords: Islamic feminism, liberal thinking, contextualization, re-historicization, literalism, empowerment, apologies.

Introduction

The interesting academic works of Islamic feminists on Gender and Islam have been gaining tremendous attention in the last decades. These works attempted at re-reading the sacred texts, deconstructing previously developed interpretations that directly impacted gender relations and women and desacralizing some religious authorities whose endeavors remain human and, thus, subject to criticism. Islamic feminists, as this article will discuss, were influenced by the general wave of liberal intellectual thinking pioneered by a number of philosophers and thinkers of modern Islamic thought like Mohamed Abed al-Jabri, Mohamed Arkoun and Nassr Abu-Zayd who ventured into the religious field and suggested their own approaches and criticism. It is this liberal thinking which paved the way to Islamic feminists to explore Islamic references through the rational line. The liberal intellectual thinking rethinks the sacred based on “the demonstrative approach” which shows the rational line of Islam in contrast to other approaches like the literalist and the agnostic approach for being responsible for the blockage of interpretation and the decadence of the Islamic thought.

This article will examine the works of some Islamic feminists who were influenced by the liberal intellectual thinking and modern criticism and who developed different deconstructionist methodologies in order to gain legitimacy over the sacred texts and to deconstruct misogynistic discourses on women that are often attributed to Islam itself and not to the interpretations of the early religious authorities as they try to demonstrate. This article will discuss the ideas of the aforementioned liberal thinkers and how they fueled Islamic feminists' liberatory quests: the quest to liberate women from some of the well engraved misogynistic traditions and equally the quest to liberate the sacred texts from some "sacralised" human-made disparaging interpretations.

While holding this interesting discussion, this article aims at critically analyzing the methodologies used by Islamic feminists in defense for their quests and that are at times empowering and at times apologetic. This argument will be defended by studying the methodologies used by Amina Wadud in *Qur'an and Woman* and Fatima Mernissi in *The Veil and the Male Elite*. The reason why I chose these two works is that *Woman and Qur'an* deals with Qur'anic interpretations and *The Veil and the Male Elite* centers around *hadith* (Prophetic Traditions). Besides, they propose a multiplicity of subversive methodologies to reading the texts and a plurality of perspectives.

Amina Wadud's Re-reading of Qur'anic Verses

One of the methodologies Amina Wadud uses while re-considering some "misogynistic" Qur'anic verses is "the grammatical composition of the text". The early interpreters and the traditionalists mastered the needed linguistic tools to decode the Quranic messages, rules and principles. Capitalizing on the same tool which is language, Wadud decodes the seemingly ambiguous verses for one reason: to un-read the readings of some exegetes in order to validate her argument that women's position in the Muslim world is not Islamic.

Wadud uses concrete examples from Qur'an like the distinction between men and women's Creation. To deconstruct the idea that women were created inferior, she resorts to language to legitimize her interpretation. God says: "And *min* His ayat (is this:) that he created you (humankind) *min* a single *nafs*, and created *min* (that *nafs*) its *zawj*, and from these two He spread (through the earth) countless men and women" (4:1).⁴⁶ To refute the inferiority of women that started as early as the story of Creation, Wadud focuses on the word *min*, which is a controversial word here. *Min* in Arabic has two meanings: the first one is the English preposition "from" which means the extraction of a thing from other things; the second meaning implies something which is "of the

⁴⁶ Wadud,1999 , p.17

same nature as something else”.⁴⁷ Therefore, the word *min* changes radically the meaning of the verse.

Min as extraction, Wadud argues, “gives rise to the idea that the first created being (taken to be a male person) was complete, perfect and superior [whereas] the second created being (a woman) was not his equal, because she was taken out of the whole and therefore, derivative and less than it”.⁴⁸ Obviously enough, Wadud opts for the second meaning: “your mates are of the same type or kind as you are”.⁴⁹ While the conventional interpretation opts for the meaning of the extraction to consolidate women’s inferiority, looking at the verse from a female perspective refutes this inferiority by choosing the second meaning of equality.

While the grammatical composition of the text reveals that the word “*min*”, as small as it is, can lead to two radically different interpretations of the creation of males and females, the story of the Garden of Eden can also lead to the demystification, the (un-)learning and the (dis-)location of women’s position/perception through religious readings of the text that manifests in language. The sin of approaching the tree is attributed to Eve despite the clarity of the Qur’anic verse. In this sense, Wadud says: “It is noteworthy that [...] the Qur’an always uses the Arabic dual form to tell how Satan tempted both Adam and Eve and how they both disobeyed. In maintaining the dual form, the Qu’ran overcomes the negative Greco-Roman and Biblical-Judaic implications that woman was the cause of evil and damnation”.⁵⁰ Ironically, a blind eye was turned on the Quranic narration which could not be clearer. To make Eve guilty in spite of her and inspite of the divine intention, they made recourse to the biblical-Judaic narration while ignoring the book in which they believe.

In addition to “the grammatical composition of the text”, Wadud uses another methodology which is “contextualization”. She argues that Quranic rules have to be understood and discussed within the framework of seventh century Arabia. Wadud states that: “Quranic guidelines should lead the various communities towards progressive change within the context of universal Qur’anic guidance. To restrict future communities to the social shortcomings of any single community—even the original community of Islam—would be a severe limitation to that guidance”.⁵¹ To back her argument and give it more credibiliy, she refers to Fazlur Rahman who reckons that:

The Qur’an and the genesis of the Islamic community occurred in the light of history and against a social-historical background. The Qur’an is a response to that situation, and for the most

⁴⁷ Ibid, p.18

⁴⁸ Ibid, p.19

⁴⁹ Ibid, p.20

⁵⁰ Ibid, p.25

⁵¹ Ibid, p.81

part it consists of moral, religious, and social pronouncements that responded to specific problems confronted in concrete historical situations.⁵²

Indeed Fazlur Rahman's opinion promotes and encourages historicizing Quranic situations for a correct understanding of intents. It is within this logic that Wadud discusses and re-interprets a number of rules stipulated in the Quran. Among other issues, Wadud discusses the thorny issue of polygamy in Islam in light of its context. At the time of the revelation women depended financially on men. One of the common justifications/excuses given to polygamy is that a man who has financial means should cater for more than one wife. However, this justification is based on the assumption that women are economically in need of a man to provide for her. However, in the modern time "it is no longer accepted that only men can work, do work, or are the most productive workers [and] surely, polygamy is no simple solution to complex economic problems".⁵³ In the modern time, both men and women are impacted by unemployment and economic vulnerability, not only women. Thus this solution which used to be efficient back at a certain time and in a certain context is no more in function given the current context.

The second context of polygamy is protecting the orphans' wealth. Fearing that the male guardians mismanage the female orphans' wealth, the Quran suggested that they marry them and limited the number to four.⁵⁴ Here, rights are protected within the "legal structure of marriage". However, this context is almost always occulted when polygamy is discussed.

It is true that Wadud's endeavours to contextualize and historicize Qur'anic verses are to be celebrated; however, justifying polygamy by referring to the context of managing orphans' fortunes without addressing the shortcomings of this link is one of the apologetic sides of her methodology. Contextualizing a verse that is considered "misogynist" is normally done with the purpose of alleviating this misogyny. Nonetheless, in this case contextualization as methodology does not serve this reason as anyone might raise the following question: does marrying a female orphan prevent a man from mismanaging her wealth? If someone is immoral, he would mismanage the orphan's inheritance regardless of his relation to her. This assumes that as long as a woman is provided for by her husband no matter how, there is no problem if her wealth is not managed properly. If this methodology is not empowering in this specific example, it is, then, apologetic for it tries by all means to justify what is unjustifiable. However, resorting to the apologetic tone does not undermine Wadud's empowering methodologies in pluralizing the religious field and adding the female perspective to a domain that is well monopolized by males.

⁵²Ibid, p.69

⁵³Ibid, p.84

⁵⁴Hidayatullah, 2014, p.83

Indeed, when it comes to interpretations, perspectives do matter. Knowing “who” interprets the text is of fundamental importance. In addition to this, allowing for a multiplicity of perspectives to come forth with grounded interpretations pluralizes and democratizes the religious field and the circle of exegesis as it invites the readers to open up to other facets of the same issue. Also, the plurality of voices subverts what was long unquestioned like the early interpretations that are mistakenly taken to be divine, hence untouched.

Nassr Abu-Zayd encourages interpretational diversity as he believes that interpretations do only reflect the interpreters’ orientations and ideas. He states that:

[...]This insistence on the existence of a single Islam and the rejection of the plurality that actually exists lead to two results. The first is a single unchanging understanding of Islam, an understanding impervious to the influence of the movement of history and of the differences between societies [...]. the second result is that this unchanging understanding is possessed by a group of people _the theologians exclusively_ and that the members of this group are considered to be free of the arrogance and the natural bias of humans”⁵⁵

There is so much of the interpreter in the explanation he comes up with. Sometimes, interpretations might be so subjective that they do not enable readers to access objective knowledge about their religion. Also, one unique propagated view will lead to no comprehensive understanding. “Single Islam”, according to Abu-Zayd, can only result in the production of subjective knowledge. In line with this, Aisha Hidayatullah argues that “[...] just as the historical context of the Qur’an shapes its content, the historical environment of exegetes shapes interpretations of the Qur’an”; she adds that “Islamic tradition has effectively canonized readings of the Qur’an generated over a thousand years ago in the name of sacred history and historical precedent”.⁵⁶ Thus, un-reading and re-reading history is to be applied on Qur’anic verses and equally on the exegetes’ historical period and context which shaped their understanding and our understanding, too. Shedding light on the exegetes themselves enables readers to distinguish between divine knowledge and earthly contributions.

In relation to this, Barlas says that “over the course of time, Muslim interpretive communities have come to see their own *tafsir*, hence their own interpretive authority, as being on a par with revelation”.⁵⁷ While Barlas admits that not all traditional and early scholars contributed in

⁵⁵Kermani,2006, p .182

⁵⁶Hidayatullah, 2014, p. 79

⁵⁷Barlas, 2006, p.106

producing misogynist knowledge, she states that “the sexual ethos of the time in which they wrote (the Middle Ages) was, and they could not but be influenced by it to varying degrees”.⁵⁸

The third methodology Wadud adopts is reading the text as a “World View”. The Qur'an has to be read in relation to itself and as textual entity. Fragmenting the text along with its teachings, principles and laws leads to huge contradictions within the Qur'an. This is indeed reminiscent of the outstanding work of the liberal intellectual thinker Mohamed Abed al-Jabri *Binyat al 'Aql al 'Arabi* (The Structure of Arab Reason) in which he criticizes the literalist approach in interpreting the foundational texts. He criticizes this approach for separating the words from the meaning they convey. This separation, according to him, hinders the true understanding of any text as words and meaning have to be understood in relation to each other.⁵⁹ Al-Jabri believes that the literalist approach produce subjective understanding about Islam because it is subject to the authority and power of the Arabic language itself. It interprets the sacred scriptures in line with the linguistic features and the structures of Arabic.⁶⁰ For al-Jabri, one of the pitfalls of literalism is that it produces interpretations that do not represent all the believers bearing in mind that not all of them are Arabs or Arabic speakers. If the authority of the Arabic language decides for the meaning and impacts the interpretation, what about the believers who do not speak Arabic and who do not belong to the Arab world? Here al-Jabri raises the following questions:

Was the Quran revealed in Arabic to keep its content forever incarcerated within the Arab world? Or was it revealed, in contrast, in Arabic to trespass the world of ignorance (*al-jahiliyya*) in which they lived and open up on an enlightened one. (Translation mine) p.248

As al-Jabri advocates reading the Qur'an away from separations and in relation to each other, Wadud also advocates considering the Qur'an as a World View and as an entity. To do this, she, for instance, analyses the following verse

So good women are *qanitat*, guarding in secret that which Allah has guarded. As for those from whom you fear [*nushuz*], admonish them, banish them to beds apart, and scourge them. Then, if they obey you, seek not a way against them (4:34).

This verse, aiming at solving marital problems, is one of the thorniest and most debatable ones due to its apparent recommendation of “beating” the wife in return for her obedience. This suggestion comes as final measure if marital disorders continue. This last measure, the scourge, is an androcentric and misogynist one *par excellence*. Wadud tries to make up for this by saying that “even if the third solution is reached, the nature of ‘the scourge’ cannot be such as to create

⁵⁸Ibid, p.107

⁵⁹Al-Jabri, 1982, pp. 42 - 45

⁶⁰Ibid, pp. 241-248.

conjugal violence or a struggle between the couple because that is ‘unislamic’”. In addition to this justification, Wadud uses *Lisan al-Arab* and Lane’s Lexicon to argue that the word “*daraba*” in Arabic does not always allude to violence. If this verse is read, as al-Jabri suggests, from the view of reading the Qur’an as an entity or from the view of Wadud who read the text as a World view, then this verse represents only a minor voice.

However, While Wadud tries to apply her methodology on this verse by arguing that it has “no universal potential” and that violence “contradicts the essence of the Qur’an and the established practices of the prophet”, readers of this methodology feel that Wadud is trying by all means to exonerate the Qur’an from this suggestion no matter what. Here, the apologetic discourse of Wadud emerges once again because the androcentric nature of the verse was just made invisible. It is true that Wadud’s re-reading is done from the point of view of a believing woman, but this does not mean that being apologetic is the solution. Addressing frankly the “minor” androcentric language of the Qur’an does not harm one’s beliefs especially if this is compared to other universal fundamental Quranic rules preaching justice, tolerance and respect.

Fatima Mernissi and “Misogynistic” Transmissions of Hadith

While developing modern methodologies to re-read the Qu’ran, re-interpreting *Hadith* (the Prophetic Traditions) is also of vital need since it complements Qur’anic teachings and explains them in more details. *Hadith* is important in this discussion because it is also considered a divine revelation. Fatima Mernissi, in *The Veil and the Male Elite*, uses another methodology to refute many of the unquestioned Traditions through historicity, “the process of verification” and the background of the transmitters. These are key tools, for her, to assess whether or not the *hadith* is situational and also the authenticity and the veracity of *hadith*. These different methodologies used by Islamic feminists and Modern Muslim scholars attest to the plurality of voices in the religious field and brings more democracy to religious discourses. In what follows, we will analyse some Traditions that the transmitters are supposed to have heard from the prophet and that stem for a huge contradiction when compared to other Traditions and core messages of Islam.

Fatima Mernissi, as an intellectual, a feminist and a woman, questions a *hadith* that says: “Those who entrust their affairs to a woman will never know prosperity” especially that it does not rhyme with reality. A lot of countries entrust their affairs to women and they are more prosperous than some countries led by men. Why, then, does this *hadith* circulate so confidently among Muslims? Historicizing the *hadith*, as deemed by Mernissi, is a powerful tool to refute it.

The *hadith* at hand was said by the prophet in reference to a specific historical event: the assassination of Kisra, the Persian king, and his daughter's succession.⁶¹ Abu-Bakra, a Companion of the prophet, is the one who transmitted this hadith and who recalled it twenty five years after the death of the prophet to comment on what was happening during the battle of the camel and specifically to comment on 'Aisha's involvement in this battle. A civil war was provoked between 'Ali, who was a Caliph at that time, and 'Aisha, the prophet's beloved and wife because Ali did not condemn or punish the killers of 'Uthman, the previous Caliph.⁶²

Abu-Bakra was among the people against *fitna*(chaos) and this is why he declined Aisha's invitation to take part in the war. However, his justification was different as he refused to take part in the war because a woman was one of the parties.⁶³ But, why did he give this justification? And why did he recall this *hadith* in this specific occasion? Part of how Mernissi analyses the reasons that led Abu-Bakra to remember this *hadith* at that specific moment is that he, as she alludes to, was afraid of losing his position and fortune especially after the triumph of 'Ali over Aisha.

By claiming that Abu-Bakra used to remember *hadith* at opportune times, Mernissi addresses the dangerous issue of the political manipulation of religion which is not the least a modern phenomenon. In the period that follows the prophet's death, religion was used to legitimize a lot of political claims related to succession⁶⁴. In the same context, Raja Rhouni states that "far from being idyllic, this early period, she points out, is one of dissension, political rivalries, violence and assassinations, elitism, and marginalization, and manipulation of the prophet's tradition for political reasons"⁶⁵.

In his article "Rethinking Islam Today", Mohamed Arkoun Arkoun examines how politics shapes and reshapes Islam according to its own interests. For instance, he puts the blame on the Umayyad, the Abbassid and the Ottoman periods which periodized and politicized the history of thought and literature.⁶⁶ He affirms that one of the incentives of calling for rethinking what he describes as "the problem of religion" is that both "Christianity and Islam [...] became official ideologies used by a centralizing state which created written historiography and archives".⁶⁷ History becomes subservient to political interests, and sometimes greed, via the power to manipulate and re-write literature.

⁶¹ Mernissi, 1991, p 49

⁶² Ibid, p. 54

⁶³ Ibid, p.57

⁶⁴ Rhouni, 2010, p. 212

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 212

⁶⁶ Arkoun, 2003, p. 20

⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 21.

Like history, Orthodoxy serves the intentions of politics. Arkoun defines it as “the ideological use of religion by the competing groups in the same political space”. The problem of orthodoxy is that no “*ijtihad*” has been implemented to separate orthodoxy as a tool supporting the state and its values and ideologies, and orthodoxy as a religious tool to worship God. A separation between the two functions of orthodoxy, the ideological and the religious, is one way of rethinking Islam according to Arkoun.⁶⁸

Arkoun’s criticism fits the story of the *hadith* at hand as Abu-Bakra had to use religion in order to justify his political acts mixing two ideologies, the political and the religious, in a total absence of historicity as the *hadith* was excavated from its original historical context.

In addition to this empowering methodology of re-historicisation and contextualization, Mernissi adopts another methodology of verification: historicizing the background of the *hadith*’s transmitters. Mernissi inquires: “who is eligible to transmit *hadith*?” Mernissi discredits all the prophetic traditions transmitted by Abu-bakra because if we follow Imam Malik’s criteria of transmission and *isnad* (verification process), Abu-Bakra is not an eligible transmitter. For Imam Malik, knowledge “cannot be received from a *safih* [mentally deficient person] nor from someone who is in the grip of passion [...] nor from a liar who recounts anything at all to people” .⁶⁹ Mernissi affirms that “one of the biographies of [Abu-Bakra] tells us that he was convicted of and flogged for false testimony” by ‘Umar Ibn Khattab.

Fatima Mernissi does not follow this methodology only in relation to Abu-Bakra but also in relation to Abu-Hurayra, the transmitter of a number of misogynistic Traditions like “The dog, the ass and woman interrupt prayer if they pass in front of the believer, interposing themselves between him and the *qibla*”. As a comment on this hadith, Mernissi says: “by lumping her with two familiar animals the author of the Hadith inevitably makes her a being who belongs to the animal kingdom”.⁷⁰ If women, like men, are adherents to this religion, why does it hurt them and equally hurt the very essence of Islam?

This *hadith* was contested by ‘Aisha, the prophet’s beloved and the closest person to him. She reacted to Abu-Hurayra by saying: “You compare us now to asses and dogs. In the name of God, I have seen the prophet saying his prayers while I was there lying on bed between him and the *qibla* and in order not to disturb him I didn’t move”. The transmitter of the hadith is not supposed to have been present while ‘Aisha was in bed watching the prophet doing his prayers. The contestation of ‘Aisha alone would discredit the hadith as being false. However, despite this, the *hadith* is so much

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Mernissi, 1991, p.59

⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 70

influential to the extent that it successfully made its way into the al-Bukhari's *Sahih*. More than this, 'Aisha's objection is not included.⁷¹

In addition to contesting the hadith's veracity by including the opinion of another religious authority, Mernissi resorts to her methodology of researching the background of transmitters. Mernissi states that: "he [Abu-Hurayra] has been the source of an enormous amount of commentary in the religious literature. But he was and still is the object of controversy and there is far from being unanimity on him as a reliable source".⁷² on the one side 'Aisha contested him concerning some Traditions that he claimed he had heard - and in this vein she says "He is not a good listener, and when he is asked a question, he gives wrong answers" - and on the other side, he is contested by Umar Ibn al-Khattab who is quoted in the biography of al-Asqalani saying: "we have many things to say but we are afraid to say them, and that man there has no restraint".⁷³

Some critiques have written about the limitations of Fatima Mernissi's methodology of verification. Raja Rhouni, in her outstanding work on Fatima Mernissi's writings *Secular and Islamic Feminist Critiques in the Work of Fatima Mernissi*, analyses what she calls "the disabling moments" of Mernissi's methodology. Rhouni criticized her for espousing the authenticity logic. In other words, Mernissi's focal point in this book is to doubt the veracity of Misogynistic hadiths and the honesty and reliability of their transmitters. Tracing back the transmitters' background should not be an end in itself. In this line, Rhouni asks: "what if the hadiths are found to be authentic?"⁷⁴. Rhouni believes that Mernissi's methodology could have been more powerful, if it had criticized authentication as a methodology that characterizes al-Bukhari's and others' works in general, not only in relation to androcentric hadiths⁷⁵.

While Rhouni does not entirely discredit the authentication methodology, she argues that "the ultimate goal [...] is the dismantling of foundationalism and fixity altogether"⁷⁶. Authenticity should only be a means to reinforce historicity and contextualization. To support her argument, Rhouni refers to Nasr Abu Zaid who considers that patriarchy is manifest in the religious discourse because gender differentiation mattered culturally and socially to the first recipients of the revelation and thus it is reflected in the text because they needed to communicate a certain message to these recipients⁷⁷. This is, for Rhouni, a more "enabling" argument that is difficult to be proven

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid, p.78

⁷³ Ibid, pp. 78-79

⁷⁴ Rhouni, 2010, p.215

⁷⁷ Ibid, pp. 214- 215

invalid when interpreting other situations. Not addressing androcentrism in the religious texts and focusing, instead, only on the transmission of *hadith* makes her discourse apologetic.

While Mernissi’s methodology is cunningly important, there are more intriguing questions than dwelling on the lives and personalities of the transmitters. Why did misogynist *hadiths* that exclude women from public affairs and that insist on their inferiority, seclusion and domesticity gain more importance and influence than other *hadiths* that transmit more important and guiding messages? What is it that endorses their circulation after all these centuries?

Perhaps, the shift from secular writings to Islamic writings is, I believe, what led Mernissi to opt for *isnad*, authentication. The adoption of *isnad* as discussed by Imam Malik is all she needed to communicate her message with an Islamic, moderate and reconciliatory tone. Mernissi is aware of the double defiance of her endeavor, politically and religiously. Venturing into the theological domain and defying male clerical surveillance is a risky act. Perhaps, what alleviates this risk is her focus on *Isnad* and religious authorities like Imam Malik.

Though criticized for over insisting on the authentication methodology, *isnad*, Mernissi’s arguments decenter power relations. It is her now who asks the question: did certain transmitters meet the Islamic requirements of transmitting hadith? a question that is, often, used to attack Islamic feminists who venture into the texts: “are you eligible to read the Quran and hadith?” Without theologically re-reading the text, Mernissi empowers her arguments by re-reading, questioning, destabilizing and desacralizing the history of the early transmitters. That was one of Mernissi’s routes to the religious text. However, seeking legitimacy was done at the expense of fighting foundationalism.

A good example to cite in order to underpin Rhouni’s advocacy of going beyond foundationalism and fixity is Abed al-Jabri’s discussion and encouragement of taking the conduct of the Companions after the death of the prophet as an example worthy of emulation. While a number of Islamic feminists make recourse to the past to gain legitimacy and to disprove gender inequality in Islam, al-Jabri makes recourse to the conduct of the Companions not to dwell in the past but to move forward.

In his book, *Democracy, Human Rights and Law in Islamic Thought*, he states clearly that: “I am calling for the deferment of previous interpretive judgments and for resorting directly to ‘the conduct of the Companions’”.⁷⁸ Commenting of this conduct, he argues that

[...] what is needed now is to view these men as having established for themselves certain authoritative referents to address the new developments in their ages, on the one hand, and, on the

⁷⁸Al-Jabri, 2009, p.5

other, to regulate *ijtihad* and define its rules [...] If such means do not match the development of learning and knowledge, they become impediments which fossilize that knowledge, thus fostering imitation (*al-taqlid*) and killing the spirit of *Ijtihad*.⁷⁹

This quote encourages directly continuous interpretation which is the only solution to revive the Muslim heritage in compatibility with the ongoing changes. Acknowledging the idea that every era should be dealt with in accordance with its particularities can only attest to the idea that Islam is, indeed, prone to provide rational solutions. Thus, referring to the conduct of the prophet is a tool to gain the needed legacy to argue against the archaic *taqlid* and to foster *ijtihad* and independent thought which enable them to sometimes go beyond the text despite its clarity. Following the same quest of going beyond fixity, Arkoun argues that to make the unthinkable in Islam thinkable again, a new epistemological project should be developed to counter-balance the rigid definitions and methods imposed by theology and classical metaphysics.⁸⁰ Furthermore, instead of clinging to the literalist meaning of the words, he suggests a “tool for a new thinking” which is “*épistème*”, a word he prefers to keep in French. He argues that the latter is “a better criterion for the study of thought because it concerns the structure of the discourse – the implicit postulates which command the syntactic construction of the discourse”.⁸¹

Conclusion

Understanding the dynamics of Islamic feminism's deconstructionist methodologies should be understood within the general wave of liberal intellectual thinking which paved the way to the desacralization of *sharia*⁸² as a “human historical production of thought”.⁸³ I argue, here, that the methodologies used by Islamic feminists vacillate between being empowering and being apologetic to a historical period pregnant with androcentric practices that could not but affect the Islamic discourse on gender. The apologetic discourse emerges when Islamic feminist force their own interpretation, which is of course not free from subjectivity, on a certain text in order to exonerate it from its androcentric articulations.

However all the limitations that have been addressed in this article do in no way belittle the interesting works and endeavors of these Islamic feminists in participating in and contributing to the production of the female knowledge. Intruding in a field that is considered male *par excellence* and

⁷⁹ Ibid, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁰ Arkoun, 2003, p.21

⁸¹ Ibid, p. 20.

⁸² *Sharia*, as explained by Abu-Zayd, encompasses the Qur'an, the prophetic *hadith*, *ijmaa'* (consensus or unanimous agreement on a matter) and *qiyass* (syllogism: inferring rules based on already established ones). The last one is not agreed upon by all the religious schools.

⁸³ Abu-Zayd, 2006, p. 95.

contesting some of the deeply rooted traditions and practices along with some figures who have been considered sacred are enough reasons to appreciate these endeavors. These attempts at reinterpretations are a form of intellectual rebellion against the status-quo that has been prevailing for ages as divine laws. This intellectual rebellion proudly deconstructs the ivory tower of androcentric interpretations that tightly/narrowly believe in the divinity and the arrogance of the prism from which they see laws. These female re-readings are not but a reminder that this prism is not the only one reflecting reality; there are, instead, other prisms providing multiple possibilities to see reality.

References

1. Abu-Zayd, N, H. (2006). *Reformation of the Islamic Thought: A Critical Historical Analysis*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
2. Al-Jabri, M, A. (1986). *Binyatu al-‘Aql al Arabi*. Beirut : Center for Arab Unity Center.
3. Al-Jabri, M, A. (2008). *Democracy, Human Rights and Law in Islamic Thought*. New York: I.B Tauris.
4. Arkoun, M. (2003). Rethinking Islam today. *American Academy of Political and Social Science Journal*, 588, 18-39.
5. Barlas, A. (2004). *Modern Muslim Intellectuals and the Qur’an*. S.Taji-Faruki (Ed). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
6. Hidayatullah, A, A. (2014). *Feminist Edges of the Qur’an*. Oxford: Oxford University press.
7. Kermani, N. (2004). *Modern Muslim Intellectuals and the Qur’an*. S. Taji-Faruki (Ed). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
8. Mernissi, F. (1991). *The Veil and the male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women’s Rights in Islam*. New York: Addison-Wesley.
9. Rhouni, R. (2010). *Secular and Islamic Feminist Critiques in the Work of Fatima Mernissi*. Leiden: Brill publication.
10. Wadud, A. (1991). *Qur’an and Woman: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Woman’s Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

GENDER AND RELIGION

Yurii Hurtovyi

Gender stereotypes and roles in traditional religions

*(Volodymyr Vynnychenko Central Ukrainian State Pedagogical University,
Ukraine)*

Abstract: The study of the influence of religious beliefs on stereotyped attitudes towards gender roles has great practical significance in the regulation of direct interaction between representatives of various religious beliefs, as well as for the establishment of a peaceful relationship between the sexes, built on the principles of harmoniously coexisting social groups that unite people of different religious beliefs.

Keywords: gender stereotypes and roles, religious traditions, gender studies.

Introduction

Religion has played a significant role in world social development. The most important function of religion, inherent only to it, is satisfaction of mystical need (secret spiritual forces), the putting in order of the feelings and thoughts of man. Religion creates and justifies moral law, the norms of behavior in all, and unites people of one confession, gives them certain worldviews guidelines. Religion gives the believers a relief in suffering, show the way out of difficult situations that seem hopeless. The significant influence of world and national religions on the reproduction of the spiritual sphere of mankind remains today

Religion remains important in the modern world, despite the processes of secularization. Traditional religions of different countries played an important role in the formation of gender stereotypes. There is a need to analyze those phenomena that are one of the essential types of motivation for people's religious behavior.

In order to understand the nature of gender stereotypes, it must be understood that such stereotypes have not one but many different sources. According to the research, gender stereotypes are formed under the influence of socio-cultural characteristics of members of a certain gender, the characteristics of their education and, to a large extent, under the influence of religious beliefs.

Gender stereotypes suggest that people have different ideas about the behavior and personality characteristics of men and women. Men and women can have a set of both qualities, and stereotypes simply state that some of these qualities are more characteristic for men, others are for women. Naturally, that religious people are more likely to support stereotyped attitudes toward gender roles. An example is the differences in the gender roles of representatives of various religions. Thus, a number of leading religions of the world (Islam, Judaism and Christianity) teach

that women are subordinate to men. In ultra-orthodox Judaism, women who neglect to do housework can be divorced without their consent, depriving them of all the rights to children. Hasids do not allow women to wear shawls intended for religious ceremonies, and even touch the Torah. The Shariah obligates the Muslim to strictly perform rituals and prescribes the rules of religious life, the application of which is not always adapted to practical life. In the Qur'an, a woman and a man equalize, but inequality and injustice towards women, recognition of women's right to work, education, divorce, etc. remain relevant issues in the Islamic world.

Traditional quotes from Bible about gender roles

For millennia, the status of a woman assumes submission to a man. So, for example, from of the biblical story of the creation of a wife, authoritative Christian theologians, Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, concluded about the lower position of the woman - the second appeared, she supposedly is secondary to the man:

- in the creation story, God first made Adam and then Eve as his helper. *Genesis 2:18* says, "The Lord God said, 'It is not good for the man to be alone. I will make a helper suitable for him.'"
- in *1 Timothy 2*, Paul used the creation order as evidence for men being the leaders/teachers in the church and not women. Look at what he said in *1 Timothy 2:12-13*: "I do not permit a woman to teach or to have authority over a man; she must be silent. For Adam was formed first, then Eve."
- *Titus 2:1-5* "Teach the older men to have self-control, to be serious, and to be wise. They must be strong in faith, in love, and in patience.³ Also, teach the older women not go around saying bad things about others or be in the habit of drinking too much. They should teach what is good.⁴ By doing this they will teach the younger women to love their husbands and children.⁵ They will teach them to be wise and pure, to take care of their homes, to be kind, and to be willing to serve their husbands.»

Regarding the distribution of duties in the house, the Bible tells husbands to provide for their families. This means that her husband should work and earn enough money to satisfy all needs of his wife and children.

- Evasion from this has certain spiritual consequences. "And he who does not care for his family, and first of all for the household, he denied the faith and became worse than the unbeliever" (*1 Timothy 5: 8*).
- Paul teaches that the husband's love should mirror Christ's love for the church. In *Ephesians 5:25-28*, he says: Husbands, love your wives, just as Christ loved the church and gave himself up for ...In this same way, husbands ought to love their wives as their own bodies. He who loves his wife loves himself.

Alternative quotes from Bible about gender roles

But the evolving process of society secularization promotes the emergence of tension between those who believe in Tradition and defend Tradition (orthodox), those who try to reform religious institutions within the institutions themselves (reformers) and those who seek to change the very essence of religion (revolutionaries). And they can find other quotes from Bible:

All differences and contradictions disappear in God

Galatians 3:28 There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is no male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus.

- Before God all are equal.

Corinthians 11:12 For as woman was made from man, so man is now born of woman. And all things are from God.

- The husband joins the wife, and not the wife to the husband

Ephesians 5 :The Scriptures say, “That is why a man will leave his father and mother and join his wife, and the two people will become one.”^[a] ...³³ But each one of you must love his wife as he loves himself. And a wife must respect her husband

- Mark 16:9 For the first time the Risen Jesus appears to woman Mary Magdalene.

Now when he rose early on the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, from whom he had cast out seven demons.

- In patriarchal Israel there was a period when the nation was ruled by a woman.

Judges 4:4 Now Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of Lappidoth, was judging Israel at that time.

- Jesus praises a woman for the fact that she left the household and listening to the word of the Lord.

Luke 10:38-42 Martha and Mary.

Now as they went on their way, Jesus^[a] entered a village. And a woman named Martha welcomed him into her house.³⁹ And she had a sister called Mary, who sat at the Lord's feet and listened to his teaching.⁴⁰ But Martha was distracted with much serving. And she went up to him and said, “Lord, do you not care that my sister has left me to serve alone? Tell her then to help me.”⁴¹ But the Lord answered her, “Martha, Martha, you are anxious and troubled about many things,⁴² but one thing is necessary.^[b] Mary has chosen the good portion, which will not be taken away from her.

Dependence of gender stereotypes on the cultural background

We must admit that the description of research results will largely depend on which cultural ground the researcher belongs to. From a feminist point of view, the Islamic world articulates its attitude towards the woman most categorically, invading family and marriage relations and describing gender roles. Strange for a feminist view is the idea of feminine fidelity, in which one can not doubt only if the woman is isolated from men. On other hand for the Muslim and Christians, the sacred books are a source of ideas about gender equality, about marriage and divorce, inheritance of property, family and the continuation of the family.

For the Muslim woman the Koran remains a sacred text, and she can not oppose polygamy, for example. The position of a Muslim woman in the communities of North America, Germany and

other industrial countries is different from that of her sisters in Afghanistan, Indonesia or Iran. Most Muslim women do not criticize sacred texts, but look for new ways to read them. Similar processes occur in the Christian world. Believers people read the Sacred Texts and find new interpretations. They separate cultural and historical features from really important religious and moral principles.

Globalization, the growth of technology and the Internet frees women from traditional gender roles. Now a new generation is growing up, for which traditional gender stereotypes are not convincing. Despite the fact that religion is very conservative, in all traditions there are liberal movements and liberal theologians, who are rethinking stereotypes and prejudices.

Conclusions

Gender stereotypes are quite stable, but historically variable sociocultural images. The most stable are the ideas about the basic characteristics of men and women supported by the institutions of religion.

Despite the fact that religious people readily follow traditional gender stereotypes, nevertheless there is an influence of modernizations that have occurred in modern society, orientation towards egalitarian gender principles.

So, after analyzing the gender stereotypes of traditional religions, we can conclude that, on the one hand, most religious women accept their position as the destination of the will from above. On the other hand, gender stereotypes of masculinity - femininity have changed.

References :

1. «Гендерная» теория - это шаг назад и следствие фрустрации. Общая аудиенция// Радио Ватикана. 15.04.2015
http://ru.radiovaticana.va/news/2015/04/15/папа_«гендерная»_теория_–_это_шаг_назад/1137060.
2. Основы социальной концепции Русской Православной Церкви // Официальный сайт Московского Патриархата. 2005. URL: <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/141422>.
3. Christian Post. Transgender Resolution Passes at Southern Baptist Convention With Little Protest // <https://www.christianpost.com/news/southern-baptists-pass-transgender-resolution-disavow-efforts-to-alter-bodily-identity-121350/>
- 4.

Abdelmjid Kettioui

Islam’s Blonde Conquests on the Barbary Coast: The Geopolitical, Spiritual and Sexual Stakes of Female Captivity in Elizabeth Marsh’s *The Female Captive* (1769)

(Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes)

Abstract

This chapter alights at the geopolitical, spiritual and sexual stakes that attend and haunt Elizabeth Marsh’s *The Female Captive* (1769). Intercepted in the context of a diplomatic impasse between Morocco and Britain in 1756, Marsh turns down a royal proposal of marriage after incessant intrigues of Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah’s female renegades. The then future Sultan frees the reluctant Marsh as Britain sent envoys to re-establish peace with Morocco. While she cannot take Islam or lead a harem life, Marsh is fascinated by the prince’s elegance and luxurious palace life. Framing female captives as Islam’s blonde conquests, I examine how Marsh enacts and negotiates what Anthony Ashley Cooper calls “Moorish Fancy” and what Michel Foucault dubs “the image of the imperial prude.” Beyond clichés of Muslim sexual prurience and forced conversions, this chapter argues, the Self is forged in the interstices of personal ambition and imperial pursuit, sameness and difference, desire and sense of belonging, fact and fiction.

Keywords: Barbary captivity, blonde conquest, Elizabeth Marsh, female captives, geopolitics, sexual, spiritual.

Introduction

Elizabeth Marsh’s story of captivity triggered scholarly attention across the cultural divide. When, in 2007, a female marine and her 14 Royal Navy shipmates were intercepted and detained for one week by the Revolutionary Coast Guards, British historian and empire apologist Niall Ferguson blamed the British government for allowing its sailors to be “temporarily enslaved by the Iranian government.”⁸⁴ He assumes, as Khalid Bekkaoui points out, that “The Faye Turney of 1756 was Elizabeth Marsh,”⁸⁵ and demands that the Moroccan king apologize for the captivity of Marsh. As such, Ferguson praises Linda Colley’s *Captives* (2002) for highlighting the plight of white women captives in North Africa. Meanwhile, Elizabeth Marsh’s *The Female Captive* (1769) saw print again in 2003 in the press of a North African university that ironically bears the name of Elizabeth Marsh’s royal captor and emancipator, Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah. Moroccan scholar

⁸⁴Niall Ferguson, “Captives Again.” *National Post*, April 3, 2007.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*

Khalid Bekkaoui republished the manuscript with an introduction and notes, sketching the nuances and subtleties of Marsh's text and reconciling it with the site of its inception. *White Women Captives in North Africa* (2010) privileges a gendered perspective to a hitherto predominantly masculinized genre.⁸⁶ In 2007, Colley wrote a biography of Marsh, celebrating her countrywoman's resilience, resourcefulness and enterprising character. While *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh: How a Woman Crossed Seas and Empires to Become Part of World History* highlights Marsh's suffering, it masks her identity as an imperial subject. This chapter examines Marsh's negotiation of gender dynamics within a volatile and intricate transnational context of opportunity and danger.

1. Doing Geopolitics in the Maghreb's Past-colonial Sea: Sovereignty, Captivity and Diplomacy

The interception of Marsh's vessel, the *Ann*, in 1756 comes in the context of the Moroccan sovereign's sanction to his corsairs to capture British vessels on account of their illegal activities in Moroccan waters. Leaving the newly French-occupied Island of Minorca, twenty-year-old Marsh (1735-1785) set sail from Gibraltar to England on 28 July 1756 to reunite with her fiancé. The *Ann* merchantman surrendered to Salé corsairs, being "unhappily deserted" by the man-of-war responsible for its safe voyage. Marsh is taken to Marrakech to meet Moroccan crown prince and acting monarch Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah. In Marrakech, the prince solicits her to marry him and share a harem life. The unyielding Marsh is tricked by one of the renegade concubines into repeating the Arabic formula of conversion, thus nominally becoming Muslim. The prince finds it a fit opportunity to compel the blonde captive to betroth him or else face death, "namely, Burning", in principle the lot that awaited apostates. The steadfast Briton is allowed to sail home without ransom as soon as England had sent envoys to negotiate for peace with Morocco.

The work of Marsh's father as a shipwright in formerly British-held Minorca and elsewhere indirectly enmeshed Marsh in Britain's colonial and imperial traffic and aggression across continents.⁸⁷ Elizabeth Marsh was taken captive as Moroccan corsairs made prizes of English vessels in retaliation for their breach of Moroccan waters. Although the mid-eighteenth century was characterized by the rise of the British empire and the decline of the power of Arabic and Ottoman Islam,⁸⁸ corsair activity still worked havoc with European vessels trespassing into Maghrebi

⁸⁶Published in Europe, the first four accounts in Bekkaoui's anthology recounted real experiences of captivity. The second cluster appeared in America and are literary accounts of female captivity. See his *WhiteWomen Captives in North Africa*, p. xvii.

⁸⁷ On Marsh's extended family's service in the Royal Navy and direct involvement in empire building, see Colley, *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh*, p. xxii.

⁸⁸ Colley, *Captives*, p. 130.

littorals. Marsh intimates that her capture was motivated especially by a grave diplomatic misconduct on the part of Britain’s envoy to Sidi Mohammed. The prince, so relates Marsh, informed us, that the Reason of our being taken *was* on Account of Captain *Hyde Parker’s insolent Behaviour*, as he was pleased to term it, having treated him in a very disrespectful and rude Manner, when Ambassador from the Court of *Great Britain*: – He assured us, however, that we were not Slaves, but that he should detain us until the Arrival of a Consul.⁸⁹

Marsh frames her capture within these circumstances of non-peace between Morocco and England. Towards the end of her account, Marsh makes reference to an epistle the emperor of Morocco dispatched to the king of England. Marsh reports that

If in that time peace was not ratified by the Court of England, he (the emperor of Morocco) should esteem it as a Declaration of War, and order his Cruisers to make Reprisals, and stop the Communication between the Garrison of Gibraltar and his Dominions, ending his letter with Complaints against the English, for furnishing his rebellious Subjects with Arms and Ammunition.⁹⁰

Sidi Mohammed releases Marsh and her consorts when a British envoy was sent from King George II to Marrakech to sue for their release and establish peace with Morocco. Marsh is implicated against her better judgement in the spiritual and sexual allegories of captivity, penetration, conversion, resistance and conquest. The sexual and theological strongly feature in Marsh’s account. *The Female Captive* is about how geopolitics and diplomacy are enacted by a strategic geopolity that lied heretofore outside British colonialism. Marsh’s account projects how England’s transgression of Moroccan waters is assimilated within economies of captivity, acculturation and conversion. In Elizabeth Marsh’s captivity narrative, England’s trespass of Moroccan waters is met with acute spiritual and sexual re-appropriation. That is, Marsh’s story shows how the white female body and, through it, the nation it represents come under the sway of brown corporeality.

2. The Desdemona Precedent: From “Blackamoors” to Black Lovers

Queen Elizabeth issued two edicts in which she ordered the banishment of all the “Blackamoors” from her dominions. In 1596, she exhorted the Lord Mayor of London to deport England’s black foreigners for “there are of late divers blackmoores brought into this realme, of

⁸⁹ Marsh, *The Female Captive*, p. 77.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

which kind of people there are already here too manie".⁹¹ In 1601, the queen reiterated her grievance against the "Blackamoor" threat. Queen Elizabeth was ill at ease by the "great number of Negars and Blackamoors which... are crept into this realm".⁹² Such discriminatory gush notwithstanding, the figure of the Moor continued to grip the imagination of British playwrights well into the eighteenth century. "As to Books", writes the earl, "the same *Moorish* Fancy, in its plain and literal sense, prevails strongly at this present time".⁹³ *Moors* on Elizabethan drama were maligned as blackamoors where blackness was constituted as a form of disability in white culture, an instance of pitiful and disdainful vulgarity and a deviation from nature, sense and white norms. In seminal dramatic performances such as Shakespeare's *Othello*, the racial legacy that surrounds the Moor on English stage was countervailed by subversively endearing portraits of black Africans on English stage. Blackness was transformed from handicap to gift and the Moor grew from a reviled outsider into a desired community member. *Othello* documents the oscillation of the *Moor* between "blackamoor" and lover.

With recurrent instances of female defection to the *Moorish* fold, Englishmen expressed fear for their maids incarcerated in Islam. With what I call the "Desdemona precedent" in the English literary and lived collective memory, English fathers and husbands should find the advice of Brabantio to "trust not your daughter's minds" imperative. Almost a century after Brabantio's soliloquy, Anthony Ashley Cooper, the third Earl of Shaftsbury, still observes British women's sustained infatuation with Muslim masculinity. In his *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times* (1711),⁹⁴ Cooper, as Khalid Bekkaoui has indicated, remarks that eighteenth-century British females are willing to desert relatives and nation for the sake of a *Moorish* paramour after Desdemona. These voluntary defectors are keen to "change their natural Inclination for fair, candid, and courteous Knights, into a Passion for a mysterious Race of black Enchanters: such as of old were said to *creep into Houses, and lead captive silly Women*".⁹⁵

Eloquent and charismatic *Moorish* story tellers can easily "corrupt" the affections of many a British damsel:

⁹¹ Queen Elizabeth quoted in Emily C. Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor: From "Alcazar" to "Othello"*, p. 100.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Cooper, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times*, p. 214.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

A thousand Desdemonas are then ready to present themselves, and wou’d frankly resign Fathers, Relations, Countrymen, and Country it-self, to follow the fortunes of a *Hero* of the black Tribe.⁹⁶

Desdemona’s seminal act of paternal disobedience laid the ground for English womankind to defend their black lovers in the face of patriarchal authority. For Ania Loomba, as Bekkaoui points out, “what is especially threatening for white patriarchy is the possibility of the complicity of white women; their desire for black lovers is feared, forbidden, but always eminent”.⁹⁷

3. Herstory of Sexuality: Beyond the “Imperial Prude” and “Moorish Fancy”

The third Earl of Shaftsbury identifies English women’s desire for Muslim men as expressive of a sustained “Moorish Fancy”. Drawing on the earl’s thesis, Khalid Bekkaoui establishes ample evidence to substantiate this claim in his wide-ranging survey of instances of white women’s infatuation with the *Moors* in eighteenth-century English literature.⁹⁸ In another respect, the female captivity fiction is informed by what Foucault calls in his *History of Sexuality* “the image of the imperial prude”. In the captivity narratives of Miss de Bourk, Elizabeth Marsh, Maria ter Meetelen among others, female captives are in the first place desired by Muslim men. Their assumed aversion or fancy for North Africans is a response to a number of push and pull factors within differing conditions of captivity and prospects of social advancements. It is Muslim men, women and even their renegade associates who contrive every means to lure their captured maids into Oriental nuptials. In this sense, these female captives are subjected to an altogether subverting order of desiring and hence feature as “Islam’s blonde conquests”. The racial and cultural superiority of the empire’s domestic subjects is extremely undermined in Muslim captivity.

In his *The History of Sexuality*, Michel Foucault argues against a “repressive hypothesis”,⁹⁹ a theretofore misconceived take on a rather conspicuously articulated European sexuality since the seventeenth century. The emblem of this assumed European sexual repression is what he parenthetically alludes to as “the image of the imperial prude”.¹⁰⁰ Since the seventeenth century, Foucault warns us, Europeans broke unashamed into discourses of sexuality to the extent that “around and apropos of sex, one sees a veritable discursive explosion”.¹⁰¹ Foucault’s critique, however, misses out on the Oriental economy of desire that attended and haunted the constitution of

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Bekkaoui, “White Women and Moorish Fancy”, p. 159.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, p. 10.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

an otherwise clearly demarcated European history of sexuality. Europeans, Turks and *Moors* of early modernity moved and networked in the fluidities of navigation, commerce, piracy, diplomacy, conversion, sex and desire. Their sexualities were redefined and articulated at the interstices of the multifaceted exchange between Islam and Christendom.

Cooper recognizes Oriental agency in reshaping English women's tastes and affections, thus, placing *The Arabian Nights*, an Oriental text-event, at the forefront of the development and redefinition of female European sexuality. The *Barbary* captivity story was mobilized by European authors to extend the limits of literary convention by drawing on a hitherto forbidden erotic material. As such, Euro-American writers exploited

Barbary as an excuse to explore sexual fantasies that their own social conventions may have prevented them from openly addressing.¹⁰²

The Oriental harem, in the words of Emily Apter, featured as Europe's "cultural supplement" while it was deemed insignificant that the image of the harem seldom corresponded with the phantasmal reveries of western men.¹⁰³ Within this general framework, Marsh had to fine-tune her original manuscript to fit within the dominant literary standards of the female captivity genre to appeal to a market in search of romantic captivity plots in Oriental settings.¹⁰⁴ In defense of her virtue, Marsh plays prude and steadfast. Fearless, she prefers to be a martyr to a sex slave. Marsh replies that it was impossible for me to change my Sentiments in religious Matters; and that Consideration was intirely unnecessary to me, who was peremptorily determined to remain a Christian.¹⁰⁵

Marsh was echoing what turned into an eighteenth-century women's refrain against molesters.¹⁰⁶ Marsh's staging of "the imperial prude" in the face of sexual threat and temptation, underscoring her imperviousness to Muslim lust, is unhinged by her conspicuous and unreserved obsession with Ben Abdallah and his extravagant palace life. Even when she seems engrossed in, what she calls, her "ordeal", Marsh is intrigued by the palace's extravagant architecture which she describes with admiration on her way to the prince's "private apartment".¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Jennifer Margulis, "Swarthy Pirates and White Slaves: Barbary Captivity in American Literary Imagination," 21-22.

¹⁰³ Emily Apter, *Continental Drift: From National Characters to Virtual Subjects*, p. 105.

¹⁰⁴ Bekkaoui, *White Women Captives*, p. 122.

¹⁰⁵ Marsh, *The Female Captive*, (introduction), p. 18.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

It was my fate to be reduced to passive obedience and non-resistance, without any hesitation, I followed the man through many noble squares. Some of which were of white Marble, and the Pillars of Mosaic Work; with Variety of delightful Fountains that fell into large Basins. ¹⁰⁸

Complicating her attitude even more, Marsh was “amazed at the elegant figure [the prince] made”. ¹⁰⁹ She does not fail to draw an endearing and detailed portrait of the prince.

The Prince was tall, finely shaped, of a good Complexion, and appeared to be about Five and twenty. He was dressed in a loose Robe of fine Muslin, with a Train of at least two Yards on the Floor; and under that was a Pink Satin Vest, buttoned with Diamonds: He had a small Cap of the same Satin as his Vest, with a Diamond Button: He wore Bracelets on his Legs, and Slippers wrought with Gold: His Figure, all together, was rather agreeable, and his Address polite and easy. ¹¹⁰

Even when they are reluctant to wed Muslim men, Elizabeth Marsh and Miss de Bourke do admit their fixation with their former masters. Marsh takes the liberty to describe her fascination with the prince, confirming Foucault’s proposal that European sexuality systematically found expression in conversation and prose. Censorship notwithstanding, Marsh’s account of the sexual communicates and partakes in the sexual anxieties and stakes that typically attend and haunt a female captive’s compulsory sojourn in Islam. In the final account, her story amounts to a “chastity report” whereby she has to give proof of her virginity, chastity and, therefore, marriageability. Despite self-censorship, Islam’s erstwhile blonde detainees align themselves with *Moorish* sexual intrigues.

Indeed, Marsh’s position vis-à-vis the prince’s advances should confound Mr. Court, her English consort, as well as readers. Marsh was asked to attend the Prince in the private quarters of his palace. Instead of resisting this intimate encounter with alien sexuality, the female captive meekly accepts the invitation. For the occasion, Marsh “dressed myself in a Suit of Cloaths, and my Hair was done up in the Spanish Fashion.” ¹¹¹

Just as I had myself ready, Mr. Court visited me as usual; but he seemed to be surprised at my Appearance, and walked very pensively about the room, without speaking a Word; which I could not then account for. ¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 91.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 87.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 84.

¹¹² Ibid.

Adding to the reader's confusion, Marsh "hastened through the different Apartments, until we came to that where his Imperial Highness was".¹¹³ The prince urges her to take Islam and marry him.

His Imperial Highness wished to know if I would become a Moor, and remain in his Palace; desiring me to be convinced of his Esteem, hoping that I would properly consider the advantages resulting from doing as he desired, and [promised] me every indulgence that he could possibly favour me with.¹¹⁴

Frustrated by Marsh's response, the prince reminded her that she had already renounced Christianity as she repeated the Muslim formula of conversion after one of the female slave captives. The prince torments Marsh as he informs her that a capital punishment awaits Muslims apostates.

4. The Fictional of the Factual: The Marketing Aesthetics of the Female *Barbary* Captivity Story

Lady Mary Montague's unconventional narrativization of oriental life parts ways with a sustained orthodox narrative practice. In her *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics*, Elizabeth A. Bohls credits Montague for managing to turn aesthetics against another discourse of domination, early Orientalism, whose crude stereotypes populated seventeenth-century travel writing on Turkey. Her aestheticizing rhetoric de-eroticizes and dignifies the Turkish women whom earlier travelers had relentlessly objectified.¹¹⁵

Elizabeth Marsh shows herself to be aware of the prevalent aesthetic norms that defined the captivity narrative to both authors and their reading publics. Characterizing narrative as a site of eroticization and fetishization, Marsh intends to sever her text from the sensationalist twist that the captivity fiction embraced in England. Militating against the fictionalization of the captivity narrative, Marsh insists that her captivity story is unembellished by any Ornaments of Language, or Flights of Fancy; I rather chusing to present to the World with all its Imperfections on its Head, than to lose its Simplicity by trying to polish it.¹¹⁶

If mainstream captivity authors appropriate run-of-the-mill motifs to account for the singularity of their recitals, the female captive-turned-author mobilizes the plain, the ordinary and the flawed to signal the originality and distinctiveness of her ordeal. Marsh hopes that the ordinariness of her idiom would vouch for the uniqueness of her story. However, Marsh cannot

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 84-7.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 92.

¹¹⁵ Elizabeth A. Bohles, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818*, p. 12.

¹¹⁶ Marsh, *The Female Captive*, the preface, p. 41.

abstain from bringing to the fore of her recital titillating episodes from her intimate interaction with the Moroccan prince. Marsh’s candid and subtle, protestant and yet misleading realism frames as well as disrupts narration as a seamless projection of experience in its entirety and at a remove from the artifice of fiction.

In Marsh’s two-volume autobiography, action centers on the ingenuity of the author-heroine to escape defilement in the same way in which it zeroes in on her master’s intrigues to trick her into matrimony. While she strives to emerge as a scrupulous imperial subject, her preservation rests on intrigue and maneuver, but also on ben Abdellah’s benevolence. Marsh claims that she is married to Mr. Crisp, a fellow passenger on the *Ann*. Marriage in Moroccan culture, as mobilized by Marsh, serves as a shield against molesters. By re-appropriating the marriage institution, she does not only conjure up the means to escape a diasporic married life. She also identifies a common cultural denominator that contests assumptions about Morocco as a site of unbridled sexuality, lawlessness and cruelty. Well knowing that her royal master “never approached those who were pregnant, deeming it sinful to have intercourse with those who were impregnated”,¹¹⁷ Maria Ter Meetelen feigns to be pregnant, winning the sympathy of the harem women, the king’s sister and the king who allowed her to join her fellow captives outside the palace walls.¹¹⁸

English voyage in the age of piracy constitutes a predominantly masculine enterprise. What Eric Leed refers to as “spermatic journey”¹¹⁹ was at the heart of England’s business and narrative of empire and expansionism. With very few exceptions, piracy and corsair activity in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Muslim and Christian shores were typically male domains of maritime violence, confrontation and appropriation.¹²⁰ In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain, females fared in the shadow of male relatives. However, English voyage and, by the same token, captivity discourse, were increasingly gendered by the steady though liminal travel of empire’s female domestic subjects, escorting or joining father, husband or fiancé.¹²¹ Aristocrat, poet and wife of the British ambassador to Turkey, Lady Wortley Montague (1689- 1762) registers her sense of abjection at the

117 Maria Ter Meetelen, “Miraculous and Remarkable Events of Twelve Years Slavery, p. 75.

118 Ibid, p. 76.

119 Eric Leed quoted in Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 134.

120 There are very few cases of women pirates in the early modern period. There are no historical or fictional accounts of female pirates, corsairs or privateers across the religious divide of the Mediterranean.

121 James Clifford maintains that in the European tradition until the colonial period, “[g]ood travel” (heroic, educational, scientific, adventurous, ennobling) is something men (should) do. When women traveled, they traveled as “companions or as “exceptions”. See his *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, p. 31.

restricted mobility of her kind in Europe in comparison to the freedom of movement their female counterparts enjoy in Istanbul. She writes that

'Tis very easy to see they have more liberty than we have, no Woman of what rank so ever being permitted to go in the streets without two Muslins, one that covers her face all but her Eyes and another that hides the whole dress of her head.¹²²

Ian Watt assumes in his *The Rise of the Novel* that eighteenth century English literature was "primarily a feminine pursuit".¹²³ It was against such male domination of the literary expression that Lady Wortley Montague, a literary dissenter and itinerant traveler,¹²⁴ contemporary of the earl, militates in her address to her womankind in 1724. The anonymous editor of Montague's manuscript contests in the preface of her anonymous book that the world is surfeited with *Male-Travels*, all in the same tone and stuff with the same trifles; a Lady has the skill to strike out a new path, and to embellish a worn-out subject, with a variety of fresh and elegant entertainment.¹²⁵

This call for literary heresy and narrative unorthodoxy found expression some four decades later in Elizabeth Marsh's account of travel and captivity. Marsh's memoir of historical captivity in Morocco is the only one of its kind that disrupts the socio-cultural dynamics of gender that undermines "the masculinization of travel and "the feminization of 'sessility'".¹²⁶ Against received wisdom, Marsh looms large as an especially peripatetic, enterprising, resourceful, entrepreneurial and ingenious Englishwoman in the age of empire. Marsh emigrated to Menorca, escaped slavery in Marrakech, married in London and traveled with her husband to Rio de Janeiro. She lived in Dhaka and Madras and cities in eastern and southern India.¹²⁷

5. Deflecting the Past-colonial Harem: No Coercion in Islam, No Compulsion in Love

Typically, masculine *Barbary* captivity discourse is organized by allegories of the defenseless and frail female captive against the brave and resourceful masculine hostage. In Chetwood's *The Voyages*, the hero has not only to masquerade his female consort as a man whenever she has to appear before men, he is the one to design and occasion her escape in the first place. Women's

122 Lady Mary Wortley Montague, *Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague Written during her Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*, p. 104.

123 Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel*, p. 43.

124 Billie Melman argues that Montague's travel letters from Turkey constitute "the very first example of a secular work by a woman about the Muslim Orient". See Melman, *Women's Orient: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), p. 2.

¹²⁵ Lady Wortley Montague, *Letters* (preface by editor, vii).

¹²⁶ Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore*, p. 134

¹²⁷ "Although Elizabeth Marsh rejoined her husband in Dhaka in mid-1776, it was again not for long. From late 1777 to mid-1780 she was once more on the move, sailing first from Calcutta to England, and then, after more than a year's intrigue, and a further twelve thousand miles at least in sea distance, returning to the subcontinent". See Colley, *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh*, pp. xx-xxi.

captivity fiction, on the contrary, overturns such masculinist configurations of gender and the captive body. The female captivity story throws into disruption masculine assumptions on the helplessness of Islam’s bondswomen.

Challenging clichés about women captives’ helplessness, de Bourk, Maria ter Meetelen and Marsh show themselves to be resourceful and impervious, outsmarting countrymen and captors alike. Ter Meetelen got into the king’s favor in the face of jealousy from fellow captives and managed to keep a tavern. The widowed ter Meetelen chose Pieter, “the chief of the Dutch nation”¹²⁸ in marriage and only when he agreed to convert to Catholicism.¹²⁹ Ter Meetelen insisted that “before we got married, it was first necessary that my husband should be baptized in a Catholic way”.¹³⁰ The dotting prince had to concede to the heroic Marsh and grant her liberty in the same way in which ter Meetelen’s royal master in Meknes had done. Inverting figures of conquest and fortitude, significance and marginality, it is the male captives who appear restricted in alien spaces, incapable of effecting their own release and ironically in need of female mediation and protection.¹³¹

It was the trope of eighteenth-century English captivity to hype North African mostly sovereign and geopolitical acts of captive-taking as indices of sexual and spiritual violence. In *Barbary* captivity discourse, while women captives faced rape, men risked sodomy, circumcision (converts) or castration (eunuchs). Muslim desire for white female captives is prominently insatiable in the accounts of one-time female *Barbary* captives such as Miss de Bourk, Maria ter Meetelen, and Elizabeth Marsh. The sexualization of blonde captives under Islam proved a thriving business in the English presses of the time.¹³² Their captivity stories mirror the interplay between the territorial and the sexual where the transgression of maritime borders and breach of territorial sovereignty sanction, from a Maghrebi perspective, interception at sea, corporeal subjugation and sexual and theological assimilation.

In thrall to his envoy’s gripping account of King Louis XIV’s daughter, Moulay Ismail demands the French princess in marriage. Abdullah Ibn Aisha, the Moroccan ambassador to the French court in 1651 was commissioned to deliver Moulay Ismail’s marriage proposal to the French

¹²⁸ Ter Meetelen, “Miraculous and Remarkable Events of Twelve Years Slavery”, p. 77.

¹²⁹ Ibid, p. 78.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Bekkaoui, *White Women Captives*, p. 27.

¹³² Bekkaoui argues that besides female captives’ ability to trespass into spaces inaccessible to their male counterparts such as royal harems, another factor that “made female captivity such an appealing genre for a wider audience is the thrilling suspense surrounding the dramatization of feminine entrapment and beleaguered virtue and the transformation of the captured body into a panoply of contentious desires, a voyeuristic spectacle. See his introduction to *White Women Captives*, p. 29.

monarch. The envoy stressed that the maid shall not be coerced to turn Muslim. The ambassador said,

Our Sultan will marry her according to the law of God and the Prophet, but she shall not be forced to abandon her religion, or manner of living; and she will be able to find all that her heart desires in the palace of my sovereign- if it please God.¹³³

As instructed by his monarch, Ibn Aisha was trading an image of a tolerant Islam and one of the faith's founding principles: that there is no coercion in Islam, thereby, contradicting the general belief that North African Muslims are set on converting Christians. King Louis courteously spurned his Moroccan correspondent's demand on account of religious difference. Moulay Ismail's liking for Mademoiselle de Blois (later Princess de Conti) enticed the imagination of Versailles poets. J. B. Rousseau is among the poets who wrote on the incident:

Votre beauté, grande princesse,
Porte les traits dont elle blesse,
Jusques aux plus sauvages lieux;
L'Afrique avec vous capitule
Et les conquêtes de vos yeux
Vont plus loin que celles d'Hercule.

Your beauty, great princess,
Bears traces that hurt,
To the visceral places,
Africa capitulates before you
And your eyes' conquests
Go further than those of Hercules.¹³⁴

The female protagonist in Strickland's fictional rewrite of a historical French account of shipwreck and captivity in Algiers affirms that Aladin, her master's son, took a liking to me, now fast stepping into *early womanhood*, and a still greater fancy for the handkerchief I wore round my hair, which he insisted upon having".¹³⁵ Miss de Bourke, too, cannot conceal her admiration for the

¹³³ Ibn Aisha in James Richardson, *Travels in Morocco* (London: Charing Cross, 1860), p. 45.

¹³⁴ Translation mine. J. B. Rousseau quoted in Brown's introduction to Pellow, *The Adventures*, p. 26.

¹³⁵ Strickland, *The Orphan Captive*, p. 44. Italics mine.

sheikh’s youth who had *just attained to manhood*, had already signalled himself by his great courage. He inherited a good deal of his mother’s haughty character as well as her fierce beauty; and being lately returned from a military expedition against another wild tribe, was much extolled and humoured by his parents and people.¹³⁶

Echoing King Louis XIV’s daughter’s fears vis-à-vis Moulay Ismail’s marriage offer, the French girl’s aversion to Aladin’s proposal is on account of his steadfast defence of the Muslim creed. While his “vehement love” saves her from being coerced to take Islam, Miss de Bourke confesses that “I could entertain *no hope of winning to my own faith a spouse of such a temper*”.¹³⁷

Still, de Bourke’s dotting paramour is not the native of the brutal culture she urges her reading publics to identify and abhor. If Aladin’s “generous relinquishment of me has left an indelible impression upon my mind”,¹³⁸ such a gesture does not only “[refute] the Oriental despotism thesis”, as Bekkaoui observes in the case of Mohammed Ben Abdellah’s generous manumission of Elizabeth Marsh. It also shows that the love *Moorish* men show to white women becomes an expression, statement, declaration and pledge of protection; a sanctuary against molestation. The female abductee is safe in her *Moorish* paramour’s love. Since there is no compulsion in faith, there is no coercion in love, Ben Abdellah’s and Aladin’s bids confirm. Even when she is ransomed and sure of homecoming, Strickland’s female captive feels twinges of sorrow for parting with her Algerian hosts/ owners. “Notwithstanding my ardent desire for liberty”, concedes the young hostage, “I could not part with the sheikh’s family without some feelings of regret”.¹³⁹

The historical Miss de Bourk insists in the *Remarkable History of the Countess De Bourk’s Shipwreck, and Her Daughter’s Captivity* (1735) that “I will however sooner suffer Death than once fail in what I have promised to my God”.¹⁴⁰ The sense of preservation and fortitude expressed by female survivors of Muslim thrall is irrevocably thwarted by the fact that their captivity and conversion are plotted, carried out and overseen by ex-co-religionists. While the French Countess de Bourk is seized by a Dutch renegade under an Algerian corsair rais in 1719, Marsh is tricked into disowning Christ by the daughter of an English renegade who feigns to teach her “Morisco”. The cast of female renegades in Mohammed Ben Abdellah’s harem become Marsh’s cunning missionaries. When she is undeceived about her new religious identity, Marsh proclaims herself a Christian.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 43. Italics mine.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 53. Italics mine.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 97.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Miss de Bourk, “Remarkable History of the Countess de Bourk and her Daughter’s Captivity”, p. 51.

6. Blonde Female Renegades in the Harem: White Women Advocates of Black Lovers

Like ter Meetelen, who had to outsmart the “daughter of a renegade, who spoke a little bad Spanish and told me that the king had confided me to her to turn me Turk”,¹⁴¹ Marsh had to dodge not only the prince's advances but also the conspiracy of his European renegade women. While the first feigns pregnancy, the second pretends to be married. Unwilling to convert, Marsh is fooled by “the daughter of an English renegade” to abjure Christ through the recital of the Muslim formula of conversion, the shahada. Indisposed to be “witness” to her own defection into another divinity, she denies that she is “not a Christian, but a Moor”¹⁴² as her female beguilers have triumphantly declared. These Christian-turned-Muslim zealots and passionate missionaries mobilize Marsh's “accidental” apostasy to inflict on her harem codes, licensing her body to the whims of the potentate. Marsh's fascination with the crown Prince, however, could not induce her to trespass the color and faith lines. The luxurious world she is tempted to embrace could not bring her to submit her body and virtue even when the crown prince bullies her into submission, enjoining that the lot that awaits converts in Islam is death.

Not unlike their male counterparts who decamped to Islam, female renegades conspire against country and nation and inveigle their countrywomen into oriental marriages. Assimilated female apostates serve as initiators of new female captives of their own into a world of sexual fulfillment and worldly prosperity. Instead of extending support to her co-national and capitalizing on her closeness to the prince to intercede for her countrywoman's release, the renegade woman is keen to cajole an English maiden in the bloom of youth into following in her very footsteps. Their harem sense of belonging and loyalty urges them to further the cause and interests of their royals.

The success of these veteran female renegades in attracting new beauties to the fold should bring them into the prince's favor or else expose them to the risk of falling into their master's displeasure. The stakes notwithstanding, these women devote themselves to the enlargement of their polygamous community. Instead of commiserating with their countrywoman and seconding her in her choice of not reneging, Ter Meetelen or Marsh's proselytizers enmesh them in the very trap those captives have tried hard to sidestep. With no moral obligation towards Britain, the *ulja* (the Arabic term for a female renegade) sets herself up as a model for English young women to emulate whereby her promotion from slave to queen makes a rare success story.

Tales of slave-turned-sultana include a Scottish girl during king James I's reign whose brother thrived as a businessman in Morocco and, in recognition of his royal brother-in-law's favors, raised

¹⁴¹ Ter Meetelen, “Miraculous and Remarkable Events of Twelve Years Slavery”, p. 75.

¹⁴² Marsh, *The Female Captive*, p. 93.

a statue of a Moor in the mansion he built.¹⁴³ The female renegade does not embody the libertine anti-heroine to be deprecated by countrymen. This woman’s reconstruction of space and negotiation of gender are dictated by her new Moroccan reality. She offers to save an English maid from England, an uncertain future, community censure and ostracism, transforming *Barbary* from an alleged site of peril, loss and enslavement into a space of social security and cultural protection. Such a stance disrupts and subverts the whole patriotic, filial, moral, humanitarian and cultural narrative, enterprise and ethos of saving on which European colonization of the Maghreb was founded. New female arrivals in North Africa, according to veteran female converts, do not need saving, and need not worry about survival in a milieu that promises far better chances for social preferment. Rather, defection to *Moorish* households and harems amounts to an act of saving from the poverty and injustices of home country.

7. Saving the Female Captive: From Muslim Captivity or White Society?

Marrying North Africans availed English women and their relatives and connections both in Morocco and abroad. Elizabeth Marsh recalls the generosity and kindness of an English renegade woman in the harem of Sidi Mohamed ben Abdellah. Marsh writes:

One of the most agreeable of them, and who shewed me the greatest Civilities, was the Daughter of an Englishman, who became a Renegado, and had married a Moorish Woman; she took her Bracelets of her Arms; and put them on mine, desiring I would wear them for her Sake.¹⁴⁴

This generous queen might have been the same woman who extended her generosity to the survivors of the shipwreck of *The Litchfield* on the Atlantic coast of Morocco two years after Marsh’s capture and manumission.¹⁴⁵ Sutherland reminisces in *A Narrative of the Loss of His Majesty’s Ship the Litchfield* (1768):

December 25th. Being Christmas day, prayers were read to the people as usual in the church of England. The captain received a present of some tea and loaves of sugar from one of the queens, whose grandfather had been an English renegado.¹⁴⁶

Still, while they grace their relatives and countrymen at home or in Morocco, female renegades project their allegiance to their Royal husbands. Enacting a double filial consciousness, the said queen was the same woman who did her best to trick a countrywoman into accepting Islam and a Moroccan crown-prince for husband. Marsh reminds her readers:

¹⁴³ Bekkaoui cites many instances of European female captives. See his introduction to *White Women Captives*, p. 25.

¹⁴⁴ Marsh, *The Female Captive*, pp. 79-80.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 79.

¹⁴⁶ James Sutherland, *A Narrative of the Loss of His Majesty’s Ship*, pp. 41-2.

The lady, whose father, as I have already remarked, was an Englishwoman, talked to me in Morisco, and was seemingly fond of me; and, by her Gestures, I imagined she wanted me to learn their language... I imprudently repeated some Words after her, but found, when too late, that I had renounced (though innocently) the Christian Religion, by saying, There is but one God, and Mahomet is his Prophet.¹⁴⁷

If women coreligionists conspire to lure her to a harem future, her male coreligionists traumatize her with tales of her liability to sexual predation in Morocco. Not unlike Iago, the ring-leader in *Othello*, vulgarizing the sexuality of a *Barbary* native, Marsh's friend sketches hyped images of *Moorish* barbarism and eroticism to the extent that "he seemed to delight in terrifying me with stories of the cruelties of the *Moors*, and the dangers my sex was exposed to in Barbary".¹⁴⁸ When the young captive was recalled to attend the prince in Marrakech, she agreed with her shipmate and companion Mr. Crisp to go as her brother. That, thought Marsh, would dissuade the prince from wooing her. On their way to Marrakech, Don Pedro, a coreligionist Minorcan slave alerts Mr. Crisp to "the danger your fair companion is exposed to"¹⁴⁹ and advises that Crisp masquerades as her husband. Concerned about the preservation of her chastity, Don Pedro insists that Marsh and Mr. Crisp pass for a married couple. Don Pedro confides to Mr. Crisp:

have been a slave to Sidy Mohamet, since the year 1750. And you must conclude I cannot be unacquainted with his temper and inclinations; and such, I can assure you, is his despotic power, that if she is at all preserved from being detained in the Seraglio, it must be by the means above mentioned.¹⁵⁰

Instead of soothing and comforting her, Marsh's male compatriots in the land of her detention inconceivably terrorize and upset her with a horrifying portrait of the then acting potentate. In lieu of providing psychological support to "the damsel in distress", coreligionists exaggerate her captor's inhumanness. Lest the twenty-year-old Marsh should be tempted by Sidi Mohamed's opulent palace life, they increase her fears to antagonize her against the prince's likely amorous proposals. Similarly, hopelessly waiting for an envoy to deliver her from captivity, Marsh is frustrated by the negligence of the English authorities. A Swedish merchant in Safi assured her that an English Admiral was arrived at the Garisson of Gibraltar, who had ordered that the Man of War

¹⁴⁷ Marsh, *The Female Captive*, p. 89.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

should be dispatched to demand us. This agreeable Information, however, gained little Credit with me, who had been accustomed to this Sort of Deception, and even inured to Disappointments.¹⁵¹

On the contrary, the story of the Dutch merchant who paid Marsh a courtesy visit in Safi before her ship set sail to Gibraltar unsettled her fears and anxieties. The merchant was going to Marrakech, Morocco’s administrative capital, “to solicit the Favour and Protection of the Prince, in order to reestablish a House in the said City”.¹⁵² Marsh adds that this man had, as it was reported, formerly traded with great Success in this Place, and, to the Surprise of all, the Prospect of adding yet more to his Fortune had so strange an Effect upon him, that the Difficulties a Christian is exposed to in that Country; were overlooked by him, as Matters of no Importance or Consideration.¹⁵³

First, the Dutch merchant shows Morocco to be the land of opportunity and successful commerce. Second, Morocco looms large as a stable and safe country where European traders could do business unmolested. Third, the Moroccan regime emerges as a trusted and responsible partner. The merchant does not only dispel Marsh’s fears, but also challenges deep-seated clichés about Morocco.

Easy prey to Muslim corsairs and victim of white society suspicion, Marsh diligently escapes community censure. She delayed the publication her two-volume narrative of captivity in Morocco thirteen years after the fact and only when her husband went bankrupt. It seems that had not been for her financial crisis, her memoir would have never seen print. Marsh preferred to remain reticent about her ordeal, deleting dates, names of people and places from her immediate milieu. When her volume came out, it was sold only to a limited circle of relatives, friends and subscribers. It is on homecoming that Marsh’s real ordeal begins. In her note to the public, Elizabeth Marsh remarks with frustration and anguish that

I have unhappily experienced those Hours, who, may say, with too much truth, that the Misfortunes I met with in *Barbary* have been more than equalled by those I have since experienced, in this Land of Civil and Religious Liberty.¹⁵⁴

Throughout her captivity, apprehension of being the victim of black sexuality haunted her incessantly. However, she confesses that she could placate her fears in *Barbary* far better than in her homeland. In a reversal of sites of trauma, Marsh writes:

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 107.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 111.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 41.

I earnestly invoked heaven to put an end to my Days, which gave me a Dismal Prospect of nothing but Misery; and, tho' I was preserved, yet it was for still greater sorrows, and in my own Country, than any I ever experienced, even in Barbary.¹⁵⁵

By the same token, Ter Meetelen suffered more from countrymen than from *Moorish* culture. In response to her fellow captives who abhorred her as "the king's whore",¹⁵⁶ she laments that

I complain not of having been so far away in the world, nor of my twelve years' enslavement, nor of the pains the Turk inflicted on me, all this I can endure, but I cannot forget the insults and defamation to which me and my husband were subjected by our own brethrens.

Conclusion

Torn between self-fulfillment and community censure, the female captive's text unsettles home culture's jingoist, imperial and patriarchal discourses on female virtue and tales of Muslim violence and prurience. Certainly, the complex nature of Marsh's intimate encounter makes any attempt to read her captivity prose within a clearly defined terrain misleading. Elizabeth Marsh's prose oscillates between reserve and openness, agency and passivity, discretion and promiscuity, self-censorship and indulgence, titillation and frustration. Despite the plots to win Marsh over on the part of the acting monarch and the women renegades in his palace, Marsh is given the liberty to choose her lot.

Bibliography

1. Apter, Emily. (1999). *Continental Drift: From National Characters to Virtual Subjects*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
2. Bekkaoui, Khalid. (2008). "White Women and Moorish Fancy in Eighteenth-Century Literature." In *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context: Between East and West*. Eds. Saree Makdisi and Felicity Nussbaum. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 153-166.
3. Intro and ed. (2011). *White Women Captives in North Africa: Narratives of Enslavement, 1735-1830*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
4. Bartels, Emily. C. (2008). *Speaking of the Moor: From "Alcazar" to "Othello"*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
5. Bohles, Elizabeth (1995). A. *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., p. 66.

¹⁵⁶ Ter Meetelen, "Miraculous and Remarkable Events of Twelve Years Slavery", p. 106.

6. Clifford, James.(1997).*Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
7. Colley, Linda. *Captives: Britain, Empire and the world 1600 – 1850*. London: Pimlico, 2003.
8. (2007). *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh: How a Woman Crossed Seas and Empires to Become Part of World History*. London: Harper Perennial.
9. Cooper, Anthony A. Earl of Shaftesbury (1711, reprint 2001.).*Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times*. ed. Douglas Den Uyl. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund
10. de Bourk, Miss. “Remarkable History of the Countess De Bourk’s Shipwreck, and her Daughter’s Captivity ... (1735)”.(2011).*White Women Captives in North Africa*, intro and ed. Khalid Bekkaoui, pp. 46-57.
11. Euben, Roxanne. L. (2006). *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
12. Foucault, Michel.(1976, reprint 1990). *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, vol. I*. Paris:*Editions Gallimard*; New York: *Vintage Books*.
13. Ferguson, Niall.(2007). “Captives Again.” *National Post*, April 3.
14. Marsh, Elizabeth (1769). *The Female Captive*. Intro and ed. Khalid Bekkaoui. Casablanca: Moroccan Cultural Studies Centre, 2003.
15. Melman, Billie. (1992). *Women’s Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
16. Margulis, Jennifer. “Swarthy Pirates and White Slaves: Barbary Captivity in American Literary Imagination.” PhD diss. Emory University, 1993.
17. Montague, Wortley. Lady Mary.(1724). *Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague Written during her Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*. Paris: Imprimerie de Firmin Didot.
18. Richardson, James.(1860). *Travels in Morocco*. London: Charing Cross.
19. Strickland, Jane. (1849)/*The Orphan Captive or Christian Endurance: a Tale of the Shipwreck of an Ambassador’s Daughter* (London: Thomas Dean & Son, Threadneedle Street.
20. Sutherland, James. *A Narrative of the Loss of His Majesty’s Ship, The Litchfield*. London: printed for T. Davies, 1768.
21. Ter Meetelen, Maria.(1748, reprint 2011) “Miraculous and Remarkable Events of Twelve Years Slavery, of a Woman, Called Maria ter Meetelen, Resident of Medemblik.” *White Women Captives in North Africa*, intro and ed. Khalid Bekkaoui, pp. 62-120.

Hamid Masfour

**Deconstructing Religious Misinterpretations of the Feminine Body for
Promoting Arabo-Moslem Women's Rights**

(University Sultane Moulay Slimane, Beni Mellal, Morocco)

Abstract:

The argument of this paper explores the role of deconstructing and reforming the religious misinterpretations of the female body in promoting women's rights in the Arab-Muslim world. On the basis of the method of deconstruction, the paper is not only interested in conducting an anatomy of the dysfunctional structure of the Arab-Muslim gender representations, but it also engages in demonstrating how this male imaginary on the female body, based on misinterpreting Islam, oppresses Arab-Muslim women and restricts their potential in the long run. Unveiling the symbolic and concrete social practices intended to control women resulting from the misrepresentation of the female body, the paper's ultimate aim is to demonstrate how academic research on this issue is likely to take part in promoting women's rights through raising awareness about the connections between religious misinterpretations and women's subordination.

Keywords: Deconstruction; Female body; Imaginary, Misinterpretation; Representation.

Introduction

The argument of this paper explores the role of deconstructing and reforming the religious misinterpretations of the female body in promoting women's rights in the Arab world. On the basis of the method of deconstruction, the paper is not only interested in conducting an anatomy of the dysfunctional structure of the Arab-Muslim gender representations, but it also engages in demonstrating how this male imaginary on the female body, based on misinterpreting Islam, oppresses Arab women and restricts their potential in the long run. Unveiling the symbolic and concrete social practices intended to control women resulting from the misrepresentation of the feminine body, the paper aims to argue how academic research on this issue is likely to take part in promoting women's rights through raising awareness about the connections between religious misinterpretations and women's subordination. In relevance to this purpose, and relying on the method of deconstruction, the argument is developed through four steps:

1) Introducing how the body is deconstructively defined. 2) Exploring how the physical body is transformed into an imaginary body regulated with socio-cultural values. 3) The representation of the female body during the initial phase of Islam. 4) The female body under religious

misinterpretations.⁵)The implications and recommendations of this study on promoting Arab-Muslim women’s rights.

The body deconstructively defined

Many disciplines, from biology to philosophy to psychology, psychoanalysis, sociology, anthropology and medicine, have attempted to systematically approach the body to turn it into a methodological field of study. However, due to its complexity, the body remains a difficult sphere to explore, in such a way that the multiplicity of disciplines tried on it only produce different discourses about it, which ironically leads to its fragmentation among a plurality of perspectives. This happens as the body’s coherence is dispersed, for nothing of it becomes accessible since we consciously or unconsciously approach it through the mediation of collective social discourses anchored in symbolic systems.

Realizing that the body is constantly out of reach, remaining elusive for intellectual grasp, the body always exceeds the concept that designates it, so that the investigator’s concepts end up silencing the real voice of the body pre-existing discourse. In this line of argument, against any pure and absolute static definition conferred on the female body on the basis of binary oppositions, the method of deconstruction in this paper’s context is handled to question the presence of truth claims of body representations and unveil the relativity of values underpinning the Arab-Muslim body imaginary. This is intended on the whole to explore the arbitrariness of these representations constructed for controlling women’s potential. So what is deconstruction first?

Developed by the Algerian-born French philosopher Jacques Derrida, Deconstruction was originally conceived in his works as a critical method used for analyzing different cultural aspects for the sake of unveiling inherent contradictions and lack of coherence, besides revealing subtle strategies of concealing the contradictions threatening a given discursive paradigm (Derrida, 1976). However, crossing the boundaries of literature, Deconstruction has been applied to both verbal and non-verbal discourse in its broad sense to encompass academic and scientific disciplines along with culture, cultural products and aspects of cultural representation. In this regard, not only has deconstruction been implemented by Afro-American thinkers such as Henry Louis Gates Jr., but also adopted by feminists like Barbara Johnson, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Luce Irigaray and Judith Butler.

From the physical to the constructed Imaginary body

Through a deconstructionist prism, the body is handled in this paper to demystify how it functions to produce and circulate given cultural messages which ultimately gain ground in a given society and turn into incontrovertible naturalized norms. Behind the perceived materiality of the

body, there is the body as a cultural sign created by verbal communication. Thanks to language, our physical body, being a seat of our perceptions and our sensations, is made to express itself. However, human language only expresses the culture manifested in rituals and myths - which are called by Gilbert Durand "Récits imaginaires" ("imaginary" stories") (Durand, 1994, p.57). These latter are the visible symbols of the imaginary in which the body has been inserted. Thus, with the intervention of language and interpretation, the body becomes itself a symbol of representations and images conveyed by the imaginary. Here intervenes the language which tries to orient us towards a certain interpretation, to give us a unitary perception that we suppose to embody the whole body, and to offer an exhaustive meaning to the "material support" which is our body. But, after all, the words do not reveal the true nature of the body and we are immediately in the field of representation, which reassures us and gives us the impression to seize it.

With Gaston Bachelard, we know that the imaginary has a specific dynamic organizing our personal images and homogenizing collective representations, which means that devoid of the imaginary we cannot end up having a unitary vision of the society in which we live at a precisely determined moment. Through this representation, the body connects the personal or lived body experience with the world and language (Bourdieu, 1982, p.89-90). Similarly, through these concepts, we can advance the idea that, instead of attaining a totalizing truth, we can only have a relative image of our body which, thanks to the dynamism of the imaginary, encompasses a personal vision and collective representation. This imaginary, rooted in the body and personal experience, is shaped by "social connotations" and "cultural specificities" conveyed by the collective imagination, for as quoted by scholar Malek Chebel from Greimas and Courtés: "The body is the place of the inscription of the educational act, the word, the desire, the individual and collective history. It is the school of the group's memory [...]" (Chebel, 1984, p.196).

The effort to talk about and to define the body, be it ours or that of the others, is problematic, for it cannot be dissociated from the reflective faculties of thinking, analyzing, expressing self-expression, with which we go beyond the material reality of the body to reach its reflective capacity. Thus, we go beyond the concepts of the perceived body as being a recipient of actions to reach what J. Corraze calls the "known" body and the "Recognized body", that is the body as being coded by cultural values, representations and "frames" (Corraze, 1973, p. 185). However, how is it possible to explore and understand the female body of the Arab-Muslim society pregnant with specific cultural values and religious normativity, but also hybrid with colonial values? In view of this heterogeneity of contradictory components, it is fit to handle the Arab-Muslim representation

through a deconstructionist perspective taking into account the evolutions having occurred in this body imaginary throughout fourteen centuries.

The female body in the initial phase of Islam

For many reasons, the body is endowed with an identity since it bears various marks of a plural reality combining physiological, sensible, intellectual and affective components, and constituting the personality of each individual, says Barthes (Barthes, 1995, p.63). Like this multiple body, identity is also multiple because of several dimensions: familial, tribal, social, political, historical and also religious. In a similar vein, the argument of this paper is motivated by an attempt of recovering the very origins of Islam to revive the female body as it was constructed and represented within a moment of monumental liberties granted to women by the Coran, the chronicles and the Hadith of Prophet Mohamed. Likewise, this argument is anchored in creating a subsequent research for recovering the lost Arab-Muslim feminine identity of which her body is a crucial salient part.

Understanding the Arab-Muslim representation of the feminine body necessitates the joint consideration of both the religious dimension and the relation to man considered in a diachronic way. For to try to devise a definition for Muslim woman presupposes to define Muslim man first, but in a retrospective way, in going back in history to find out about the initial Islamic representation of women at the initial stages of Islam. Undoubtedly, the Coran is unequivocal about the equal status of women to men: “O mankind, fear your Lord, who created you from one soul and created from it its mate and dispersed from both of them many men and women. And fear Allah, through whom you ask one another and the wombs [...]”.¹ In this inaugural verse of Surat Al Nissa (women), the Coran makes it clear that (1) both men and women are made of one soul, that (2) both female and masculine bodies depend on each other for the continuity of the human race and (3) that respect for the womb is a metonymy for the inalienable respect of the female body. By inference, one is led to conclude that like men’s bodies, the female body in the Coran is in no way considered in itself “a taboo” (Awra), as would be considered in later Arab-Muslim epochs.

Likewise, the implications of a retrospective account on the social status of women and the female body are also very important, since polygamy and women's repudiation at the beginning of Islam did not annihilate or exclude their bodies. On the contrary, this one kept its dynamic dimension which created a movement of religious emigration, becoming little by little, a "flight", an "Evasion" of women's bodies because of the evolution of the religious doctrine: in Islam, woman is a hostess, that is to say, transient, risking at any time unilateral repudiation, so that she cannot

claim a place of permanence. Thus, in Islam as being a religion that begins with a sacred emigration of the prophet, woman becomes a constant migrant.

It is true that in Islam, being a religion recognizing the body and physical enjoyment, the human dimension of partners and the act of making love are important. This human pursuit, of bodily nature in the act of love, is embodied by the very example of the Prophet who used to honor his wives, demonstrating that the happiness of a couple, among other things, comes from this physical contact that precedes and doubles the spiritual dimension given by feelings. The body, as an individual dimension of the subject and a medium for expressing feelings, is part of the feminine identity. It is not backgrounded, but on the contrary it is put forward in the act of making love. However, the physical act of making love is also coupled with a mystical sense, associated with a purpose that loses sight of the corporeal in order to move towards embracing the religious through getting children who will "become later [...] Fighter[s] for Islam! (Djebar, 1991, p. 167-168).

Before the advent of dark changes in the social rules as well as in the female body, women used to enjoy the time of freedom to choose the husband (and to have more of them was still the rule). Similarly, virginity was not an obligation for marriage. Instead, the society allowed the spouses freedom to decide on their fate, and repudiation could be reciprocal. The only criterion for choosing a wife was her beauty and moral qualities, the example coming from the Prophet himself. The Arabs of the time happily married such a beautiful woman who had already had two or three husbands after widowhood or reciprocal repudiation. The Prophet, who, after his long monogamy of twenty years with Khadija, who herself had been previously twice widowed, only had Aisha as a virgin among the fourteen women he married (p.116).

Domestic migration between several spouses is, therefore, a constant practice of female life: there are few women who have known a single husband at that time. This freedom of feelings is guaranteed by the freedom of the body which can decide freely thanks to the freedom of expression. To illustrate, Oum Hakim, informs us Assia Djebbar, after the death of Ikrima, accepts to marry his cousin, Omar, the future caliph, but she will leave him later to return to Mecca, to become again what she had always been, a Meccan (p.167). Similarly, this freedom to accept a husband is brought to light by the fifth wife of Prophet Mohammed, Oum Salama. Before giving her affirmative answer, she described her qualities and defects and, therefore, fully shows her personality. We are thus before a rich female portrait far from the purified image of the women that have been created by the following epochs.

Female-sought repudiation as practical domestic migration was at least motivated by two chief causes. First, the death of the warrior husband was a very common motive during the prophet-

led wars for the Islamic call. After the legal period of mourning, a widow used to be proposed to marry, and freely exercise her freedom to accept or refuse. This natural cause was easily accepted by women, but the roughness of some husbands' manners was less so, which was a second cause for marital migration.

The Female Body Under Religious Misinterpretations

We discussed above a body that had become aware of itself at the beginning of Islam, a body becoming a presence offering itself to the eyes of others. A female body in which identity began to take shape in the individual and collective imagination, a body transformed into a source of memory, a place in which the rituals have been inscribed to motivate life in society.

In later epochs of Islam, the shifts in interpretation of the hadith and the emergence of misunderstandings ended up having direct and visible consequences on the Arab-Muslim female body. In fact, the female world was considered by men, from the beginning, as the place of emotion, feeling, excess, the locus of passionate overflow and diabolical desire. Thus, as men thought, it was suitable to protect themselves by controlling women, by channeling them away and / or enclosing them in material or symbolic prisons. Thus, a woman's body was perceived in Arab-Muslim imaginary as a site of "fitna" or disorder jeopardizing society, overflowing and eroticizing it. Woman was feared to appropriate the power for upsetting and subverting the order decreed by God in his creation. The identification of the triangle "desire-devil-woman", evoked by Fatna Ait Sabbah (Ait Sabbah, 1982, p.192), has always been very clear in the religious literature that has emerged in the public and social sphere. Therefore, for strengthening masculinist power on women, religious misinterpretations were conducted to confine them, isolating them from the public sphere, banning them from participation in war and veiling them.

However, these interpretations have moved away from the true doctrine of Islam, a doctrine which has been "a faith that openly venerates carnal pleasures, a tradition which devotes a real cult to the body, to the care for the self, to the satisfaction of the senses and hedonism as a manifestation of divine grace" (Lamchichi, 2004, p.22). All this art of loving has found its literary expression in classical Arabic poetry, and contemporary critics speak today of "poets of love", such as Jamil, Kuthayyir and Kais (presumed author of Layla's Fool), and Omar ibn Abi Rabia, among others (Khawan, 1995, p.488).

Because of stereotyping assumptions stemming from religious misinterpretations, the female body was marked as a taboo necessitating invisibility and requiring disappearance from the public life. The original reason found its explanation in misinterpreting religious texts or rather in the interpretation made from power perspectives adopted by men and women. Most often, the female

body has been associated with impurity, and filth banned by Islam; for as Malek Chebel notes in his *Encyclopédie de l'Amour en Islam*, "A woman having menses was considered a taboo by the fuqih who thought she makes everything she touches impure" (Chebel, 1995, p. 32)¹. This obsession with an absolutely clean and pure body, from a physical and psychological point of view, is associated with men's stereotyped fear of women, (Minces, 1996, p. 22), misrepresenting them as evil forces of destabilizing the rules that regulate their life. To abolish this power supposedly incarnated by women, religious interpretations have attacked the first term of the triangle represented by the desire lived as a symbol of femininity, and interpreters have engaged in the negation and condemnation of passion, to which bodily and sexual desire is often assimilated. This aspect has long gone beyond religious interpretations to distort the initial Islamic values, which results in the current stereotyped Muslim imagination about the female body. Even Khatibi, one of the Arab postmodernist thinkers, when commenting on the famous scene of Joseph's seduction in the Bible, taken up by the Coran, writes lines that condemn the female passion seeing it as a source of disorder violating moral, spiritual and religious rules: "Passion is a mistake, a diabolical whisper, satanic revolt and cunning of female seduction" (Khatibi, 1983, p. 167).¹

Implications And Recommendations On Promoting Women's Rights

Having explored how the body is linguistically and culturally constructed, and how religious misinterpretations deviated from Islamic values to produce an antagonistic normativity towards the female body, it would be convenient to make some remarks on the implications and recommendations related to promoting Arab-Muslim women's rights:

- 1-The Arab-Muslim representation of the female body has evolved, deviated and even regressed from the Initial Islamic teachings.
- 2-Religious misinterpretations led to a downgrading gender attitude in which the female body is held inferior and negatively seen as inciting to social disorder. This necessitates drastic reforms in religious interpretation through reverting back to the initial phases of Islam which incorporated them in social life.
- 3-Islam recognizes women's sexual desire and allowed them to express it, giving them the right to ask for their repudiation and remarriage. Like men women in Islam can change their marital destinations in case they feel unsatisfied by their spouse.
- 5-Virginity is not a requirement for marriage in Islam
- 6-Women are responsible and free owners of their bodies
- 7-Women's bodies operate actively in the making of a free equal society, consolidating a society free from explicit or implicit slavery
- 8-Women in Islam can freely practice geographical movement to meet their needs and assume social roles
- 9-Women's body does not hinder them from taking part in physically challenging tasks, such as fighting in war. Hence, women in Islam are not inferior to men in the public sphere.
- 10-The beginnings of Islam held

an image of the female body based on respecting difference with the masculine body without turning this difference into opposition.¹¹ Last but not the least, women in Islam are conceived as an integral human entity, beyond any fragmentation of female identity. In fact, the female body in Islam is not restricted to the phenomenal physical body. Instead, it is conceived as a balanced combination of the physical, the reflective and the imaginary. In the first physical aspect, the female body is conceived to maintain social relationships with both men and women. In the second, the female body is not dissociated from women's reflective faculties of thinking, analyzing, feeling, desire, expression and self-expression. In the third dimension, the female body is approached in Islam as a locus of negotiation with the other through bearing shared cultural values enabling social communication.

Conclusion

The Arab-Muslim identity has evolved throughout the centuries. Within different ethnicities predating Islam, the Arab-Muslim factor has been superimposed, which reflects the religious impact of Islam. This forms the second "vertical" force of the Arab-Muslim personality and connects the profane and the sacred because "it ordains the presence of man to his God. It is new (at least dated), demanding, transcendental" (Chebel, 1993, p. 377).¹ As we have already stated, manifesting its symbolic construction, the Arab-Muslim identity is subject to several psychic and spatial-temporal vectors, since the body is crossed by the time, space and language of others as being an amalgamation of foreign cultures. The inscription of this one leads to an institutionalization by the creation of stereotypes. For all our social representations are stereotypes regulating society. According to this paper's argument for reforming religious misinterpretations turned into stereotypes, women are worthy of enjoying different rights. Hence, striking simultaneously a concluding note and a strong legal recommendation, The laws regulating the relationships between men and women should stay free from stereotypes, should shift and change to counterbalance men's with women's rights and interests, for in the Coran the word "Insan" (human) is more inclusive than and superior to man and woman.

References :

5. Ait Sabbah, F. (1982). *La Femme dans l'inconscient Musulman*. Paris : Le Sycomore.
6. Barthes, R. (1995). *Roland Barthes par Roland Barthes*, Paris: Seuil.
7. Bourdieu, P. (1982). *L'Economie des échanges linguistiques*. Paris : Fayard.
8. Chebel, M. (1984). *Le Corps dans la tradition au Maghreb*, Coll. « Sociologie d'Aujourd'hui ». Paris: P.U.F. (1993). *L'imaginaire Arabo-musulman*, Coll. « Sociologie d'aujourd'hui ».
9. Paris : P.U.F. (1995). *Encyclopédie de l'amour en Islam*. Paris : Payot & Rivages.
10. Corraze, J. (1973). *Schéma Corporel et Image du Corps*. Toulouse : Privat .

11. Derrida, J. (1976) *Of Grammatology*. Trans. Gayatri chakravorty Spivak. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U P.
12. Djebbar, A. (1991). *Loin de Médine*, Coll. « Le Livre de Poche» . Paris:Albin Michel
13. Durand, G.(1994). *L'imaginaire. Essai sur les sciences et la philosophie de l'image*. Paris:Hatier.
14. Khatibi, A. (1983). *Maghreb Pluriel*. Paris: Denoël.
15. Khawan , R . (1995). *La Poésie Arabe*. Paris : Phébus .
16. Lamchichi, A.(2004). « La Condition de La femme en Islam. Avancées et régressions », in *Les Femmes et l'Islam : Entre modernité et intégrisme* (PhD thesis supervised by Taboada Leonetti, Isabel) . Paris: L'Harmattan.
17. Mincez, J.(1996). *Le Coran et les Femmes*, Coll. «Pluriel» . Paris: Hachette .
18. The Quran .Surat Al Nissa.<https://quran.com/4>, accessed on Aug25,2018.

Zakaria Laghmam

The Sexualized body of Muslim Women in Hirsi Ali’s *Submission*

(Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes)

Abstract:

Submission (2004) is a European documentary film made by Ayaan Hirsi Ali who escaped Somalia and sought asylum in the Netherlands. This short film depicts and narrates the experiences of Muslim women who live and have to endure patriarchy and violence. It was aired on the Dutch national television and became popular among people and intellectuals. This documentary caused controversy and debates on the issue of the veil, the place of Islam, and the situation of Muslim women in the Netherlands and Europe in general. This paper tries to shed light on the representation of Muslim women which intends to sexualize and eroticize their bodies. In this context, I argue that this film works within the framework of orientalism and employs orientalist mechanisms that aim at distorting the image of Islam as well as Muslim women. This paper also is interested in exposing the sexualization process which is dominant in the documentary. This process, I argue, is employed to serve the European male gaze and responds to his desires and lust. Accordingly, this paper attempts to discuss how the display of the naked body enforces the colonial discourse and at the same time objectifies Muslim women’s bodies.

Keywords: Muslim women, body, harem, gaze, orientalism

The condition of Muslim women is one of the most contentious issues in Europe especially when this subject is related to Islam. In dominant European representations, including media texts, the Islamic religion in general and Muslim women in particular are often denigrated and stereotyped. In addition, Muslim women are constructed as one of the most oppressed groups of women in the world. The idea here is that the European representation of Muslim women is not a recent fabrication but it has been systematic and deep-seated in the Western conceptualization. In such representations, Islam is introduced as a backward and aggressive religion, while Muslim women are represented as veiled and oppressed by male figures. These images can be noticed in advertisements, films, magazines, covers of books and more importantly in documentary films.

The documentary film *Submission* which is the focus of the paper examination can be investigated and approached within the parameter of Edward Said’s book, *Orientalism* (1979), in which he defines “Orientalism” as a mode of Western discourse or as “a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the orient”.(Said, 1979, p.20). Orientalism is an ethnocentric conceptualframework that produces knowledge about the East and inscribes power

over others. This documentary film strongly appears as politically charged and is mainly produced to justify the European domination and to reflect some social and political modes of European imperialism. In accordance with this, the objective behind this film is to articulate and to represent the Orient, particularly Muslim women as culturally different and sexually oppressed by Muslim males. It is the oriental woman that has always been seen as “an occasion and an opportunity” (Said, 1979, p.187) for Western scholars and orientalists to practice their domination over the orient.

The documentary film *Submission* opens with a scene of a Muslim woman called Amina¹. She is young, alone, dressed in a black hijab and completely covered from head to toe in a big and dark room. European viewers could only see a small opening for her eyes. As the woman prepares herself to pray, she picks up the carpet from the floor, unrolls it and then stands in a room with a colorful backdrop and an Arabian looking rug on the floor constructing an Islamic setting. The rug is pointed in the direction of Mecca. Amina stands and faces Mecca as she raises her arms up into the air, with her palms exposed, ready to address Allah, and yells “Allahu Akbar.” See the following figure¹ 1.1,



Figure 1.1: Muslim woman praying, *Submission*

The space where she stands appears to be a place of prayer and with Arabic music in the background. Amina is getting ready to start her prayer. When the light is placed on her body, it becomes obvious that the woman is wearing a sort of naked veil that looks so visible and transparent. In the same context, we see a camera moves up and down her body and through its lens we see her nude flesh under her outfit, from her belly to her chest, along with Quranic verses written on her skin. She starts praying and reading Surat Al Fatiha but once she finishes, viewers are automatically exposed to hear sounds of whiplashes in the backdrop.

Amina delivers a speech in which she tells the destiny of a Muslim woman named Aisha. In the meantime, the camera slowly moves from Amina to focus on Aisha who is lying on the floor in a very weak position. What we see here are wounds and scars on her body, caused by the strokes of the cane. Written across them is a text from the Quran ,chapter 24, verse 2 ,Al-Nur, or The Light, (Ali, 2004, p.154).See figure 1.2 in the following page,



Figure 1.2: Muslim Woman Beaten, *Submission*

The woman says “O Allah, as I lie here wounded, my spirit broken I hear in my head the judge's voice as he pronounces me guilty. The sentence I've to serve is in your words.”(Ali, *Submission*). She then goes on explaining that two years ago she fell in love with a man called Rahman. She used to exchange admiring looks with him before she began to meet him at the Souq¹ in secret. She says

As the months went by our relationship deepened. What is more, out of our love a new life started to grow. Our happiness did not go unnoticed and before long, envious eyes gave way to malicious tongues.(Ali, *Submission*)

The result was that her family found out about her relationship with Rahman and decided to punish her in compliance with the Islamic traditions. This punishment, as Hirsi Ali described in her script, is written across her back and thighs. Verses were taken from the Quran and were inscribed

on her body as a justification of the use of violence and beatings. As the camera spans over her body, the narrator reads the verses from Surat Al Noor and says

The woman and the man guilty of adultery or fornication flog each of them with a hundred stripes; let no compassion move you in their case, in a matter prescribed by Allah, if ye believe in Allah and the Last Day; and let a party of the believers witness their punishment.(Ibid)

The woman is lamenting and addressing Allah for her suffering. Her body is injured as it is lashed many times by a cane as the picture above reveals. The message here is that Muslim women live in horrible conditions and are badly treated and beaten by men who everytime quote Allah for their bad actions and beatings. This woman wants to convey a message that if Muslim women protest against the maltreatment and the violence inflicted on them, they, instead of men are exposed to severe punishment and vengeance. Therefore, they need to obey and be subservient as this is done in the name of Allah.

The notion that is being promoted through her injured body is that Quran is the main source of violence. It is this holy book that incites men to beat and strike their wives whenever they try to refuse their orders or resist their control. The fact that a Quranic text is being inscribed on the body of the woman suggests that in the words of Allah women in Islam are being punished and that men are always innocent. Ayaan Hirsi Ali comments on the way these women are presented and says that

There is the woman who is flogged for committing adultery; another who is given in marriage to a man she loathes; another who is beaten by her husband on a regular basis; and another who is shunned by her father when he learns that his brother raped her. Each abuse is justified by the perpetrators in the name of God, citing the Quran verses now written on the bodies of the women. These women stand for hundreds of thousands of Muslim women around the world. (Ali, 2006, p. 03)

In the light of this previous passage, it could be said that it is difficult to avoid reading *Submission* as a documentary film whose major message is that Islam is bad for women. In other words, the documentary film has all the characteristics and the aspects of Orientalism. The spoken and the written texts in the documentary refer to a more academic form of orientalism that envisages the lives of people as framed, shaped and determined by Islam. This is conveyed through establishing a connection between specific verses from the Quran and the behavior of Muslim men who beat and maltreat women. See figure 1.3,



Figure 1.3: Wounded Body, *Submission*

The fact that the filmmaker wants to convey a message that there is a close relationship between violence against women and Quran suggests that Ayaan Ali gives one interpretation and one meaning to the Quran. This reduction of a world religion with various different local disparities and centuries of interpretation to these five verses renders the literal statement obsolete and meaningless. To put it differently, Hirsi Ali only opted for one dimensional and one interpretation of the Quran which is the most detrimental to the cause of women. She also suggests that men's violence against women is mainly motivated by Quran and that their violence find legitimate grounds in Islam.

The documentary film does taint and distort the picture of Islam and its teachings. This is due to her way of presenting violence against women, relating it exclusively to Islam, and her use of a language that homogenizes the experiences of women rendering them all first and foremost as victims and weak in their own religion.

As narrated and described by the actresses in the documentary, the Muslim women in the stories are represented as powerless young women who submit themselves to Allah. They are seen to lack agency in dealing with their problems. These narratives tend to classify women by their vulnerability where women are always subordinated.

The documentary *Submission* not only generates the European Oriental image of Muslims and Islam, but also structures and principally frames this depiction within “a Western misogynist image

in which women's bodies are depersonalized as objects of desire and lust.”(Leeuw., Wichelen, 2005, p.327) In the same context, Muslim women are not treated as independent individuals with agency and dignity; rather they are treated as objects, sexual and erotic creatures that are there to fulfill and satisfy European man's desires. As Leeuw and Wichelen confirm, the sensual female voice, the explicit use of American English, and her nakedness under a transparent veil, evoke an association with quasi soft-porn images. (Ibid, 2005, p. 328)

Indeed, the practice of eroticization is dominant in the documentary and only serves the male European gaze. The fact of covering and revealing the female body suggests that the filmmaker is aware of the power of imagery and the power of the naked body. See figure 1.4 in the following page,

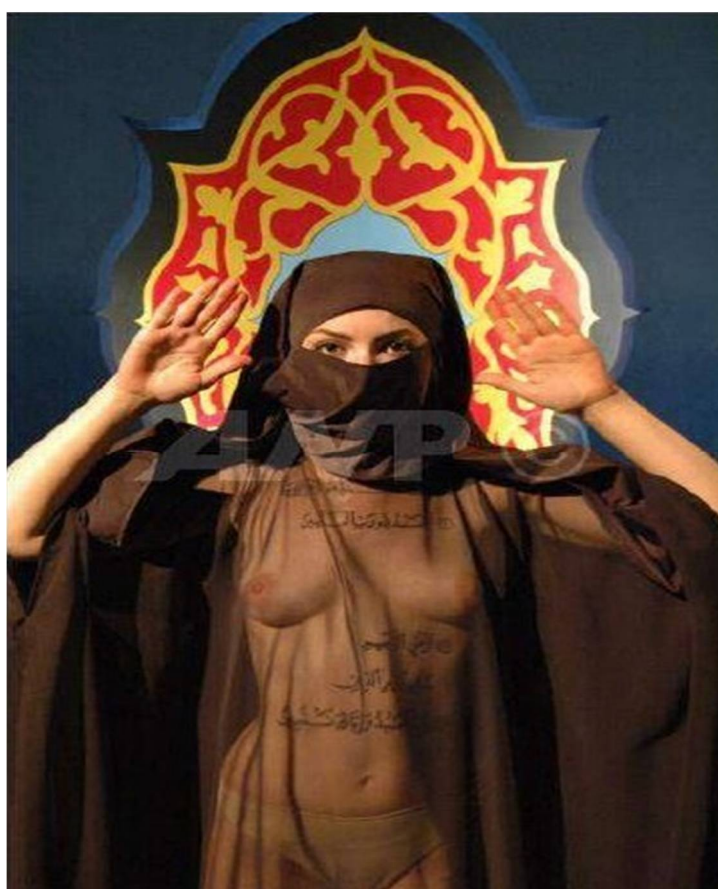


Figure 1.4: Naked Veil, *Submission*

The use of nakedness is meant to attract Western European attention and bring to the fore the male gaze. As a matter of fact, the employment of translucent forms of outfit and veiling has not only been a trope of Orientalist painting but also of representations of the erotic and the exotic in popular visual imagery. This has enabled the European male gaze to pore over Muslim women's bodies while concurrently covering their faces. It is this male gaze that serves patriarchy and enforces male domination and control over women. According to Moors,

In making *Submission* Hirsi Ali and Van Gogh were well-aware of the power of the visual. Although some have referred to the film as a work of art, it is first and foremost striking in its unimaginative resonance with the visual imagery of Orientalism. (Moors, 2005, p. 08)

The male gaze¹ is intended to bring into play the sexual politics of the gaze and indicates a sexualized and erotized way of looking which gives power to men and objectify women. In *Submission*, Muslim women are positioned as objects of male lust and desire. Laura Mulvey in this respect argues that traditional Hollywood films were produced in order to serve and respond to an essential male need or drive known as “scopophilia”. In this context, Mulvey says that “the cinema offers a number of possible pleasures. One is scopophilia.” (Mulvey, 2004, p. 02) It is the sexual enjoyment, an ecstatic feeling of pleasure that is involved in the act of gazing or looking at the body of women.

Mulvey states that most popular movies are filmed in ways that gratify and satiate masculine scopophilia. To clarify more, in traditional movies men are always presented as active agents, controlling subjects and women are treated as passive objects of desire and lust. This is to be noticed in both the story and in the audience. Therefore, women are not allowed to be desiring sexual subjects in their own right. According to Mulvey,

In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote to-be-looked-at-ness. (Ibid, p. 4)

In the light of this statement, the documentary film *Submission* is essentially meant to respond to the masculine voyeurism which intends to sexualize and eroticize women for male viewers. More importantly, it also tends to objectify Muslim women in relation to the controlling and to the curious European male gaze, presenting woman as image or spectacle and man as the bearer of the look. (Ibid) In other words, European men do the looking; Muslim women are thereto be looked at as they are mainly characterized by their “to-be-looked-at-ness” as Mulvey suggests.

There are important inconsistencies between the original script of the documentary film and its broadcast version. Despite the fact that Ayaan Ali tells repressive stories of Muslim women, she reduces these four Muslim women into a single character, denies them a name and introduces the male gaze. In fact, these stories bear the distinguishing marks of the colonial discourse which is to orientalize the orient. Hirsi Ali in this respect adopts a homogenous oppressive Islamic culture while producing submission. She portrays a homogenous collective of Muslim women rendering them one and denying them agency and autonomy. In other words, Muslim women in the

documentary film are represented as powerless, defenseless, oppressed by their religion, abused and sexually assaulted by men, and incarcerated in a harem.

The notion of harem is embodied in the way Muslim women are presented and filmed. The stories they narrate are supposed to be secretive, between them and Allah and no third party is involved. However, Hirsi Ali intervened and exposed their conversations to the European audience allowing them to listen and to take part in the dialogue these women have with Allah during their prayers. In doing so, Ali in fact hints to the European and Western audience in general that they are about to hear the most intimate secrets, unspoken truths, and untold stories of Muslim women, and they, the audience, are being given a glimpse of the forbidden world of the harem. (Morin, 2009, p. 390)

The perception of harem in *Submission* means that place or enclosed space which is replete with oriental slaves, erotic women, sexual concubines and where women are incarcerated in order to fulfill and gratify man's sexual desires. Muslim women in Ali Hirsi's harem are caught, as Marsha Hamilton says, in a "forbidden realm of women complete with tales of sexual orgies, lesbian affairs, violence, greed, lust, and unimaginable wealth." (Hamilton, 1994, p. 176) In fact, Ali employs the mechanisms of orientalism through introducing the Europeans to the world of harem and at the same time inviting them to live the sensation of exoticism and eroticism that is usually linked with this world.

The concept of Harem as Marsha suggests, evokes fantasies such as a place of beautiful and charming women, sexuality and seduction. Also, Harem might connote inaccessibility, concealment and mystery. Ali in this context does not only allow the European men to have access to harem which has long been hidden, but she also implies that European men could conquer the body of these Muslim women. This image works as a reminder of Edward Said's portrayal of Flaubert's Egyptian courtesan who produced a widely influential model of the Oriental woman. In this respect, Said states that she never spoke of herself, she never represented her emotions, presence, or history. *He* spoke for and represented her. He was foreign, comparatively wealthy, male, and these were historical facts of domination that allowed him not only to possess Kuchuk Hanem physically but to speak for her and tell his readers in what way she was "typically Oriental." (Said, 1979, p. 06)

In the light of this passage, it could be assumed that like the Egyptian courtesan Muslim women in *Submission* do not speak for themselves and they do not represent their emotions, or prove their existence as independent subjects, rather they are represented not by a foreign male as Said suggests but by a woman. It is a woman who has enabled Westerners and in particular

Europeans to penetrate the intimate space of Muslim women without any resistance or confrontation. This in fact suggests that the colonial discourse in this documentary puts the emphasis on sexuality and gives more importance to eroticism as symbols and traits that characterize the representation of Muslim women.

The objective of the documentary film is not to describe the realities of these women but more importantly to exoticize their presence and eroticize their bodies to a wide range of European male audience. See the following figure 1.5 in the following page, Hirsi Ali behind the scenes gives instructions to the Muslim women on how to pose, what to say, what to show and how to deal with the camera.



Figure 1.5: On the left Hirsi Ali and on the right Muslim woman, *Submission*

The female body in *Submission* is displayed through a voyeuristic perception. The European and Western audiences are offered an intimate erotic image or “quasi-porn” image as Moors says, which, through the representation of Muslim women as victims, serves to uncover the brutality, inequality and unfairness of Islam. Accordingly, Hirsi Ali has allowed European men to enter the forbidden world of harem and have access to the hidden secrets that are exemplified in the suffering, violence, abuse, lust, incest, greed, and rape which are concealed in this exotic world. Hence, *Submission* implies to visually open up the private space of Muslim women and the world of harem by unraveling and bearing witness to the internal violence of Muslim societies. In this context, it is assumed that Hirsi Ali has made abundant use of the analytical techniques of European Orientalism turning into, what Edward Said has named, the figure of the native informant. Edward said argues that

Such a system of reproduction makes it inevitable that the Oriental scholar will use his American training to feel superior to his own people because he is able to "manage" the Orientalist system; in his relations with his superiors, the European or American Orientalists. (Ibid, p. 324)

On this basis, Hirsi Ali is in fact perceived as a scholar and researcher from the orient who comes and sits at the feet of European and American Orientalists, and who employs her European education and training to obtain and feel superior in comparison to her own people. This is of course due to her potential and her ability to manage the orientalist system as Edward Said says. As a result, Hirsi Ali seems to manage well the orientalist discourse and embodies the role of the rescuer who embarks on the chore of saving mission which reminds us of the famous statement made by Gyatri Spivack "white men are saving brown women from brown men." (Spivak, 1994, p. 92)

By deploying the rhetoric of orientalism, a connection can be made to her mission with the civilizing discourse that Western and European feminists use. Moreover, her saving task creates a linkage with a more modern version of that civilizing discourse. A similar example of this would be of Laura Bush's position on Muslim women in Afghanistan. Laura Bush declared that her country will definitely help women of Afghanistan and rescue them from the tyranny, the oppression and the despotism of Taliban. Lila Abu Lughod reacted to this and says in clear terms that her speech reinforced chasmic divides, primarily between the "civilized people throughout the world" whose hearts break for the women and children of Afghanistan and the Taliban-and-the-terrorists, the cultural monsters who want to, as she put it, "impose their world on the rest of us. (Abu Lughod, 2002, p. 784)

However, what makes the Dutch quandary even more complicated is that Hirsi Ali is neither a white man nor a white woman but a brown woman from the orient who adopts a superior position vis-a-vis her people in order to present herself as the heroin who is going to rescue Muslim women. Leeuw and Wichelen argue that rather than "white men saving brown women from brown men" (colonialism), or "white women saving brown women from brown men" (Barbara Bush), a "brown" woman (Hirsi Ali) wants to save other "brown women" from "brown" men. (Leeuw., & Wichelen, 2005, p. 333)

The embodiment of Hirsi Ali as the cultural and the Muslim female "other," and not the masculinist white European man, makes the politics of saving even more effective by dismissing denunciations of speaking from a white masculinist position. (Ibid)

Hirsi Ali is doing exactly the opposite of what Gyatri Spivack believes. According to Spivack, the subaltern women cannot speak within hegemonic Western or European discourses. Hirsi Ali in

this context adopts an orientalist and superior position, at the same time, presents herself as the legitimate representative of all Muslim women. Ali says in her book *The Caged Virgin* that

The third reason I am determined to make my voice heard is that Muslim women are scarcely listened to, and they need a woman to speak out on their behalf. (Ali, 2004, p. 23)

In the light of her statement, it can be assumed that Hirsi Ali is determined to present herself as a rebel, or as she calls herself as an infidel who embodies the Western European discourse and claims a voice from within. This voice is not intended to confront, challenge and contest the Western orientalist discourse but to confirm, reaffirm and reinforce the stereotypical views on Muslim women.

To sum up, the documentary film *Submission*(2004) remains an orientalist film that does not question the colonial and European discourse which tends to homogenize Muslims. The representation in this film reinforces and emboldens stereotypical images of Muslim women. Displaying erotic and sexualized images of Muslim women suggest that there is a need of a European intervention to save these women. Sexuality serves to justify the European domination and more importantly reinforces patriarchal control over the body of Muslim women. In this context, Hirsi Ali has not only been able to invite European men to penetrate this charming and erotic body of Muslim women but also to call upon them to intervene in order to save this beautiful body from the oppressive veil that paralyzes and deforms their bodies.

References:

1. Abu Lughod Lila.(2002). “Do Women Need Saving? Reflections on Cultural Relativism and its Others”. *American Anthropology*.
2. Ali Hirsi Ayaan.(2004). *A Caged Virgin: An Emancipation Proclamation for Women and Islam*.Netherlands: Amstel Publishers. (2006).*Infidel*.Netherlands: Free Press.
3. Edward Said. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.
4. Hamilton, Marsha J. (1994). "The Arab Woman in U. S. Popular Culture". *Food for Our Grandmothers: Writings by Arab-American and Arab-Canadian Feminists*, eds, Joanna Kadi. USA: South End Press.
5. Leeuw Marc De., & Wichelen Sonja Van. (2005). “Submission, Hirsi Ali, and the “War on Terror” in the Netherlands”.*Feminist Media Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3,
6. Moors Annelies. (2005). “Debates on Islam in Europe”.*ISIM Review*.
7. Morin Aysel. (2009). “Victimization of Muslim Women in *Submission*”. *Women’s Studies in Communication*, Vol. 32, Issue 3, Routledge.
8. Mulvey Laura. (2004). “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema”. *Film Theory and Criticism*, Eds. L. Braudy., & M. Cohen. New York: Oxford University Press.
9. Spivak Gyatri. (1994). “Can the Subaltern Speak?”. *Colonial Discourse and Post Colonial Theory: A Reader*, eds. Patrick Williams., & Laura Chrisman. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

GENDER AND POLITICS

Kebir Sandy

Women in the Moroccan Political Arena: A Struggle for Identity Confirmation’

(Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes, Morocco)

Introduction:

The notion of identity is the central point of any subject throughout the world. The melting of the self into air leads to disempowerment and psychological emaciation. Thus, a lost self is always threatened by instability, insecurity, turmoil, nothingness and scattering. This is the situation of the Moroccan woman after the end of colonialism. The Moroccan woman has always been walking in shadows, and her great role in many fields of life has always been undermined to keep her in margins. Indeed, women in Morocco have never been weak or passive rather they had great contributions in freeing Morocco from colonialism, hiding guns and challenging the colonial powers. Yet, as we will see in this article, women are still fighting another form of colonialism called patriarchy. Here, religion and politics collaborated to sustain the patriarch’s power and execute normative strategies to keep patriarchy at work and leave ‘the other’ (the woman) in the shadows. In this context, many questions need an answer: what are the different strategies of silencing? How could politics serve the patriarchal agenda? Did women succeed in their struggle for power and equal rights? What is the future of women’s revolution against the hegemonic policies?

1. The Post-Colonial Family Code As A New Political Form of Colonialism:

After colonialism, the monarchy focused on three main points, which are kinship, citizenship, and the Islamic Shariaa as a symbol of identity and the notion of ‘Umma’. In this context, women were seen only as one of the mechanisms to empower the ‘Umma’ or the nation. Women were shrunk into the notion of family that collaborates in sustaining kinship, culture, and traditions instead of free citizens with a heard voice and power. Thus, to legalize women’s confinement, the king and a commission of ‘Ulama’ created the 1958 Mudawana (family code law).¹ In this vein, a journal of Islamic and Eastern studies stated that:

Like other countries with a colonial past, Morocco’s history and culture is highly politicized: the struggle against the perceived threat of Western hegemony includes an effort to shape the historical narrative to include or exclude certain actors, suggest a fixed construction of gender and family, glorify certain groups, and minimize various ruptures in pursuit of a unified national identity. (1)¹

Hence, politics comes to serve the state against Western hegemony by planning and formulating biased and patriarchal laws. The process of subversion and exclusion was under the

name of Sharia Law to be given more sanctity. This strategy of relegation and oppression excluded the woman from all decisive positions and empowered the Moroccan man in and out of the private space.

Consequently, at the time when the man was politically present and heard, the woman was 'the angel of the house' with less visibility, abiding by the family law. This law was the epitome of patriarchal mindset in Morocco that transformed Shar'ia Law into a symbol of identity and union opposing the tribal and traditional rules that were ruling Morocco. The 1958 Mudawana was one of the stringent rules in Morocco that claims absence of women's independence and freedom; the woman should ask for permission to even pay a visit to the family, polygamy was legal without the first wife's consent, divorce is man's decision, and women are never legal guardians.¹

Thus, we can notice a lack of trust and various forms of weakening that cannot be negotiated because of its 'claimed' religious credibility. As a result, any attempt to challenge this 'sanctified' plan would be an act of disruption of the 'umma' community. This is what the same journal highlighted when it stated that: "Women asking for equality are therefore challenging not only "Islam," as it is locally understood; they are also challenging Moroccan nationalist conceptions of self, prevailing notions about Moroccan and North African tradition, and the impetus to resist Western cultural hegemony."¹ As a matter of fact, women would be challenging not only patriarchy but also the traditions and culture ordering of the state.

Nevertheless, the modernization process of the country and the growing rate of literacy among women had brought to stage many contradictions, and the bells started ringing for change. So, what is the status of the modern Moroccan woman in the new century? Can we talk about a radical change? And is it possible to separate between women's identity, politics, and religion?

2- The 21st century Moroccan woman and the rage for order:

The new king has unfastened the strongholds of patriarchy thanks to his liberating perspective as the supreme power of the 'umma'. He wondered: "How can society achieve progress, while women, who represent half the nation, see their rights violated and suffer as a result of injustice, violence, and marginalization, notwithstanding the dignity and justice granted them by our glorious religion?" (5)¹. The new monarch insisted on relating human rights to Islam, and women were urged to voice out their rights and call for change freely. As a consequence, two historical rallies were organized in Rabat and Casablanca in 2000. Then it took the Moroccan women more than 40 years to witness the change and ratification of the family code by the two houses of parliament in 2004. Women become free to choose and decide on their own, and they start to feel their sense of being.

However, an ethnographic research project done by the scholar Katja Elliott shows many shortcomings and stumbling blocks that urge women to continue their struggle. Elliott argued that the new family code is only a process of patriarchy modernization or rather a ‘normative modernizing agenda’ that still relegates the full agency of the Moroccan woman. Elliott sees that the new Mudawana targets only ‘married women with children’ at the time when unmarried, divorced, and widowed women are really unprivileged. Another serious limitation of the new reforms is the lack of consideration of the specific status of the rural woman who is still under the traditional patriarchal rules due to her illiteracy and double exclusion (as a victim of traditional rules and as a rural excluded woman).¹ Indeed, the rural woman still falls at the margins of the legal system the fact that highlights the reform’s focus on the urban woman as a decorative element for national and international media.

As a matter of fact, these shortcomings and contradictions between the legal and the actual status of women stress out some misunderstandings and miscommunication that are still in play in the Moroccan political, social as well as psychological arena. Hence, why are women still in a quest for the self? And how can the rural woman’s voice be heard?

3. The Arab Spring As A Platform For Identity Negotiation:

Women’s struggle and journey towards equality and emancipation has witnessed an exceptional turn when the 2007 Democratic Society Party was at the hand of a woman, ZohourChekkafi, and many female ministers, advisors, and ambassadors ruled the government. This surprising shift did not really alter the patriarchal political agenda because it did not last for long, particularly after the Moroccan uprisings.

During the Arab revolution, women became one, and they showed to the world how important and powerful they are. Indeed, women consisted the majority of protesters, bearing in mind that they represent half of the nation. After ages of resistance, struggling, and fighting for an independent identity and a political empowerment, here comes the chance to echo their rights and voice them out to the world. As a matter of fact, the Moroccan woman’s issues become widespread nationally and internationally thanks to the media and the civil society during the upheaval.¹

Yet, the Arab ‘spring’ was nothing more than ‘an autumn’ for women in Morocco. A new government came and collapsed all the constitutional reforms and constructed steps towards democracy and woman’s human rights. After all the years of protest and all the different campaigns, there comes the new Islamic ministry (PJD) to select one veiled female minister and to prove to the world that women can’t exist out of the private space. In other words, the new government reveals

that the patriarchal and political systems are interrelated whatever the reforms are. It is worth mentioning MohaEnnaji's statement when he insisted that:

There are hurdles blocking women's emancipation and legal rights in the region. For instance, most countries have not agreed to all the articles of CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women), and the quota system is not officially recognized in most constitutions, which implies that the representation of women depends on the political will and decision of political leaders. (98)¹

These stumbling blocks, for instance, are deeply rooted in the system because of the androcentric hegemony in the region the fact that keeps the community less-developed in all areas and domains. More importantly, the Moroccan woman is still not well secured and protected as a free citizen, and she is also still seen as a sexual object instead of a strong and powerful agent. The proof is the continuous harassment and sexual assault of women such as the overwhelming case of the young girl 'Khadija' who was raped, burned, and tattooed by a gang, urging social media and civil society to call for a ban against violence and unequal rights in the region. According to 'Washington Post', the family of Khadija was reluctant at the beginning to report the assault to the police because of the issue of reputation and the strategy of silencing that is internalized in the family's psyche. Nonetheless, 75,000 citizens signed a petition under one slogan "we are all Khadija".¹

All in all, no one can deny that women succeeded to make their voice heard and to be considered in each reform. In fact, the 'women-friendly' constitution has recognized the equal rights in all domains in article 19, and it also provided more seats in the governmental body for women not to forget to mention the current immediate response to any act of violence or humiliation. Yet, there are still women who are behind the shadow and invisible in remote areas under traditional and tribal laws and still unaware of their rights. There are also strong political hurdles that stand against women's emancipation and empowerment in male-dominated areas, insisting that women are non-existent out of the house walls.

Conclusion:

Undoubtedly, a society cannot move forward without the proliferation of equal rights, emancipation, freedom and empowerment of both genders. Women are the second half of society that should be fully recognized and manifested politically, socially and economically for a nation to move forward. Thanks to feminists and social activists, women start gradually to be aware of their constitutional rights that empower them in all sides of life, and they are urged to continue in their struggle and journey towards inclusion, power, and equality away from the patriarchal exclusion

and silencing. Again, “the future of North Africa is significantly linked to the fate of women’s emancipation”.¹

References:

1. Andrea Cristina QuevedoAcuña, “Exploring the Systemic Struggles of Moroccan Women in a Changing Environment”, *Journal of Georgetown University-Qatar Middle Eastern Studies Student Association*, 8, (2015), p. 5.
2. Benson Kristina, “The Moroccan Status Law and The Invention of Identity: A Case Study on the Relationship between Islam, Women, and the State”, *Journal of Islamic and Near Eastern Law*, 12:1, (2013), pp. 1-6.
3. Sadiqi, Fatima. *Women’s Movements in Post-“Arab Spring” North Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. Print.
4. Susan Macdougall, “Modernizing Patriarchy: The Politics of Women’s Rights in Morocco”, *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 12:3, (2016), p. 1-3.
5. <http://www.hightlasfoundation.org/blogs/849-women-s-status-in-morocco-and-the-historical-struggle>
6. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/mother-of-moroccan-teen-shocked-by-reported-torture-drama/2018/08/30/f4b5f574-ac59-11e8-9a7d-cd30504ff902_story.html?utm_term=.d7579ba92f9a

Farida Mokhtari

The Status of Moroccan Women in the new Socio-political Society'

(University Sultane Moulay Slimane, Beni Mellal, Morocco)

Abstract:

Evident changes have occurred in the situation of women in Morocco since the early 1990s. Gradually, women have gained a greater presence in civil society and in the formal political system. They are actively engaged in politics, which allowed them to gain autonomy and express themselves freely and defend their rights more effectively. This obviously led to a series of institutional, legal and political reforms; as the reform of family law, in particular, which has been presented as a model for women's movements in the region.

The purpose of this article is to shed light on some of the opportunities and political changes that women have achieved by challenging the power relations in favor of their male partners and the nature of the underlying political settlement in Morocco.

Keywords: Moroccan women, reforms, political empowerment, new social status.

Introduction

The last five decades witnessed a slow but evident change in the status of women in Morocco in different domains. At the socio-economic scale, changes demonstrate a number of improvements that have empowered women's situation, enabling them to engage and compete with men in the outside world, with self-autonomy and freedom to express their voices socially and politically. These changes include the socio-cultural life too that helped to reorganize the whole family structure and improve women's education and better their opportunities for paid employment in society.

Actually, from the 80s and under the influence of different women's organizations, the position of women in social and political life is marked with more force and vivacity. In this sense, the debate is crystalized vigorously around the project of the reform of the family code that began in the 2000s.

It is indeed a hard task to question the changes that have occurred in women's life in Morocco, since these changes are multiple, complex and significant. To put on the fort some of these changes that have shaken the living conditions of Moroccan women, it is a priority to approach some major areas where women excelled the best. First and for most, the sector of women's access to education, which is a guaranteed key to employment, the other major achievement for their comfort and health betterment, is the control of fertility, and finally the

political and decision making sphere that has undeniably empowered them with a decisive framework to make further claims.

The main objective is, of course, to situate qualitatively the changes that have occurred in relation to gender equality/equity; considering that the roles invested socially by men and women are determined by different historical, socio-cultural and political factors.

The Royal Impulse

First and foremost, the royal will and the king's personal interest in promoting gender equality are, in fact, a key factor in achieving progress and building a modern and democratic society. These initiatives have, indeed, enabled the Moroccan woman to fully exercise her rights in all areas of civil, political, economic, social and cultural life. In the same way, women have taken important political and social steps, as they have emerged as a huge civic force pushing forward for democracy and fighting against injustice and various forms of discrimination. Moreover, the entry into force of the Family Code, adopted in 2004 and considered one of the most progressive in the Arab world, is another essential element that gave the Moroccan woman a better social status, and gave a strong impetus to the process initiated by Morocco to promote and consolidate the concept of the "family" and the protection of minors. It is truly a great step forward for women's rights domestically and as a model for the broader MENA region.

The family code brought about significant progress and introduced a series of measures that strengthen women's rights. It enshrines the principle of equality between women and men at the level of family responsibility, the rights and duties of both spouses and preserves the rights of the child by including in the Code provisions in conformity with ratified international conventions by Morocco. With the new family code, women are treated as equal to men before the law; divorce is no longer in the hands of the husband; polygamy is drastically restricted and the woman is free to marry a man of her choice. Not only that, but it promoted equality in marriage, accessibility to divorce, and other aspects of family life. This is a fundamental reform that has transformed the Moroccan society into a public dialogue on gender equality in the family.

The current socio-demographic data is there to testify to the profound transformations that have significantly changed the economic, social, and political profile of Morocco. These changes confirm the need to ensure an equal place for men and women in the human and social development of the country. First, we have to consider the urbanization of Morocco since the independence which is highly consolidating; hence, a strong migration to urban areas marks the mobility of the population. Additionally, the decline in the average age of girls at marriage and the decline in the fertility rate are there to attest some considerable and significant social and cultural

transformations in women's lives. The best presentation of the evolution of women is observed in the areas of education, reproductive health, employment, and politics. This representation does not only reflect the progress made in terms of changing perceptions of the role and status of women but also allows us to see the persistent gaps to overcome in terms of gender inequality.

Education a Key to Women's Emancipation

Schooling has always been perceived as a force for the development of any country; and access to women's education is basically recommended on the grounds that women are the educators of future generations. There is no doubt that women's education plays a vital role in promoting their role in society; it is also a key to gender equality and a safe way for their participation in decision-making: educated women are more politically active and knowledgeable about their legal rights and how to exercise them. Hence, improved literacy amongst women and girls is likely to contribute to higher levels of agency. Furthermore, education gives them greater access to paid employment outside the home. Simply going to school exposes girls to new ideas, in addition, schools are places for increased awareness and broader influences, which can also lead to girls being more confident and empowered; ultimately giving them greater political voice.

On the whole, education is an important springboard for not only the categorization of the public space and its diversity but also the personal investment and the possibility of building a future outside the socially attributed roles. Indeed, women's education is of paramount importance, for it enables them to meet the new challenges, and help them safeguard their rights and interests. In the same context, feminists and women's organizations in Morocco, as in the rest of the world as a matter of fact, have early understood that their way out—for autonomy, economic independence and self-realization—was education. As a case in point, schools in Morocco trained the first generations of girls, who had subsequently gained access to paid work, as well as public and political responsibilities. Now we have educated elite engaged and aware of the social and political role to play in society.

Admittedly, considerable progress has been recorded from the part of women since the last five decades; nonetheless, the majority of the ten million illiterate people in our country are women, about (62%). The gap is not only about gender inequalities but also spatial, since rural women suffer more from illiteracy than urban women. Among illiterate children aged 7 to 15, (27.4%) are boys and (40.6%) are girls. But since 2003, an action plan to combat illiteracy for global development was introduced, and women are a priority target. Thus, several women's associations for development have prioritized the fight for equal opportunities in access to education for women and

children in their programs and action plans. These efforts attempt to reduce social and spatial gaps as well as gender disparities.

The difference between girls and boys in terms of urban-rural dichotomy reflects a long history of discrimination against rural children in general, and girls in particular. This penalization of rural girls is accentuated as soon as one moves towards the higher levels of education, posing in an urgent and crucial way the question of the persistence of the retention of rural girls at the end of the fundamental cycle. At the same time, barriers to girls’ education are not only found in school administrations but also in the home, in the marketplace, and in society at large. Sad to say that in the 21st century many major constraints still persist and prevent girls from accessing school such as poverty, sexual harassment, geographical distance and accessibility of schools, adding to that the illiteracy of mothers, and early marriage of girls in these areas where approximately 80% of women are illiterate to some degree.

To this end, huge efforts must be done to improve women's education in Morocco and the involvement of policies and programs must prove measurable results. In the same vein, education needs to be more accessible to low-income families and rural population. Particular attention should be given to the quality of education provided and the need for girls to complete their studies. Definitely, with increased female education, fertility, population growth, and infant and child mortality decline and the health of the family improves.

Access to Employment, a Rightful Space

The growth of female employment is undeniable. The number of working women increased in Morocco from less than 1 million in 1960 to 2.4 million in 2000; at the same time, the employment rate of women has risen faster than that of men, some even believe that the question of female employment would be "settled" in a near future. Paradoxically and despite this development, female unemployment rates are in all occupational categories, among both young and long-term unemployed, higher than men's. Let's not forget that the female employment rate remains lower than that of men. Thus, women in Morocco represent 25.5% of the active population, but more than half of the unemployed. This paradox growth in women’s employment and, at the same, time the increase in women’s unemployment can be explained either by the very large number of women entering the labor market or the previous low rate of women’s participation. Another probability may be attributed to the fact that women are often denied full access to information or resources with which to empower their civic or political agendas. To sum it up, we have to admit that the socio-political context – in particular women’s access to employment and social services – has both encouraged and constrained reform.

On the other hand, the paid work of women has almost become commonplace and is actually part of the feminine identity (girls, at school, prepare themselves for a job like boys). These trends give women greater confidence and agency, and ultimately higher levels of political voice; even though women's work is not yet considered equal to that of men, because it is actually perceived as different: men and women do not occupy the same jobs, and they do not perform the same tasks in certain sectors, due to many constructed considerations notably negative attitudes and lots of taboos against women. To better illustrate this, let's take the case of the working class women who continue to face discrimination, poor working conditions, unequal access to training, lower pay and longer hours, which indicates limited negotiating power. Besides, they are particularly vulnerable to job loss and heavily concentrated in the textile sector, informal sector and agriculture. It is highly disappointing to notice that, even though women play a growing role in development, they still suffer from many social injustices, such as wage inequality and poverty.

In a nutshell, due to the nature of the jobs they perform and the fragility of the place they occupy, women are more affected by unemployment. It is equally because their place is still fragile in the opinion and the mentality that the mobilization is not stronger to tackle female unemployment. The female unemployment rate is both the consequence and the illustration of the places of men and women in employment, the different assessment of the work done by men and by women, as well as the unequal division of family responsibilities between spouses. In general, women's unemployment continues to affect young people between the ages of 25 and 34 particularly. Hence, it is in this age group that unemployment is the most worrying, where the occupancy rate is traditionally high. Moreover, regardless of gender, unemployment rates grow with education levels. Nevertheless, the situation of women is much more problematic especially for higher education graduates who find it more difficult to enter the labor market.

Fertility Control, the Released Body

Women's agency increased both at the level of the family (including the choice of the husband) and in the public sphere. The shift has occurred alongside the long-run improvements in female literacy as well as towards a nuclear rather than an extended family. Obviously, these changes have helped to empower women with greater freedom of political expression. Thus, since the 1990s, the birth rate went down considerably from 7.7 in 1962 to 2.6 children per woman in urban areas, and from 6.9 to 4.3 in rural areas. This important change could be related to the sociological and demographic factors which mainly decrease the average age of marriage and the use of contraception.

Like their male counterparts, Moroccan women nowadays marry more and more lately compared to some decades ago. This fact attests to a qualitative evolution of the social status of women in terms of improving their health and strengthening their human capital towards a greater liberation for economic and political engagement. The latter are therefore less subject to the constraints of procreation (multiple pregnancies, education of children...). In fact, women’s health and social outcomes have improved dramatically: the fertility rate is now one of the lowest in the region; the maternal mortality rate decreased by two-thirds in just two decades; definitely, the use of contraception can be considered as the most important moment that has led to material psychological liberation that promotes women’s empowerment and capacity development.

In brief, it is necessary to emphasize that the symbolic value of fertility has changed. The social investment of the woman’s body is no longer so oriented towards procreation and safeguarding the male honour. This control of fertility had led women in a process of liberation and empowerment and influenced their access to outdoors responsibilities by making the most of the opportunities offered to them in the public sphere. This ultimately gave them legitimate access to the outside world and gave them money that can increase their negotiating power and autonomy in the home. Moreover, a greater social interaction can expose women to new ideas and offer them more opportunities for self-expression.

Access to Decision-making Positions, Towards a Sharing of Power

The status of women has always been a “political” issue in the sense that it has been the subject of discussion and debate - of contestation - among different groups or “publics” (in Fraser’s terminology). Actually, women already have a high degree of decision-making power in their families, communities, businesses and societies. Every day they show their determination to work, ameliorate and reduce political and social tensions. Presumably, women’s political participation is a question of central concern to democracy. Certainly, a sustainable society, and a thriving democracy depends on all of its citizens being included and involved in public debate and decision-making at every level. It is also a question that is of central concern to gender equality, justice and human rights.

In recent years, a number of measures have been taken to improve the status of women in Morocco and to ensure their political participation. Currently, we can testify that the Moroccan woman has already taken important political and social steps, and the realization of these precious assets in her favor is the result of the enlightened policy of the king Mohamed VI who has never ceased to work for the promotion of the role and place of the Moroccan woman in all the various fields of public life. This can be substantiated especially through the support and the encouragement

of her effective participation in the decision-making process and her involvement in the management of public affairs. Certainly, the principle of equality is enshrined in the 2011 Constitution that asserts women's equal rights and prohibits all forms of discrimination, notably gender discrimination. It also guaranteed the political rights and the exercise of public freedoms.

Yet, despite all these achievements, the reality is deceptively not always compatible with the declarations of principle; for the representation of women at the level of public authorities and decision-making at the national, local and regional levels remains so far very low. For the feminization of the civil service and the increase in the number of female officials do not mean the existence of equity and equal opportunities in access to big responsibilities and important functions, and as a matter of fact, a majority of women officials find themselves in average status. However, the public administration is opening up since a few years now to a minority group of women who are starting to occupy some high ministerial responsibilities. Indeed, a visible advent for women in parliament is worth to be noted, from 1% in 2003 to 17% today. Progression is slow but important in the face of long years of the exclusion of women in the field of responsibility and decision making; although their presence is insufficient in number only (five in the government).

As for the political field, it has remained particularly closed to women for decades, and women wielding political power are still a rarity in Morocco. For this reason and to enhance women's political participation, the government implements Article 19 of the new constitution, as it is fervently demanded by the feminist movement in Morocco to ultimately foster women's political participation and further promote her access to power. Likewise, a note from the European Parliament to the members of the Commission on Women's Rights and Gender Equality highlights the low representation of Moroccan women in political, economic and social life. The document explains that despite the adoption of several laws and a substantial increase in the number of women in politics in recent years, their participation remains timid due to various structural, cultural, economic and institutional factors. In order to consolidate the democratization path of the country, women must be more socially, politically and economically integrated.

Apparently, despite Morocco's political commitment to women's rights, "awareness and prevention measures are insufficient", while "the Moroccan Penal Code does not guarantee effective legal protection for women against violence and discrimination". It is frustrating to note that women in Morocco have not yet been able to fully take their place in economic, social and political life, despite the legislative reforms that Morocco has experienced since 1998, thanks to engaged civil society and human rights movements, including the women's movement.

Given the above statements, and despite the important role played by women at different levels of public life and their active participation in political affairs; their official presence in legislative and executive institutions is slowly developing. At the local level, this representativeness is strongly linked to the adequacy of women's representation and political participation at the national level on the one hand, and the presence in political decision-making positions and public responsibilities on the other hand. As for municipal councils, representativeness of women in prefectures, provinces and regions remains derisory. Regardless of the advanced constitutional provisions, this clear discrimination is probably due to the Moroccan political parties that display a certain laxity and reservations with regard to women's political participation, since, despite the slogans they carry in their speeches, they give women neither the opportunity nor the necessary conditions to access to Parliament; many women did not have the privilege of being at the head of the lists of electors and in the assemblies elected, whether at the local, provincial or regional level.

Because of some persisting gender stereotypes, women are frequently perceived as lacking the ‘natural’ competence needed to succeed in politics. To implement the cliché, men’s discursive strategies is to uphold the attitude that “politics” is exclusively limited to the formal political sphere (political institutions and parties) largely dominated by men. Indeed, men are reluctant to be led by a woman; even women are reluctant to vote for female candidates. To change this archaic mentality, or rather to destabilize the old patriarchal structures, and thanks to the introduction of legal reforms on women’s political participation, their presence as MPs is mostly requested/needed to help change the perception that women are not suited to politics, in the same way, to foster their acceptance in decision-making positions and redefine the whole social and political gender identities.

The advocacy of women's associations is focused on the meaning of women's empowerment with a view to the representativeness at the political level and a better redistribution of responsibilities in decision-making centres, the aim is to establish measures of "positive discrimination" or voluntarist with a view to reducing the differences between men and women to optimize the conditions for equal opportunities. Thus, following the advocacy and mobilizations of women's movement that played a major role in the advancement of women’s political participation and gender equality in Morocco, the political parties decided to reserve the national list for women's candidacy, allowing, thus, the access of 35 women to the Parliament (30 elected on the basis of the national list and 5 based on regional lists). In this way, Morocco is today among the Arab countries that have the highest representation of women in Parliament (10%). All of these reforms in favour of Moroccan women could not have been possible without the long-run struggle and activism of the

feminist movement and women's organizations and their strong advocacy based on real expertise and linked to the reality and experiences of women.

Conclusion

Over the past decades, Morocco has made the integration of women, especially the improvement of their social conditions and their participation in the economic, and the socio-political circuits a strategic priority. Positively, women have gained an improved education, smaller families, better health and greater access to paid employment outside the home. Many factors have empowered women, making it more possible for them to claim their rights by engaging in political processes and social movements. Leading to further enhancement, the government has initiated significant changes and established the rule of law through various projects (development of civil society, ratification of international conventions by the Government, promulgation of the new Family Code, etc...). In collaboration with the Mohammed VI Foundation for Solidarity and the National Initiative for Human Development, the projects launched testify to the government's constant desire to equip women with tools and a high degree of social stability and successful economic integration to participate actively in the development of their country.

As mentioned above, one of the most noteworthy reforms to the Moroccan constitution in 2011 was its reinforcement of gender equality, including multiple measures that supported women's political participation. These changes could not have been achieved without significantly affecting justice and gender relations. It is no coincidence that the struggle of women for equality and equity naturally took place in the movements and took the advantage of the context to affirm the necessity of the issue and place it at the center of the construction of democracy and a modern state.

References:

1. *al-Dustour al-jadid li-Imamlaka al-Maghribyya*. Al-Ribat: Editions EMALIV, 2011.
2. Abdelouahed Ourzik. *Administration Challenges in the North African Context*. Rabat, Morocco, 2005.
3. Belarbi, A. et al. (eds.) (1995) – *Femmes rurales*. Approaches. Le Fennec, Casablanca.
4. Centre d'Études et de Recherches démographiques [1998], *Genre et développement : aspects socio-démographiques et culturels de la différenciation sexuelle*, Royaume du Maroc, Premier ministre, ministère de la Prévision économique et du Plan.
5. Counting (on) women in politics: experiences from Morocco & Tunisia; 2017
6. East and North Africa. Edited by Fatima Sadiqi and Moha Ennaji. London: Routledge, 2010, pp. 79–88.

7. Ennaji, Moha. “Women’s NGOs and Social Change in Morocco.” In *Women in the Middle East and North Africa*. Edited by Fatima Sadiqi and MohaEnnaji. London: Routledge, 2010, pp. 79–88.
8. Fraser, N. *Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse, and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1989.
9. Direction de la Statistique, [2000], *Activité, emploi et chômage*, Royaume du Maroc, Premier ministre, ministère de la Prévision économique et du Plan.
10. Haut-Commissariat au Plan (2012) *La Femme Marocaine en Chiffres*. Rabat.
11. *Human Development Program. Human Development Indicators. Country Fact Sheet: Morocco*. UNDP, 2006.
12. Maouquit, M, « La réforme du droit de la famille : cinquante années de débats », *Prologues, Revue maghrébine du livre, Hors-série, Casablanca, 2002*.
13. M. Ayadi, « La femme dans le débat intellectuel au Maroc », *Prologues, 2002*.
14. Quota Project (2014) *Quota Project: Global Database of Quotas for Women*. www
15. Zoglin, Katie. “Morocco’s Family Code: Improving Equality for Women.” *HumanRightsQuarterly* 31 (2009): 964–84. [CrossRef]

Tariq Bekkaoui

Laila Lalami:

**Politics, Religion And Identity In The Journalistic Writings Of
A Moroccan Woman In America**

Laila Lalami is the only Moroccan American female novelist. She obtained a degree in Anglo-Saxon literature from Mohammed V University in Rabat. And after obtaining a Master's degree in Linguistics from University College in London, she returned to Morocco and worked as a journalist for the left-wing French-language newspaper *Al Bayane*, covering political and cultural events. She then moved to Los Angeles, and later, obtained a Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of Southern California. Lalami lives in Los Angeles and currently teaches creative writing at the University of California at Riverside.

In 1996, Lalami started writing in English and published literary reviews and political essays in various American newspapers. In 2005, she became the first Moroccan woman writer in the United States with the publication of her debut novel, *Hope and Other Dangerous Pursuits*.¹⁵⁷ The novel received immediate widespread acclaim and was translated into many languages. Her second novel, *The Secret Son*,¹⁵⁸ appeared in 2009, followed by an historical novel: *The Moor's Account* in 2014. Her most recent novel is *The Other Americans*, 2019, a novel on the suspicious death of Driss Guerraoui, a Moroccan immigrant in California.¹⁵⁹

Though a well established novelist, Lalami continues to entertain a deep passion for journalism and politics. She regularly contributes articles to the *Washington Post*, the *Guardian*, the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The Nation* magazine, and many other newspapers. Her journalistic writings focus mostly on issues of immigration, politics in the MENA region, Islam and Muslims, women, and Arab revolutions. She also discusses American matters such as race, politics, and Donald Trump. While her fictional writing has triggered considerable critical interest, her journalistic writing remains fairly unknown.

¹⁵⁷ The novel was published in America by Algonquin Books. Laila Lalami was keen to have her novel published in Morocco. It was eventually published by the Moroccan Cultural Studies Centre, Fez, in 2008. The novel was translated into ten languages.

¹⁵⁸ *The Secret Son* was translated in many languages, including Chinese in 2011.

¹⁵⁹ Lalami is currently writing a nonfiction book about the modern immigrant experience in America. See, <http://www.lyceumagency.com/speakers/laila-lalami/>

MOROCCAN POLITICS

In several of her journalistic articles on Morocco, Lalami deals with human rights, Moroccan political system, State persecution of journalists, music festivals and their enormous budgets, rape and the culture of silence in Morocco, and Moroccan Spring, a topic Lalami accords special focus.

In 2008, two years before the Arab Spring, Lalami wrote about the case of Fouad Mourtada, a young Moroccan engineer who was jailed and tortured for creating a fake profile of a royal prince. His arrest, torture and trial, reveal in Lalami’s view, the state of human rights in Morocco. She writes:

In January 2007, the magazine *Nichane* was seized and its editor given a suspended sentence because he published jokes deemed offensive to Islam. In February, the editor of *Le Journal*, Aboubakr Jamai, was forced to resign from his magazine in order to protect it from an outrageously large fine In a May Day protest, a group of people who were calling for constitutional reforms were arrested, charged with the extremely serious offense of “undermining the sacred values of the state” and given two- to four-year prison sentences.... In June, protesters who were demanding the release of the May Day prisoners were also arrested and imprisoned.¹⁶⁰

The reign of Mohammed VI, is hailed as the beginning of a new era of democracy and human rights. Lalami argues that the case of Mourtada is an indication that “nearly ten years after his accession to the throne, the country is sliding back down a familiar road of abuse.”¹⁶¹ Commenting on the situation of human rights in Morocco in an article published in *New York Times*, Lalami

A democracy cannot be established unless independent journalists, whatever their political beliefs, are allowed to work and publish freely. Without freedom of expression, Morocco’s reforms are merely a varnish. Underneath it lies the same old country.¹⁶²

Lalami states that like in many countries in the Arab World, popular protests erupted in Morocco, calling for rights, freedom, dignity, and justice. In her article “Arab Uprisings: What the February 20 Protests Tell Us about Morocco”, published in *The Nation*, Lalami talks about the emergence of the 20 February Movement, a group of young activists from Casablanca who, inspired by the Tunisian and the Egyptian revolution, used social media to mobilize the masses for demonstrations against the regime. The 20 February Movement’s main demands include

¹⁶⁰ Laila Lalami, “The Fake Prince of Facebook,” *The Nation*, 21 February, 2008. On the issue of persecution of journalists in Morocco, see, “Sustained Crackdown on Independent Reporting in Morocco,” March 5, 2015, available at <https://rsf.org/en/news/sustained-crackdown-independent-reporting-morocco>. See also <https://www.prsstart.org/hicham>.

¹⁶¹ Laila Lalami, “The Fake Prince of Facebook.”

¹⁶² Laila Lalami, “Censorship’s New Clothes,” *New York Times*, 3 February, 2007. This article was reprinted in the *International Herald Tribune* in February 5, 2007.

“constitutional reforms, the dissolution of the present parliament, the creation of a temporary transitional government, an independent judiciary, accountability for elected officials, language rights for Berber speakers and the release of all political prisoners.”¹⁶³

The reaction of the government was “predictable and depressing.” Lalami quotes the Youth Minister, Moncef Belkhatat, saying that this is a conspiracy “manipulated by the Polisario, with the goal of creating street clashes that will weaken the position of our country in the United Nations regarding the human rights situation in the Sahara.” While the Communication Minister, Khalid Naciri, explains that Morocco “has embarked a long time ago on an irreversible process of democracy and widening of public freedoms.” Other ministers simply denied that there are any big problems in the country or blamed foreign agents who try to instigate unrest in the country.

Lalami rejects such explanations and is angry at the State endeavor to stigmatize the organizers of the protests as “traitors to their faith and to their country.”

Laila Lalami does not write as a detached journalist who merely report news. On the contrary she expresses her sympathy and solidarity with the 20 February Movement. She writes explicitly:

I love my homeland. And it is because I love it that I want it to be a place where everyone is treated equally under the law; where the legislative, judiciary and executive branches are independent of one another; where human rights are respected; and where the government is accountable to the people. This makes me a supporter of the February 20 movement.¹⁶⁴

2. LALAMI'S CONFIGURATION OF GENDER

In “Chronicles of the Veil,” Lalami deconstructs contemporary Western academic construction of the Muslim woman. She attacks Western representation of the Muslim woman as being inherently Orientalistic. The Western writer confiscates the voice of the Oriental woman, who is submissive and powerless and in need of saving by the Western author. Lalami refutes this neo-Orientalist representation and observes that in Muslim women writings, women emerge as active and resistant to oppression. The authors explicitly critiques the laws, cultural customs, and religious beliefs that hampered Moroccan women and prevented them from achieving full equality.

¹⁶³ Laila Lalami, “Arab Uprisings: What the February 20 Protests Tell Us about Morocco”, *The Nation*, February 17, 2011. For a discussion of the 20 February Movement, see Irene F. Molina, “The Monarchy vs. the 20 February Movement: Who Holds the Reins of Political Change in Morocco?” *Mediterranean Politics* 16: 3 (November 2011), pp. 435-441. See also Ghassan Wail El Karmouni, “Mouvement du 20 février : Quels enseignements à tirer pour la gauche marocaine?” res://ieframe.dll/acr_error.htm#rosalux.de and Mohammed Darif, “Morocco: A Reformist Monarchy?” *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, 3: 1 (2012), pp. 82-103.

¹⁶⁴ Laila Lalami, “Arab Uprisings: What the February 20 Protests Tell Us about Morocco.”

Comparing the debate on Muslim women taking place in the West and the Islamic world, Lalami observes that while feminist activists in the Muslim world deal with local problems, struggle to change their condition and introduce reforms that would benefit woman and combat sexism and sexual harassment, the terms of the debate in the West “are global. One hears about arranged marriages, forced veiling, honor killings, female genital mutilations, and punishment by stoning, the narrative line always the same: Muslim women are victims, and they need Western saviors.”¹⁶⁵ For Lalamiany fruitful conversation about Muslim women must begin by rejecting the simplistic category “Muslim women,” a category that often results in a denial of these women’s multifarious agency. There are thousands and thousands of Muslim activists, men and women alike, working for gender equality in the Muslim world, sometimes at great risk to themselves. Bringing them into the debate — talking to them, not about some abject “representative” — is the only way to advance it.
166

In a long and well researched scholarly article entitled “The Missionary Position,” published in *The Nation* in June, 2006, Lalami answers back, now not to the West but to Muslim dissident female voices in the West, who claim to speak from within Islam and against Islam.

Laila Lalami reviews *The Caged Virgin: An Emancipation Proclamation for Women and Islam* (2006), a post-September 11 book by Hirsi Ali, a writer of Somali origin.¹⁶⁷ In this book Ali attacks Islamic “sexual morality,” the obsession of Muslim societies with female virginity and is distressed “that the vast majority of Muslim women are still enchained by the doctrine of virginity... experience of love and sexuality before marriage is an absolute taboo. This taboo does not apply to men.”¹⁶⁸ Lalami agrees that “the burden of virginity weighs disproportionately on females in Muslim cultures,” but criticizes Ali for failing “to point out that the Koran emphasizes virginity and forbids both genders from having premarital sex.” She explains that insofar as the issue of virginity is concerned “the Koran is no different from the Bible.” The prevalence of the concept of virginity in Muslim societies, Lalami explains, is “a matter of cultural practice.”¹⁶⁹

Another social practice that Ali attributes to Islam is female genital mutilation, FGM. Ali affirms that “these existing local practices were spread by Islam.” While condemning this practice, Lalami reminds Ali that “according to the United Nations Population Fund, FGM is practiced in

¹⁶⁵ Laila Lalami, “Chronicles of the Veil,” *LARB Quarterly Journal*, February 23, 2014.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ Ali’s books include *Infidel: My Life* (2007 in English) *Nomad: From Islam to America: A Personal Journey Through the Clash of Civilizations* (2011), *Heretic: Why Islam Needs a Reformation Now* (2016).

¹⁶⁸ Hirsi Ali, *The Caged Virgin: An Emancipation Proclamation for Women and Islam* (2006)

¹⁶⁹ Laila Lalami, “The Missionary Position,” *The Nation*, 1 June, 2006.

sub-Saharan Africa by Animists, Christians and Muslims alike, as well as by Ethiopian Jews, sometimes in collusion with individual representatives of the faiths.” Lalami also refers to a report by the US State Department that some Coptic Christian priests “refuse to baptize girls who have not undergone one of the procedures.” Lalami is surprised that “Hirsi Ali does not blame Animism, Christianity or Judaism for FGM, or accuse these belief systems of spreading it. With Islam, however, such accusations are acceptable.”

Equally significant in Lalami's critique of *The Caged Virgin* is Hirsi Ali's argument that “Very few Muslims are actually capable of looking at their faith critically. Critical minds like those of Afshin Ellian in the Netherlands and Salman Rushdie in England are exceptions.” Lalami refutes this statement by citing several Muslim scholars who have approached religion through critical thinking, authors such as “Khaled Abou El Fadl, Fatima Mernissi, Leila Ahmed, Reza Aslan, Adonis, Amina Wadud, Nawal Saadawi, Mohja Kahf, Asra Nomani and the thousands of other scholars working in both Muslim countries and the West.”

Lalami is also shocked by Ali's statement that “After the events of 9/11, people who deny this characterization of the stagnant state of Islam were challenged by critical outsiders to name a single Muslim who had made a discovery in science or technology, or changed the world through artistic achievement. There is none.” Lalami strongly rejects Ali's denial of Muslim contribution to world civilization and knowledge by mentioning “the algebra of Al-Khawarizmi, the medical prowess of Ibn-Sina and Ibn-Rushd, or the music of Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan.”¹⁷⁰

Lalami is very critical of the assumptions that inform the writing of *The Caged Virgin*. The first is that Muslim women are the silent natives who cannot speak up for themselves and are therefore in need of Western advocates to save them and speak on their behalf. The first is that Muslim women somehow cannot speak up for themselves. Ali writes in this respect “The [reason] I am determined to make my voice heard is that Muslim women are scarcely listened to, and they need a woman to speak out on their behalf.” Reacting against Ali, Lalami emphasizes the fact that “Muslim women are not, nor have they ever been, silent.” She cites the example of Aisha, the Prophet's wife. She writes: a significant portion of *hadith*, the Prophet's sayings that form the basis of the Sunna, are attributed to his wife Aisha. Here is a sample *hadith*: “Narrated Aisha: The Prophet said, ‘All drinks that produce intoxication are *haram*.’” But how did Aisha narrate this saying? Was it by sitting at home, in a cage, or by actively engaging with her community and teaching the *hadith* to the congregation?¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

This gendered Muslim activism “has continued, and Muslim women have made their marks in all fields—whether religion or science or medicine or literature. Over the past century, they have organized in groups dedicated to fight for the advancement of their rights. Even under the inhumane Taliban regime, the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan remained active, providing literacy courses and medical services to women and girls.” Muslim women, Lalami concludes, have never been invisible nor silent.

The second assumption is that Hirsi Ali gives herself the authority to speak about Islam and Muslims solely on the basis of her Muslim origin, proudly cherishing the conviction that a “native informant knows best.” In her view, this is enough to qualify her to speak about an entire religion without scholarly training. For instance, Ali describes Islam as a violent religion and argues that this is the reason why “so many Islamic men use violence.” Then addressing her audience, Ali says: “You are shocked to hear me say these things... you overlook something: you forget where I am from. I used to be a Muslim; I know what I am talking about.”

Lalami points out factual inaccuracies in Ali’s book, explaining that *The Caged Virgin* is a book that relies on the premises of “the native is silent” and “the native informant knows best,” and that it is not so much addressed to Muslims as “to Western advocates for Muslim women.”

Another audience of *The Caged Virgin*, implied in Lalami’s article, is anti-multiculturalism nationalists in Europe. Ali opposes vehemently what she considers to be an invasion of Islamic sacred texts to the secular space in Europe and fiercely criticizes the lax policies in Western European states toward their Muslim minorities.

Lalami is obviously shocked by Ali’s lack of intellectual rigor and sweeping generalization and inaccuracies; she is equally shocked that the *Time* magazine should rank Hirsi Ali as one of 100 “most influential people” of 2005, people with “the clout and power to change our world.”

For Lalami, Ali’s book *The Caged Virgin* is a piece of neo-Orientalist propaganda which illustrates how the discourse of freeing women was deployed by the West to justify the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003. In contemporary discourse on gender, Lalami concludes, Muslim women are “saddled with what can only be referred to as the ‘burden of pity.’” They are the object of compassion of very distinct and radically opposed currents: Muslim religious extremists and evangelical and secular neo-colonialists.

3. .IDENTITY AND THE GRAY ZONE

Laila Lalami published various articles that concern Moroccan affairs, but she was also interested in American and International events, political, religious and identity were all topics of interest for her.

One of the most noteworthy points that Lalami talks about is the Gray Zone. In her article, "My Life as a Muslim in the West's 'Gray Zone'", published in *New York Times*, she criticizes how ISIS sees the Gray Zone, clarifying that for this group, the world is either black or white and in the middle is the gray zone. ISIS claims that the Gray Zone must be eliminated because it threatens them and prevents them from reigning. Lalami situates herself in the Gray Zone, the space of ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. She says:

Whose lives are gray? Mine, certainly. I was born in one nation (Morocco) speaking Arabic, came to my love of literature through a second language (French) and now live in a third country (America), where I write books and teach classes in yet another language (English). I have made my home in between all these cultures, all these languages, all these countries. And I have found it a glorious place to be. My friends are atheists and Muslims, Jews and Christians, believers and doubters. Each one makes my life richer.¹⁷²

Lalami defines the Gray Zone as a "place where people coexist and tolerate one another."¹⁷³ As a subject living in America, a Western Secular country that includes numerous ethnicities and religions, she says that "Terrorist attacks affect all of us in the same way: We experience sorrow and anger at the loss of life. For Muslims, however, there is an additional layer of grief as we become subjects of suspicion."¹⁷⁴

Laila Lalami was interviewed on CBSN news channel about her article published in *New York Times'* website, which she wrote after the 2015 San Bernardino attack in California. In answer to a question on her conceptualization of the Gray Zone and how it is understood by ISIS, Lalami explains that according to an article entitled "From Hypocrisy to Apostasy - The Extinction of the Gray Zone", published by ISIS in their official magazine "Dabiq", the world is seen in terms of two camps, that of Muslims, and that of the Crusaders. The Gray Zone as a site of religious and cultural in-between should not exist, and it should be destroyed. Lalami condemns such views and defines herself not only as a Muslim, but also as a woman, Moroccan, a writer and American citizen.

As a committed diasporic journalist, Lalami has indefatigably devoted herself to highlight and record human rights abuses and anti-democratic practices in her homeland in the newspapers of her host country. The English language has offered her the medium to express her political views and reach wide international audiences. Her intention is to see political and social reforms implemented

¹⁷² Laila lalami, "My Life as a Muslim in the West's 'Gray Zone,'" *New York Time*, November, 20, 2015.

¹⁷³ Ibid. <http://www.theredlandsbulldog.com/preservation-of-the-gray-zone-laila-lalami-speaks-on-islamophobia-at-redlands/>

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

in her native county. “I love my homeland,” she asserts, “And it is because I love it that I want it to be a place where everyone is treated equally under the law...where human rights are respected.”¹⁷⁵

Journalism and English have also given Laila Lalami the freedom and opportunity to define her identity as a cosmopolitan Moroccan woman living in a diasporic American Gray Zone and, as illustrated in her article, “Chronicles of the Veil,” to engage with Neo-orientalist scholarship in a postcolonial writing- back perspective.

Bibliography

1. Lalami, Laila. “Arab Uprisings: What the February 20 Protests Tell Us about Morocco.” *The Nation*, February 17, 2011.
2. ---. “Censorship’s New Clothes.” *New York Times*, 3 February, 2007.
3. ---. “Chronicles of the Veil.” *LARB Quarterly Journal*, February 23, 2014.
4. ---. “My Life as a Muslim in the West’s ‘Gray Zone.’” *New York Time*, November, 20, 2015.
5. ---. “The Fake Prince of Facebook.” *The Nation*, 21 February, 2008.
6. ---. “The Missionary Position.” *The Nation*, 1 June, 2006.
7. Ali, Hirsi. *The Caged Virgin: An Emancipation Proclamation for Women and Islam*. New York: The Free Press, 2006.
8. Darif, Mohammed. “Morocco: A Reformist Monarchy?” *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, 3: 1 (2012), pp. 82-103.
9. Zeriuoh, Mohammed. “Reflections on feminist movements in Morocco : Laila Lalami as a case study .” In *Islamic feminism in North Africa : proceedings of the international conference organized by Faculty of letters and humanities, University Mohamed I, Oujda*, Oujda: University Mohammed I, 2013. Eds. B. Belgaid, M. Elkouche, A. Elboubekri.
10. Molina, Irene F. “The Monarchy vs. the 20 February Movement: Who Holds the Reins of Political Change in Morocco?” *Mediterranean Politics* 16: 3 (November 2011), pp. 435-441.
11. “Parcours Laila Lalami, passionaria anti-Trump.” *Jeune Afrique*, 57, no. 2914, (2016): pp. 58-58.
12. El Karmouni, Ghassan Wail. “Mouvement du 20 février : Quels enseignements à tirer pour la gauche marocaine?” res://ieframe.dll/acr_error.htm#rosalux.de, http://www.rosalux.de/fileadmin/rls_uploads/pdfs/Themen/Arabellion/20120315_ghassan_wail_maroc.pdf
13. “Sustained Crackdown on Independent Reporting in Morocco,” March 5, 2015, available at <https://rsf.org/en/news/sustained-crackdown-independent-reporting-morocco>. <https://www.prsstart.org/hicham>.
14. <http://www.theredlandsbulldog.com/preservation-of-the-gray-zone-laila-lalami-speaks-on-islamophobia-at-redlands/>
15. <http://www.lyceumagency.com/speakers/laila-lalami>

¹⁷⁵ Laila Lalami, “Arab Uprisings: What the February 20 Protests Tell Us about Morocco.”

Salma Takky

**Women's Representation in Moroccan and international Law-CEDAW convention ,The Moroccan Family Code (Moudawana) and The Moroccan Penal Code as case studies-
(USMBA, Fes)**

Abstract

This paper seeks to evaluate women's representation and access to equality and justice in Morocco through the lens of family law (Moudawana) since it was reformed in 2004. It also aims at providing recommendations to increase women's benefits by improving the current mechanisms that provide access to justice to women. The present research examines whether some women experience access to justice differently than other women because of the way reforms are written and/or executed in practice. The emphasis is on discrepancies of women's access to justice between urban and rural areas, more particularly, in Berber indigenous populations. The research's legal framework will analyze the national and international laws that apply to the right of women to access adequate and effective remedies related to family law since the 2004 reforms were applied. Special attention was also given to the past amendments of the Moudawana and the penal code. This is, particularly, timely as Morocco reformed its Constitution in summer, 2011, and for the first time the new Constitution declares in its preamble the country's adherence to human rights as recognized universally, as well as recognizes the preeminence of international law over national legislation, standards that apply to women's rights to access justice through effective remedies as well under Morocco's national law, especially the Moudawana. As far as international commitments are concerned, I will refer to notable international and regional instruments, namely the United Nations (U.N.) conventions on human rights: The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), ratified respectively in 1979 and 1993 in Morocco. The Moudawana aspects that I will address in this paper are, mainly, related to: violence, marriage, and its dissolution.

Keywords: Gender Representation, Violence and Marriage in Morocco, Moudawana and the Penal code, CEDAW.

Introduction

This study seeks to analyze women's portrayal and access to equality and integrity in Morocco through the lens of the family law (Moudawana) that was reformed in 2004. It further

aims at providing recommendations to increase women's benefits by improving the current mechanisms that provide access to justice to women. The present analysis examines whether some women experience access to justice differently than other women because of the way reforms are written and/or executed in practice. The emphasis is on incompatibilities of women's access to justice between urban and rural areas, more surprisingly, in Berber indigenous populations. The research's legal structure will spell out the national and international laws that apply to the right of women to access adequate and practical remedies applied to family law since the 2004 reforms were applied. Special attention will be again given to the past amendments of the Moudawana and the penal code. This is, principally, timely as Morocco reformed its Constitution in 2011, and for the first time, the new Constitution declares in its preamble the country's adherence to individual rights as recognized universally. As far as international commitments are concerned, I will refer to notable international and regional instruments, namely the United Nations (U.N.) conventions on human rights: The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), ratified respectively in 1979 and 1993 in Morocco. The Moudawana aspects that will be addressed are, mainly, related to violence, marriage, and its dissolution.

The research paper presents a deconstruction analysis of legislative amendments targeting gender equality in Morocco. It then focuses on analyzing the status of women at the level of national and international law. With the aim of understanding the ups and downs with regard to women's access to justice and equality in Morocco, a spacious locus of this analysis will be paid to the representation of women within the framework of legislative laws. Despite the various judicial advances that characterize the law, the lack of adequate implementation and execution is persistent. Some of the gaps are related to judicial oversight and accountability, urban vs rural policies. Even though, the decentralization policy has been implemented in Morocco; many of rural areas are blindly discriminated. To clarify, while both women and men extremely suffer from various challenges, linked to education, health, and infrastructure. The geographical discrimination of the distribution of wealth between rural and urban regions lead to a greater gender bias, depriving women from their basic rights which has constantly impeded the enhancement of equality in the region. As a result, economic needs and social traditions tend to favor antiquated feminine roles as early brides and domestic workers. Then again, education and literacy among girls are still not valued.

1. CEDAW

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was adopted on 18 December 1979 by the General Assembly of the United Nations,

endorsed by Morocco in 1993. CEDAW reaffirms the principle of equality between women and men, it also provides an overall definition to the concept of discrimination through establishing solid a platform so as to achieve gender equality . CEDAW also aims at establishing a concrete action plan for women at political, economic, social and cultural spheres. CEDAW is composed of 30 articles. Its first article includes a definition of discrimination against women: "For the purposes of the present Convention, the term "discrimination against women" shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.".(Art 1)

CEDAW aims to guide the action of states parties , in the sense of actively promoting women's rights and better gender equality. The introduction to the convention states: "By analyzing in detail the meaning of the notion of equality and the means of attaining it, the convention, in addition to being an international declaration of women's rights, also sets out an action for states parties to guarantee the exercise of these rights ". (CEDAW permeable). The convention occupies an important place among the international treaties for the rights of the human rights because it recalls the inalienable rights of women. By analyzing in detail the meaning of the notion of equality and the means of attaining it, the convention, in addition to being an international declaration of women's rights, also sets out an action plan for states parties to guarantee the exercise of these rights. "Convention reaffirms the principle of equality by asking states parties to take "all appropriate measures, including legislative measures, to ensure the full development and progress of women with a view to guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on the basis of equality with men "(Article 3). By the same token, the convention draws attention to the fact that the status of women in terms of nationality was often linked to marriage and evolved according to the nationality of her husband. Articles 10, 11 and 13 respectively affirm the equality of women's rights in education, employment and economic activity and social. The convention places special emphasis on the situation of rural women, especially in view of their particular problems and important economic role referred to in Article 14. Finally, in article 16, the convention again considers the problem of marriage and family relations ,affirming that women and men have the same right to freely choose their spouse, the same rights to decide freely on the number of and spacing of births, the same personal rights, and the same rights in property. In addition to detailed civil rights, the convention also devotes attention to a vital concern of all for women, namely their right to procreate. The preamble sets the tone by stating that "the

role of women in the procreation should not be a cause of discrimination. "The relationship between discrimination and the role of women in procreation is discussed at several with concern in the Convention. Thus, in Article 5, it is recommended: "to make it clear that motherhood is a social function" and to make recognize the common responsibility of both men and women in taking care and raising their children. As a result, maternity protection are considered essential rights and taken into account in all areas covered by the convention. The convention even requires a society that it offers social services, in particular, child care children, allowing women to combine their family responsibilities with their participation in public life. States parties are recommended to adopt special measures to protect maternity; the convention further specifies these measures "shall not be considered discriminatory" (Article 4). Back to article 16, the couple is allowed "to decide freely and in full knowing the number and spacing of births and to have access to information, education and the means necessary to enable them to exercise these rights ". Article 15 guarantees women, in civil law matters, a legal capacity identical to that of men. This, for example, implies equal treatment of women in court proceedings. Article 16 deals with the equal treatment of women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations. The most important provisions of this Article are the equal right of women to enter into marriage, the same right freely to choose a spouse and to enter into marriage only with their free and full consent, the same rights and responsibilities during marriage and at its dissolution; the same rights to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and all matters related to their children. This Article also provides for the same personal rights for husband and wife, including the right to choose a family name, a profession, and an occupation.

What can be discerned is the fact that CEDAW was borne out of a deep understanding of barriers that manifest themselves in the form of stereotypes, habits, and norms which resulted in a multitude of legal, political and economic constraints to women's progress. States parties are therefore bound to change patterns of sociocultural behaviors in order to eliminate "prejudices and customary practices, or any other type, which are based on the idea of the inferiority or superiority of one or the other sex or stereotypical role of men and women "(article 5). Taken as a whole, the convention provides a comprehensive framework to combat the various forces that have created and maintained discrimination based on sex. The implementation of the convention is monitored by the Committee for the Elimination of discrimination against women. The mandate of the Committee is set out in Articles from 17 to 30 of the convention. Articles 10, 11 and 12 deal with the elimination of discrimination against women in education, in the labor market and in the field of health

care. Article 13 prohibits discrimination in other areas of economic, social and cultural life. Article 14 addresses the advancement of women in rural areas.

2. Moroccan family code (Moudawana) and the Penal Code

Since its independence from French colonialism, Morocco has become an open site for discussing women and family-related issues. Especially because during that exact period, Moroccan women have undergone serious gender inequalities because of the purely sexist and patriarchal mode of the country. This gender-biased perception had also to do with the Orientalist writings of Western travelers to Morocco at that time. Therefore, women's identity was/is solely associated with vulnerability, oppression, and hegemony. Consequently, trends towards demanding justice, equality and empowerment have become a priority to make a clear cut with the deeply-rooted patriarchal system of the country.

In 1999, King Mohammed VI inherited his father's throne; this signified the beginning of a new era in Moroccan women's struggle for their rights. King Mohammed VI's advanced approach, emphasized protecting human rights as consistent with Islam.

On March 5, 2001, the king met with women representatives, from political parties and human rights organizations and announced the formation of a royal commission in charge of preparing the appropriate reform of the Moudawana. The commission headed by a Supreme Court Justice was composed of a cross-section of people, including women and men, religious scholars, political parties, intellectuals of traditional, liberal and independence orientation, human rights and women's NGOs. Within the framework of independent Morocco, the Moudawana represents the second most important action of the Moroccan government. The family code was adopted in January 2004 and passed into legislation in February 2004. In point of fact, the new extended law constitutes a landmark reform in the history of Moroccan women's struggle for equality. The Moudawana has seen light due to a rational understanding of the structure of the Moroccan society. While women carry out a dynamic role, fewer privileges were granted to them as their male counterparts who symbolized the primary source of responsibility in the family. It is noteworthy to highlight that in the Moroccan society, married women are respected and appreciated because they are fulfilling their expected roles. On the other hand, unmarried women are seen as useless, unwanted spinsters. Accordingly, these gender dichotomies could be more thoroughly in cases enhanced when women could not marry without the approval of their guardians; while men could marry as many wives as they wished without seeking the approval from their wives. Additionally, men were allowed to break up without their spouses' constant while women were restricted from

divorce. Such practices magnified the way society values women which resulted in a vaster gender conflict.

Stopping at the definition of the concept, Jacqueline Powers (2009, p18) refers to Moudawana as a constitutional form that governs the rights and duties of families in Morocco, The Moudawana consists of 400 articles that organize rights and duties pertaining to divorce, the regulation of marriage, polygamy, divorce, inheritance, and child custody. In its preamble, Moudawana refers to the fact of doing justice to women, protecting children's rights and preserving men's dignity are a fundamental part of this project, which adheres to Islam's tolerant objectives, notably justice, equality, solidarity, *ijtihad* (juridical reasoning) and receptiveness to the spirit of our modern era and the requirements of progress and development. (p 5).

In seeking to modernize Morocco through the rebalancing of women's rights towards greater equality, the action plan measures inevitably entailed a process of transforming gender relations within the family and society. This action plan does not only seek the emancipation of women from the male hegemony but, more broadly, the emancipation from social oppression. The Moroccan historian Abdellah Laroui observed this process in Maghreb societies: "Modernity wins and with it individualism. Old solidarities dissolve; those who want to save them need to believe in their longevity, and they do not care about the quality of the arguments. And no doubt, even lost, this battle will leave traces "(1987: 77). But, important tensions between the aspiration to the changes and the tension on the ideology of the big family, reinforced by the Islamist political currents, continue to tug and insecure many Moroccans against these reforms.

We cannot highlight the importance of Moudawana in granting women's rights without enhancing the amount of effort, struggle, and militantism of women's rights organizations that gathered at one roof, defending women's access to justice. These solid networks were reinforced with the foundation of Women's Action Union. This group was established in 1987 as Union de l'Action Feminine and provides a valuable example of how the women's movement transitioned from a movement employed to generally advocate women's issues in general to a women's rights movement that took on judicial reform as its primary emphasis. (Daoud 1996, p 312). To illustrate more on this idea, despite the multiple attacks of activists of women's rights associations and their moral disqualification by calling them "prostitutes, drunkards and old girls, unable to maintain a home ." (Laabi, 2000), they maintained the struggle and developed a strategy of action that led to the unanimous adoption by Parliament.

The main discriminatory provisions concerned the Moudawana is concerned with is the distribution of power within the family. The husband exercised the "head of the family" ,and the

wife was obliged to obey him, this sets out distinctly the rights of the husband and wife, thus indicating that they were not equal. The Moudawana claims that the husband's rights were also those of his family, relatives, and relatives to whom the wife owed "deference" (Moudawana, article 36). The bonds of marriage were established in an equally unequal fashion. Thus, marriage capacity was less protective for women as the legal age was 15. However, the judge could grant an exemption from age to the husband in Morocco, "if serious difficulties are to be feared" (Article 8). The article 11 provided that "the conclusion of the marriage for the wife is the responsibility of his marital guardian who is either his father or one of his close relatives". Admittedly, he specified that the wali cannot oppose the marriage of the person under his tutelage, "if it wishes and if it is profitable", except in the case where the guardian is the father, who can prevent the marriage, for the sake of her virgin daughter (article 12). Similarly, the wali could not force the person placed under his guardianship to marry, nor could he do without his consent (article 13). The principle of equality also applies to the marital capacity, which is acquired, for the boy and the girl, at the age of 18 in Morocco (Moudawana, art 19), in this case, the law maintains the possibility of age exemptions, granted by the judge. Moreover, the father abandons his status as head of the family for the benefit of a co-direction of the family by the two spouses (Moudawana, art 4) resulting in "a mutual consultation in the management of family affairs" (Moudawana, article 51) and by the disappearance of the obligation of obedience for the wife.

Following the same vein, polygamy is regulated from Articles 40 to 46 of the Mouddawana. The procedure is completely judicial, the second marriage can not take place only after the authorization of the judge. Polygamy is forbidden "where there is an injustice between wives" or the previous marriage contract provides for a clause according to which the husband undertook not to take another wife (Article 40). The court may, however, authorize it if an "exceptional objective reason" is established, which must be indicated by the plaintiff, who must also accompany his claim with a statement of his material situation. The latter will enable the judge to assess whether the applicant has the resources necessary to support the two families (sections 41 and 42). The applicant is under an obligation to inform the wife, whose appearance before the court is mandatory, with strong procedural precautions (section 43).

Having said that, it is also important to understand that despite numerous reforms, the phenomenon of violence against women has increased in the Moroccan society in recent years. Domestic violence against women doesn't come necessarily from the husband. It can be perpetrated by the father, the brother, the relative, the employer. Also, violence is not only physical or verbal or psychological or economic, but it can also be sexual.

Because of the ravaging effects, sexual violence has on women’s psychology, it is considered rape when carried out by the husband, as recognized by the laws of many developed democracies around the world. Any sexual relationship not based on mutual consent, that is against the wishes of the wife or forced under any form of threat is rape indeed. Article 486 is a beautifully written , but in reality, it is on the one hand subject to the decision-making power of the judge. In the law, regardless of age, if the rape causes pregnancy. While in practice, if the victim is of age, the complainant spends most of the time as a debauchee ("Fassida"). If the plaintiff is a minor, the judge orders a DNA test to prove the rape and not for the recognition of paternity, assuming that "the child caused by a sexual act out of wedlock is not entitled to recognition". In addition, even if the rape is proven, the sentences of imprisonment have nothing to do with what is quoted in article 486. They generally vary between 18 months and three years.

Sexual assault includes several offenses (rape, sexual assault other than rape, harm to minors), the common point of which is the attack on the person of a sexual nature. Rape is the most serious sexual assault. The Moroccan Penal Code defines rape, in article 486, as "the act by which a man has sex with a woman against the will of the woman". This crime is punishable by five to ten years in prison. If it is committed on a minor of less than 15 years, the penalty is the imprisonment of ten to twenty years. If the culprit is an ascendant, guardian or servant of the person who is being raped, or if he is an official or minister of acult, the offense shall be accompanied by an aggravating circumstance and imprisonment of ten to twenty years first case, from twenty to thirty years in the second . The Moroccan government has passed a major new law that says sexual harassment is now a crime punishable with up to 6 months jail time. It is most definitely a cause for celebration, especially since this piece of legislation was originally drafted 3 years ago and it took that long for it to finally be voted on. The new law is a very progressive and important move in the country, and hopefully it will have a widespread cultural effect on women, knowing there is a system in place to punish sexual harassment, and for perpetrators who have too long hidden behind the anonymity of a patriarchal culture that in many places does not view gender violence as anything other than normal. This law introduces the new provisions and the amendment of several articles in the penal code. Perpetrators of sexual harassment in public spaces, which includes the use words, acts, or signals of sexual nature for sexual purposes, will be punished in accordance with Article 503-1-1 of the penal code, or “considered as a perpetrator of sexual harassment crime.

In a patriarchal society such as that of Morocco, where girls are raised to be mothers and wives, it is difficult for young women to give up such roles to look for alternatives. Nearly two years after Amina’s death, a young girl who was forced to marry her alleged rapist and then

committed suicide through drinking rat poison, this widely-criticized get-out clause in Morocco's Penal Code has finally been abolished. Although the decision came too late, the amendment of Article 475 is a significant step forward for women and girls in Morocco and a victory for women's rights campaigners who lobbied heavily to amend the law following El Filali's death.

Conclusion

The Moudawana has reinforced women's rights within the public and the private spheres. Cases of such transformations include amendments directing marriage, divorce, alimony, and child custody. The Protection of children was to be increased through the inclusion in the Moudawana and endorsing international conventions such as CEDAW. On the matter of the age, Moudawana raised the age of marriage for girls to 18. However, child marriage is allowed if it is validated by the court. To improve implementation of the Moudawana, priority was given to establish a system of skilled family courts. These changes rectify the critical problems women face when they sought to claim their rights. Currently, the new code stipulates that the deadline for completing all procedures should not exceed one month. Another remarkable contribution to the "Nafaka" (alimony) component is the creation of the Family Solidarity Fund. For a more proper and effective execution, women's associations demand direct and indirect intervention by the state to force judges to apply the Moudawana. But this demand remains paradoxical.

Given the above, the experience of analyzing women's status under national and international law suggests that the social and economic factors are unlikely to reduce instances of the implementation of the Moudawana. There are a number of factors behind failures of implementation. Social and economic impacts of minor marriage cases especially in the rural areas. Economic factors forcing parents to marry off their minor children; social factors, including attitudes around pre-marital sex; and lack of sensitivity of all citizens. This suggests that accountable and integral judiciary practices particularly for underage marriage should be implemented. Correspondingly, more rigorous criteria for determining best interests would be helpful. In the same way, the continual monitoring between local policies and social norms would trigger a more substantial discussion on the application of national and international law for promoting a more equal society.

Bibliography

1. Chafik, L. (2000). Prêches virulents et agressifs contre le Plan d'intégration de la femme. La vie économique.
2. *Code de la Famille-Moudawana*. (2005). Retrieved from <http://expertes.ma/file/2016/04/>
3. CODE PENAL. (2011). Retrieved from <https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/SERIAL/69975/69182/F1186528577/MAR-69975.pdf>

4. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>
5. Daoud, Z. (1993). *Féminisme et politique au Maghreb: 1930-1992*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose.
6. Jacqueline, P. (2009) *Working Women: An Examination of Family Dynamics and the Law on Financial Maintenance in Morocco*, U.S. Fulbright Commission.
7. La partialité du Code pénal marocain met les femmes et les jeunes filles en danger. (2013). Retrieved from <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/304000/pre010992013fr.pdf>
8. Laroui, A. (1992). *Islam et Modernité*. Genova: Marietti.
9. MOUDAWANA AND WOMENS RIGHTS IN MOROCCO: BALANCING ... (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://nsuworks.nova.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?>
10. PREAMBULE. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://adala.justice.gov.ma/production/legislation/fr/civil/Code de la famille Maroc Texte.htm>
11. The Drafting of CEDAW. (n.d.). *Women, Poverty, Equality : The Role of CEDAW*. doi: 10.5040/9781509909704.ch-002
12. Nations Unies., Comité pour l'élimination de la discrimination à l'égard des femmes,. (1997). *The work of CEDAW. reports of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women(CEDAW)*. New York: United Nations.

Kateryna Akbash, Olga Avramenko

Statistical Analysis of the Constituent Indicators of Global Gender Gap Index in Ukraine (2006-2017)

The GGGI changes for Ukraine since 2006 have been analyzed and the changes of the basic internal indicators of the index in all spheres have been monitored. It was found out that the indicators of GGGI in Ukraine "in favour of women" refer to the spheres of "Educational Attainment" and "Health and Survival", while indicators "in favour of men" refer to the spheres of "Economic Participation and Opportunity" and "Political Empowerment". Along with this, the causes of gender asymmetry for these indicators were denoted.

Introduction. The Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI) was first introduced by the World Economic Forum in 2006 and since then it has compiled annual measuring of gender gaps without taking into account the level of development of the country [1]. The index assesses gender gaps in terms of health and life expectancy, education, political rights and empowerment, economic participation and opportunity. The assessment methodology is based on the combination of publicly available statistics in different countries around the world. It is anticipated that the Index should be used by the states seeking to minimize gender gaps. The index is measured on the scale from 0 to 1, where 1 is virtually no gender gap between the opportunities of the two groups, respectively, the closer the index to zero, the greater the gap is.

The analysis of the international annual GGGI rankings in Ukraine and its indicators is the subject of this study in the context of identifying gender asymmetry in various areas of human activity.

1. Ukraine's place in the international annual GGGI rankings

The index captures the gender gap that exists in different countries between women and men in 14 different variables in the four key spheres [2]: Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and Survival, Political Empowerment.

An interesting task is to analyze the change of the index for Ukraine since 2006 and track changes in the core indicators of the index across all the spheres. First, we shall analyze the position of Ukraine in the international annual GGGI rankings. In 2017, Ukraine ranked 61st among 144 countries in the global ranking. Comparing Ukraine's ranking since 2006, it is difficult to assess the dynamics of the change, as the number of countries that participated in the study for 12 years has always been changing. For example, in 2006 their number was 115, and in 2016-2017 – 144. But, if compared with 2016, Ukraine has gone up (from 69 to 61), which can be seen in Fig. 1

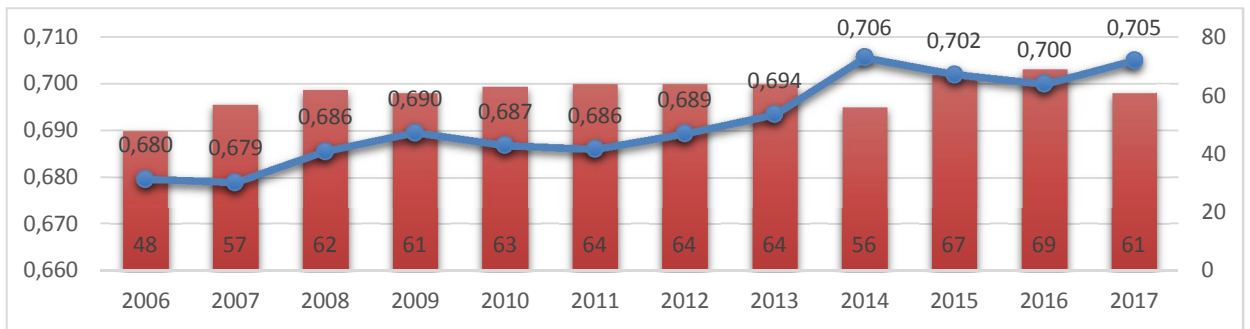


Fig.1. GGGI values and Ukraine's ranking according to GGGI during 2006-2017

2. Indicators of GGGI “in favour of women”

The data on the ratio of female and male healthy life expectancy in Ukraine (Fig. 2) shows that women have surpassed men in most regions. The average life expectancy in Ukraine is still one of the lowest in Europe. However, gender gap in Ukraine remains particularly high at the level of 8 years in 2017 (correspondingly, the average life expectancy of women was 67.8 years and men 60.2 years).

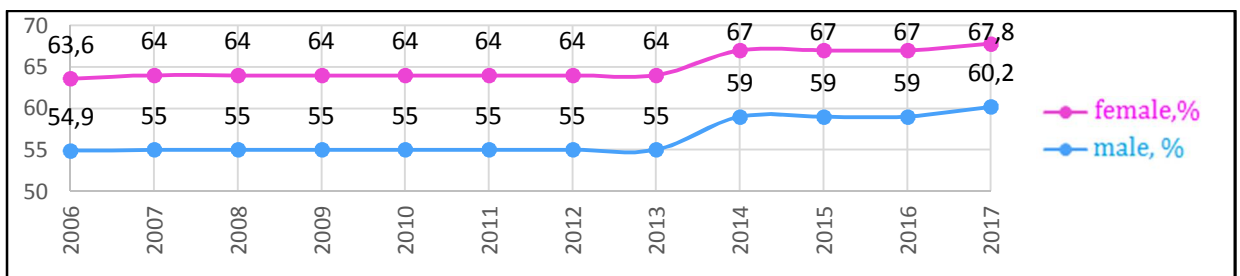


Fig. 2. Healthy life expectancy

To characterize Literacy rate of the population, two indicators are used: the literacy of the adult population and the completeness of the population's enrolment in education. In Ukraine, Literacy rate (Fig. 3) of the total population exceeds 99% and since 2010 it has been at 100%, which, generally speaking, corresponds to the level of economically developed countries.

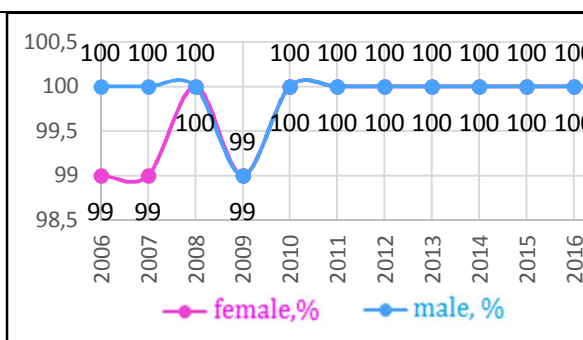


Fig.3 Literacy rate

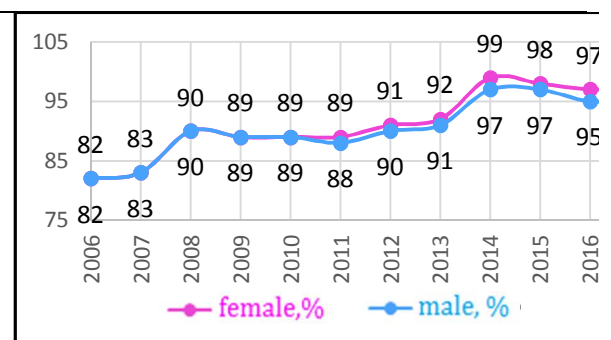


Fig. 4. Enrolment in primary education

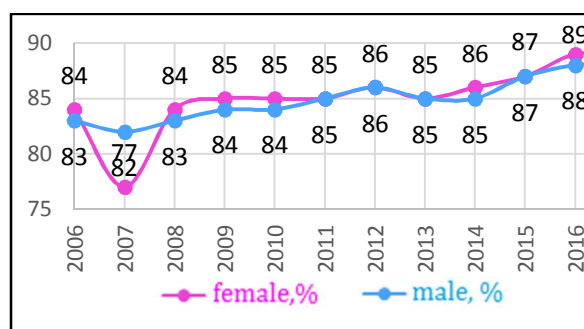


Fig. 5. Enrolment in secondary education

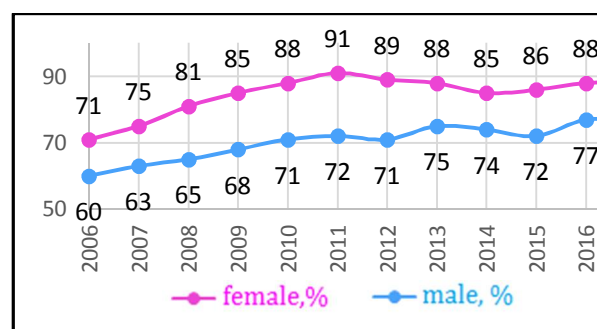


Fig. Enrolment in tertiary education

We shall analyze the ratio of women and men according to the levels of education (primary, secondary, higher).

Firstly, due to the general system of school education, which provides equal access for boys and girls, there is no significant gender inequality observed in primary education (Fig. 4).

Secondly, the ratio of boys and girls that get secondary education is variable (Fig. 5). In 2006, 2008-2010, 2014, 2016, 2017 there is a gender gap of 2-3% of girls over boys. At the same time, a significant gender gap (5%) of boys over girls was observed only in 2007.

Thirdly, the gross enrolment rate for women with higher education (Fig. 6) reached 91%, while the corresponding gross enrolment rate for men equalled 72% in 2011. As a result, the gender gap in higher education enrolment increased from 11% to 19% in favour of women, but by 2017 it has fallen again to 11%. At present, the number of women exceeds the number of men enrolled in higher education institutions in most developed regions, which suggests that women are more likely to get higher education in order to be competitive in the labour market. Therefore, girls are more likely to be trained to obtain higher education, which is confirmed by the results of testing of the secondary education system.

Thus, the analysis of the ratio of women and men according to the levels of education (primary, secondary, higher) indicates gender equality at the first two levels and gender asymmetry in favour of women at the higher education level.

3. Indicators of GGGI «in favour of men»

The percentage of men in Labour force participation is always higher than that of women (Fig. 7). The maximum gap was in 2006 – 13%, followed by a decrease in the gender gap of this indicator, but after the minimum gap in 2008 – 8%, with each year the gap increased to 12,4% in 2017.

The most obvious sign and result of gender inequality in the sphere of employment is the significant gender gap in **Estimated earned income**. The gender gap in the expected income in

Ukraine remains almost unchanged (Fig. 8). The minimum gap was in 2011 (3,227 US Dollars) and the maximum gap was in 2016 (4,400 US Dollars). Therefore, the expected income of women was 1,5 times less than that of men. One of the reasons for the gender gap in incomes is the difference in the amount of working time spent: reproductive behaviour and "double" employment (in everyday life and at work) of women leads to the fact that they have a smaller amount of time to work compared with men [3]. Women's employment traditionally prevails in the areas of activity with the lowest levels of average wages, such as social welfare, education, health care, household care and culture, in which women make up more than 70% of employees. At the same time, "male" types of activity remain highly paid spheres of heavy industry, transport and entrepreneurship [4,5].

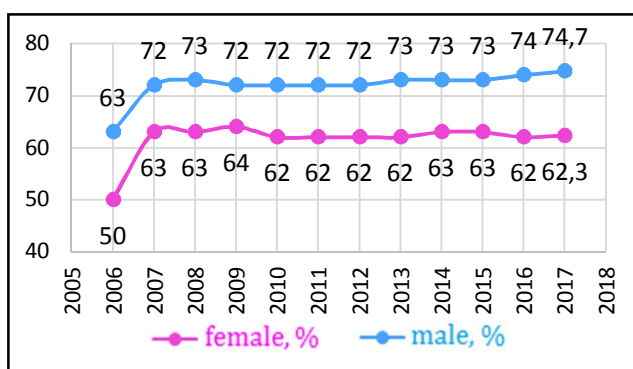


Fig. 7. Labour force participation

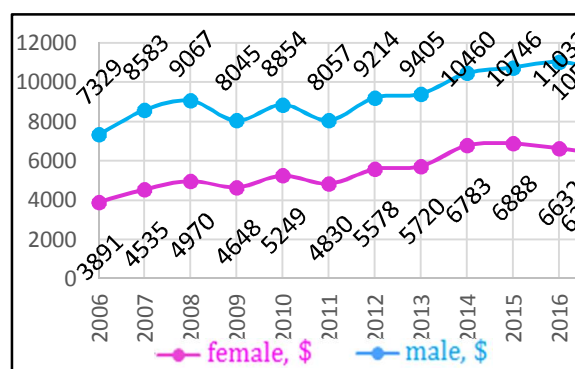


Fig. 8. Estimated earned income

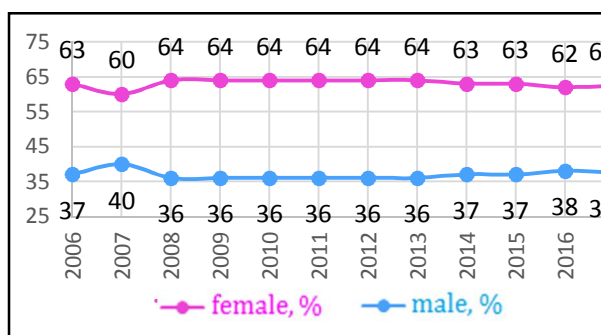


Fig. 9. Professional and technical workers

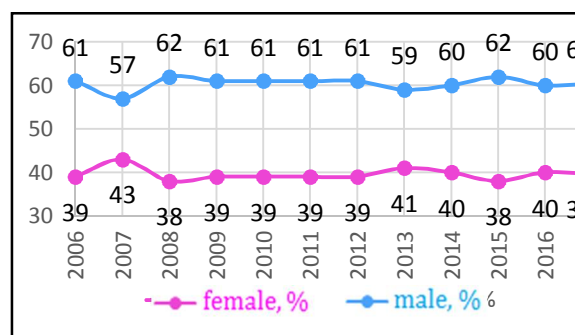


Fig. 10. Legislators, senior officials and managers

In Ukraine, there is a significant dominance of women, as compared to men, among Professional and technical workers (Fig. 9). According to GGGI, during the period from 2006 to 2017, the rate of economic participation among professional and technical workers varied from 20% (the minimum gap in 2007) to 28% (the maximum gap, which did not change considerably from 2008 to 2013). In recent years, the gender gap of this indicator has decreased by only 2-3%.

The percentage of women and men among **legislators, senior officials and managers** is 100%. The maximum percentage of women and, respectively, the minimum percentage of men

were in 2007 (43% of women and 57% of men). Accordingly, the minimum percentage of women and the maximum percentage of men were in 2008 and 2015 (38% of women and 62% of men). Consequently, the maximum gender gap among legislators, senior officials and managers was observed in 2008 and 2015 (24%), while the minimum gender gap was 14% in 2007. This gender gap was due to the fact that career opportunities for women are limited by a number of barriers, which in most cases are widely known as the "Glass Ceiling".

The ratio of women to men in parliament (Fig. 11) is also observed in favour of men. The current convocation of the Ukrainian parliament of 2017 has a record number of women – 12,3%, and, therefore, the gender gap of this indicator for the last year is the smallest (75,4%). However, in this indicator, Ukraine is still lagging behind most of the EU countries, as the average representation of women among parliamentarians in the countries of the world is currently approaching 20%. And in some countries with the developed "gender" democracy it exceeds 40%.

The data on **the ratio of women and men in ministerial positions** (Fig. 12) show that in 2017 women occupied 13% of ministerial positions in Ukraine. This share is rather insignificant in comparison with the developed gender democracy in Europe. Ukraine also lags behind most post-Soviet countries. But, for 12 years, the ratio of women in the Ministries of Ukraine has increased at least 2 times (by 7%) compared with 2006 and by 12%, compared with 2012-2013, when the gender gap in the posts of ministers was 100%.

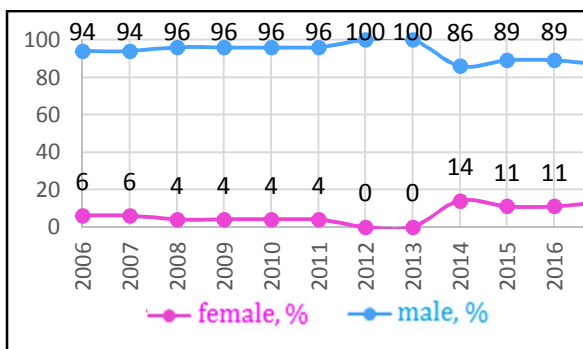


Fig. 11. Ratio: females with seats in parliament over male value

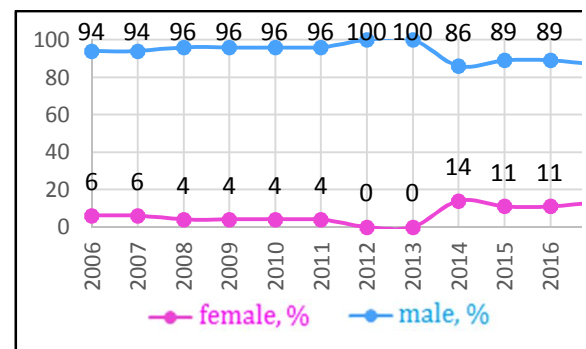


Fig. 12. Ratio: females at ministerial level over male value

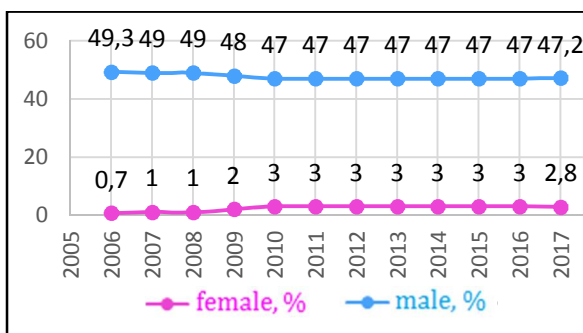


Fig. 13. Ratio: number of years with a

female head of state (last 50 years) over male value

The ratio of number of years with a female head of state (last 50 years) to male value (Figure 13) is catastrophic. Since the proclamation of Ukraine as an independent state, only twice a woman took the post of a Prime Minister of Ukraine. That was Julia Tymoshenko in 2005 and from December, 2007 to March, 2010.

The negative perception of women in political institutions is associated with the existence of numerous stereotypes inherent in the Ukrainian community: the patriarchal setting prevailing in the public consciousness of the Ukrainians is the leader of real action (although sociological surveys of this issue are quite controversial, for example, the results of the Socis Centre show that the positive attitude towards women was expressed by 24.5% of the politicians, rather positively than negatively – 21%, rather negatively than positively – 7.5%, negatively – 8.4%. But the real facts reflect a completely different indicator).

In addition, the career growth of men and women is different. The mechanisms of vertical segregation ("glass ceilings") are conditioned by the existence of various barriers to women's career growth, including implicit social stereotypes about what is suitable work for women and men. The faster career growth of men provides them with the formation of the necessary professional and managerial experience and thus allows them to outstrip women for senior management positions.

4. The analysis of the concordance of the GGGI.

In order to understand whether the indicators of the gaps in all areas of the index analysis improve in parallel, we shall use Kendall's concordance coefficient. It is calculated by the formula:

$$W = \frac{12S_w}{k^2(n^3-n)}$$
 where k – is the number of indicators, n – is the number of reviews (years), S_w - is the sum of squared deviations of ranks from the average squares of ranks. This coefficient ranges from 0 to 1. When the value of this coefficient is less than 0,3, the indicators are considered to be unmatched. When the value of the coefficient is in the range from 0,3 to 0,7, the concordance is considered to be average. At the value more than 0,7, the concordance is assumed to be high.

We shall find the concordance coefficients among gender parity indices for the four key domains separately and the total coefficient among all 14 GGGI.

For "Economic Participation and Opportunity" $0 < W = 0,194 < 0,5$, so there is little agreement among the indicators of the sphere. This is due to the fact that when the number of women among legislators, senior officials, managers, professional and technical workers increased, wages for similar work did not change, and sometimes, on the contrary, they decreased.

For "Educational Attainment" $0 < W = 0,263 < 0,5$, therefore, the concordance among the indicators of this sphere is very low. This is due to the fact that according to the Law of Ukraine "On General Secondary Education" primary and secondary education is compulsory. As a result, the gender parity index is almost equal to 1 throughout all the years. At the same time, more women are enrolled in higher educational institutions, because certain number of men serve in the military or start working right after school. But compared with 2006, this index has changed and gradually approaches 1.

For "Health and Survival" $0 < W = 0,365 < 0,5$, and therefore, the concordance among the indicators of this sphere is low. This is due to the fact that the gender parity index at birth is unchanged and equals 0,94. And the index of healthy life expectancy was 1,16 in 2006 (that meant gender inequality in favour of women due to some physiological peculiarities) and 1.13 in 2017, which is gradually decreasing over the years towards complete gender parity. Such a change is due to the influence of social factors, for example, an increase of harmful habits (alcohol, smoking, drugs) not only among men, but also among women; feminization in the labour market, that is, involvement of women in more severe physical labour etc.

For "Political Empowerment" $0,5 < W = 0,513 < 1$, therefore, there is a concordance among the indicators of this sphere. This is due to the fact that the gender parity index has changed almost equally. That is, in those years when there was a decrease in the number of women in the parliament, their number also declined in the posts of ministers, and on the contrary.

The overall concordance coefficient for all indicators of GGGI is $W = 0,066$. As $0 < W < 0,5$ - then there is almost no concordance among all indicators. This is due to various factors affecting one or another sphere. And if in some spheres or in some indicators of certain spheres there is an increase in the index of gender parity, for example in the sphere of Political Empowerment, then on the contrary, the gender parity index decreases in Healthy Life Expectancy indicator in the Health and Survival.

Conclusions. A significant gender asymmetry was identified in favour of women in the spheres of Healthy Life Expectancy and Enrolment in Tertiary Education. At the same time, there is a significant gender asymmetry "in favour of men" found in the spheres of Labour Force Participation, Estimated Earned Income, Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers, Seats in Parliament, Seats in Ministerial Positions, Years with Male Head of State (last 50). In all these indicators the gender gap is practically unchanged, both for women and for men.

It should be noted that the above-mentioned indicators "in favour of women" refer to the spheres of "Educational Attainment" and "Health and Survival", while the indicators "in favour of

men" refer to the spheres of "Economic Participation and Opportunity" and "Political Empowerment". Unfortunately, in Ukraine, people with a higher level of education and longer age of healthy life have low-paid jobs and take a minimal part in the higher levels of state power.

Reference

1. Pyshchulina O. Gender Equality and Development: a View in the Context of the European Strategy of Ukraine / Olga Pyshchulina. – Razumkov Centre. – K.: Publishing house "Zapovit", 2016. – 244 p.

2. World Economic Forum's (2016). The Global Gender Gap Report. http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GGGR16/WEF_Global_Gender_Gap_Report_2016.pdf

3. Blyznyuk V. Gender Differences in Labour Remuneration in Ukraine / V. Blyznyuk // Ukraine: Aspects of Labour. – 2006. – No. 6 – P. 18-25.

4. Management of Labour Potential: [curriculum manual]/V. Vasylchenko, A. M. Grynchenko, O. A. Grishnova, L. P. Kerb. – K.: KNEU. – 2005. – 403 p.

5. Martsenyuk T. O. Gender Aspects of the Employment Sphere in the Ukrainian Society / T. O. Martsenyuk // Methodology, theory and practice of sociological analysis of modern society. – Kh.: KhNU named after V.N. Karazin. – 2010. – Issue 16. – P. 328-334.

Hoyan I.M.

Gender Tolerance as Axiological and Ideological Process

(Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, Ivano-Frankivsk)

Annotation. The study has proved that gender tolerance is a permanent axiological-world-outlook and ideological process that is essentially based on the propagation of egalitarian values. The mechanisms of forming the gender tolerance as a whole are based on an axiological dimension that has a humane and egalitarian content.

The Purpose of the work. The research is aimed at clarifying the axiological prerequisites of gender tolerance and identifying the core values which underlie tolerance toward gender identities diversity.

Theoretical basis. The study applies the axiological, systemic, and comparative methods. Such theoretical and methodological approach reveals the axiological properties of the tolerant gender behavior and helps substantiate the correlation between the motivation of gender behavior and the axiological dimensions of human consciousness. The research is based on the works of BudzV.P., GoyanI. M., DoychykM. V., StorozhukS.V.

The scientific novelty of the work lies in developing the ideas of the processes and mechanisms of gender tolerance formation on the basis of the axiological aspect of gender relationships. The study proves that gender tolerance is a type of tolerance based on the different axiological and world view criteria including equality, respect, humanity.

Presenting the main material. Axiology of gender tolerance as a new direction in studying the gender issues. We propose to develop the area of *the axiology of gender tolerance* in the gender tolerance research. In its turn, *the axiology of gender tolerance* is based on *the constructivist-axiological approach* to the formation of gender tolerance. Gender equality or discrimination is constructed in a particular society based on values.

Gender tolerance and the intentions of human consciousness. The genesis of tolerance is possible on the basis of such intentions of human consciousness as: respect; understanding; dignity; solidarity; equality; responsibility.

Gender tolerance as an alternative to gender discrimination. *Gender discrimination* is a negative attitude to the possibilities of manifesting the certain qualities by men or women in certain spheres of public life. *Gender discrimination* is manifested as a result of the asynchrony and

inequality of the rights and responsibilities of men and women in their professional and social employment, performing their social roles, etc. *Gender discrimination* is opposite to gender tolerance, which is possible in the progressive, anti-dogmatic, egalitarian, pluralist, successful and liberal societies that respect the rights and freedoms of all people, regardless of biological, racial, ideological, religious or other identities.

Gender tolerance in the axiological dimension. *Gender tolerance* is a form of tolerance (toleration), which implies an impartial and objective treatment of a person to an opposite sex and respect for him/her as equal in opportunities and abilities. *Gender tolerance* implies the freedom of a person to choose any identification and freedom of action, which (freedom) should not be limited to certain gender stereotypes and prejudices about rights and obligations. *Gender tolerance*, as a social value, is based on the values of respect, human freedom, equality, empathy.

Reasons of gender intolerance (axiological dimension). *Gender intolerance (prejudgment)*, and as its consequence - sexism and gender discrimination - arise from the subjective stereotype attributing the opposite sex the defects, shortcomings, negative qualities, abilities and character traits in the context of *femininity* and *masculinity*. *Gender discrimination* at the ideological level involves the idea of dominance and the advantages of one gender over another, as higher and lower, successful - unsuccessful, progressive - regressive, spiritual – spiritually deprived. *Gender discrimination* is initiated at the worldview level, because gender stereotypes spread within the outlook, directing a representative of a particular gender to achieving certain life goals and values.

Gender intolerance and patriarchal and conservative societies. In our view, the most acute gender confrontation occurs in those cultures and civilizations, which tend to be *patriarchal* and *conservative*. In most patriarchal cultures, dominance and respect for masculine features are observed, as they are recognized as more priority in the context of socialization in social processes and in cultural and mental traditions. The femininity of the patriarchal and conservative tradition is often recognized as negative and socially limited.

World-view foundations of patriarchy and conservatism. Patriarchal and conservative cultural trends and the superiority of masculinity as a more desirable pattern of behavior are based on: - theories of innate abilities of a person; - *biological concepts*; - *transcendental* concepts of the origin of man. Such ideological phenomena are characteristic mainly for: - class; - caste; - and socially-stratified societies. In these societies, the ideas of the need for certain privileges and the recognition of the superiority of the rights of one social group over another, or of the male sex above the female one, are grounded.

World-view concepts contributing to gender discrimination. Recognition of *biological* or *transcendental* reasons for *gender differences*, the interpretation of a gender problem in the context of its objective and independent factors of a person and society influences the formation of recognizing the gender inequality in accordance with the nature of the gender. The theory of *biological determinism* is the basis for the domination of masculinity in a particular society. These theories, in our opinion, contribute to justifying the existence of gender inequality. On the basis of the biological factor they attribute to the sexes precisely the psychological and social qualities that are supposedly derived from biological factors, and therefore, in no way and under no circumstances can they be acquired by representatives of another sex because of their biological origin. The *biologizational position* affects the fact that gender issues and gender discrimination can not be solved in principle. Mental and social in such a system of world outlook is a derivative of the biological, and therefore the differences in the faculties, qualities and talents of the genders will be primordial and a priori, and therefore, in principle, unsolvable.

Ideas the gender discrimination is based on. The following ideas are spreading at the level of outlook in the patriarchal societies: parental and male authoritarianism; social inequality; social injustice; hierarchy of social groups; eliminating women from making decisions; exploitation and discrimination on the grounds of sexual and other characteristics.

Consequences of gender intolerance in patriarchal societies. The lack of *egalitarianism* in patriarchal and stratified societies affects the spread of ideas that: from birth a person a priori belongs to a particular social group and is unable to leave it due to certain innate abilities; women are not recognized as full-fledged, competent and equal members of the patriarchal society, who may have the same moral, legal, social, and professional status as men; women are not recognized as self-sufficient, independent and autonomous subjects of social relations, which are mostly necessary to maintain and provide intercession in exchange for unconditional submission by women. This attitude to women and their rights is the basis of women's psychology formation: marginality, conformism, dependence, lack of freedom.

Gender stereotypes as a cause of gender intolerance. *Gender stereotypes* are a consequence of the *social construction of gender* relations based on education and other processes of socialization on an *axiological* basis. Gender stereotypes serve as the basis for the formation of social institutions and social stratification of *patriarchal societies*, where the role of women and their rights : - are considerably diminished compared with men; - gender asymmetry can be traced in all areas of public life, in which key and leadership positions are predominantly occupied by the vast majority of men; - the prestige of certain social roles, positions, education, professions and the

level of remuneration in patriarchal societies depends on gender stereotypes and has elements of discrimination.

Possibility of gender tolerance in egalitarian societies. The claims of femininity to social and legal equality with masculinity are possible only in the conditions of modern liberal, egalitarian, emancipated, social progressive and democratic societies. In such societies, ideas of the gender origin in the context of *social constructing* on the basis of egalitarian rights and freedoms develop. The idea of acknowledging the value of every person, regardless of social origin or the various congenital biological and psychological features, develops. The possibility of self-realization of a person irrespective of gender is provided on the basis of the idea of equality of rights, freedoms and various opportunities and identifications.

Gender tolerance in the context of egalitarianism. The problem of tolerance is relevant in the modern world, which tends to egalitarianism and is developed in various aspects. Actual is the study of the processes of forming the axiological guidelines of gender tolerance in the context of egalitarianism. The possibility of tolerance in modern culture is a process of destroying gender stereotypes based on the idea of gender equality. The formation of gender tolerance implies the presence of an individual with an egalitarian outlook. The egalitarian outlook creates the grounds for recognizing the equality in all spheres of social relations.

Constructivist approach to solving the problems of gender discrimination. In our opinion, the most promising solution to gender discrimination is the *constructivist* approach to explaining the reasons for the formation of the psychological gender and the possibilities for increasing tolerance among the sexes. This approach involves *the axiological constructing of gender tolerance*. The biological implications of genders in accordance with constructivist approaches can not be the reason for giving preference to one or another gender regarding the social abilities that relate to professional activity, talent, ability to socialize, the fulfillment of public and social roles, ownership of property, and social rights. *The constructivist-axiological approach to gender tolerance* is more promising, in our opinion, than the conventional or evolutionary-historical understanding of tolerance.

Conclusions

A system of values and principles that in their essence will emphasize solidarity, support, cooperation, consent, respect, mutual understanding, benevolence, empathy, trust, loyalty, can be considered the axiological basis of gender tolerance. **The axiological foundations of gender tolerance** are the **ideas** that emphasize: - tolerance to other ideological and value systems; - respect for human and human dignity; - respect for rights and their equality, - impartiality regarding talents

and abilities; - ideological pluralism; - humanity; - mutual recognition and mutual responsibility in family life; - interchangeability of sexes in family responsibilities; - peaceful and harmonious coexistence of sexes on the basis of recognition of equality of rights and responsibilities; - the principle of inviolability of honor and dignity; - the principle of non-violence in gender interactions, and individual freedoms.

References

1. Budz V.P. Self-Organisation of Public Reality in the Context of its Anthropological Principles and Axiological Factors : in 5 Vol. Vol. 1 : Prolegomena to Self-Organisation of Social Being. Conceptual and Methodological Bases of Research : Monograph / Volodymyr Budz. – Ivano-Frankivsk: Prykarp. naz. un-tim. V. Stefanyka, 2017. – 522 p. (in Ukrainian).
2. Budz V.P. Self-Organisation of Public Reality in the Context of its Anthropological Principles and Axiological Factors : in 5 vol. Vol. 3 : Phenomenological and Axiological Factors of Self-Organisation of Social Being in the Context of Human Anthropology : Monograph / Volodymyr Budz. – Ivano-Frankivsk: Prykarp. naz. un-tim. V. Stefanyka, 2017. – 501 p. (in Ukrainian).
3. Goyan I. M. Problem motyvazii povedinky [Problems of behavior motivation] / Goyan I. M. – Ivano-Frankivsk: Play, 2002. – 105 p. (in Ukrainian).
4. Goyan I. M. Zinnist yak determinant moralnoyiaktyvnosti osobystosti [Value as the determinant of moral activity of the individual] / I. M. Goyan // Zbirnyk naukovykh praz: filosofiya, soziologiya, psykholohiya. – Ivano-Frankivsk : Play, 2002. – Vyp. 7, ch. 1. – P. 53–60. (in Ukrainian).
5. Doychyk M. V. Tolerantnist yak vyyavhidnostinazii [Tolerance as a manifestation of the dignity of the nation] / M. V. Doychyk. – Hileya: naukovyivisnyk. – 2008. – Vyp. 15. – P. 273–280. (in Ukrainian).

Fatima Zahra Ermiki

Women’s Political Participation in Current Islamist Government

(Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fes)

Abstract: Women’s role in political participation is largely limited mainly due to the common culture that says leadership goes especially to men because they represent well the concept of *za'im/leader*. This work seeks to demonstrate that the case of women’s participation in Morocco’s multi-party system is marked by a male political dominance, and the existence of strong limitations on the role of women as political actors, and this goes to the distinct functions that political parties realize in respect of the monarchy. This work seeks to public space in Morocco is constructed as ‘male’ and this represents serious issues to women’s contribution to public affairs and electoral campaigns. This work will base itself upon interviews with PJDist female MPs and academics in political sciences along with a theoretical framework.

Keywords: Women’s political participation, leadership, Moroccan politics, PJD.

Introduction

Women’s political participation is a crucial constituent for paving the way to modernizing and democratizing public institutions, electoral processes and the state itself with all the related deliberations. Nevertheless, it is important to note that whether before or after the arrival of Justice and Development Party to the government, women’s contribution on the political scene has always been low given a number of factors, among which are the concept of *za'ama* or leadership that goes exclusively to men, as well as labor and gender divisions that relegate women to the private sphere instead of having to do with public opinion affairs or policy and decision-making.

The evolution of women’s political participation has, nothing much, to do with a given political party or another, still with the arrival of Justice and Development Party no significant progress has been materialized, the party only appoints the supposed number of women’s seats at the Parliament and there is no parliamentarian law that dictates women forefront men at the head of electoral lists. Politics is a male dominated space given the social, political and cultural structures in which it is constructed and chiefly ruled by men. This article will shed light at some of the reasons women’s political participation is problematically insignificant in a multi-party political system, and the disparities at the level of men and women’s roles in the political institutions.

Women and the Concept of Leadership/za'ama in Politics- Private/Public Spheres

The case of women’s participation in Morocco’s multi-party system is problematic, there are strong limitations on the role of women as political actors, and this goes the distinct functions that

political parties realize in respect of the monarchy. According to James Sater, "Regime interference in political parties either through banning or co-opting individual leaders, ensuring loyalty and support to the regime, has been a constant feature". Partly as an outcome of regime interference, partly as a consequence of a patrimonial leadership culture expressed in the Arabic concept of *za'im*, the introduction of a women's quota may be an unlikely a contribution to substantive political change.¹⁷⁶(Sater 725) this demonstrates that women's role in political participation is largely limited mainly due to the common culture that says leadership goes especially to men because they represent well the concept of *za'im*.

Despite that, an alternative proposition may be derived from the experience of women's increased participation in Western countries. This proposition emphasizes the democratic potential that women's participation nevertheless represents. It is based on the idea that women politicians have a particular style and particular concerns that change the way that politics develop. First, female issues such as reproductive rights, health, and education, tend to be overlooked by male politicians, given their different life experience, which ultimately builds political choices and agendas. A second proposition is that women embody a style of politics that is less competitive, and which changes the culture in which politics takes place. The 'women and peace' hypothesis postulates that women have a less aggressive attitude towards international conflicts and are more inclined to accept compromise. Third, it is claimed that 'women speak in a different voice', an assumption that is based on biological, sociological, and psychological gender differences.¹⁷⁷ (Sater 730)

The public space in Morocco is constructed as 'male' and this represents serious issues to women's contribution to public affairs and electoral campaigns. In the words of a female MP, 'In Morocco, women are not regarded as public figures or even as capable of taking on public responsibility, this is why political parties find it difficult to back up projects that boost the visibility of women and their political responsibility and participation. In addition, public affair is a domain reserved for men. Geographically, electoral campaigns take place in areas that are reserved for men: public (men's) cafe's. A woman may be able to enter this men's domain and talk to a male audience; however, she leaves it as soon as the electoral speech is over and the cafe 'is taken over by its original 'male' character. All of this has an impact on women's and men's self-perception and

¹⁷⁶James.NSater, "Changing Politics from Below: Women Parliamentarians in Morocco", Democratization, 14:1(2014):p.725.

¹⁷⁷Ibid.,730

self-confidence when it comes to the decision to participate in elections and represent a constituency.¹⁷⁸(Sater 731)

The history of many women members of parliament (MPs) demonstrates the recurrent absence of voters’ support. Many of the women who were elected onto the National List in 2002 had started to come forward from the 1970s without success, to the extent that presenting themselves became a political means of showing to other women that they had not given up trying to become politically integrated. A major problem is that, especially in rural areas, candidates need the support of ‘intermediaries’ for elections.

In rural areas, these intermediaries are notables – traditional chiefs of economically and politically powerful families or clans – who ask constituents under their control to vote in favor of one candidate or another. Therefore, women candidates are not only faced with political parties that may think that a woman is not a suitable candidate – in fact, women’s candidacies are often confined to areas where a political party does not believe it has any chance of winning anyway – but also with a particular social structure that can act as an additional hurdle for a woman candidate’s ambition to reach out directly with a particular programme. Although there is one case in Morocco where this has played to the advantage of an elected female parliamentarian, this remains the exception. The existence of neo-patriarchal structures means that voters are attracted by candidates who are perceived as best capable of securing their material welfare within political circles: men.¹⁷⁹(Sater 731)

Women’s Politics and an Islamist-based Government, Constraints and Stereotypes

In the previous version of the islamists government, there were eight female secretaries and one female minister solely. This poses serious questions on the actual role of women at the political scene, either for political parties or the state’s policy-making in general terms. There is no clear evolution of women’s political contribution with PJD, there is an absence of females at the head of electoral campaigns’ lists, and though the number of women’s seat has increased from two in 1997 to almost ninety in the current parliament—thanks to quotas, this does not say much about a genuine evolution of their political participation since the majority of political parties do not put women candidates at the head of their electoral lists, except of course for some other minority parties. Gender disparities and inequalities shape the implementation of quotas and that is defined in regional, socio-economic and generational differences that continue to make the Moroccan experience far from a level playing field for women in politics.

¹⁷⁸Ibid.

¹⁷⁹James.NSater, “Changing Politics from Below: Women Parliamentarians in Morocco”, p.731.

Once in parliament, women have felt both scrutinized by the media and sometimes completely ignored. Often, their participation in debates was followed closely, resulting from curiosity concerning women's 'value' in politics. Their activities in parliament encompass all the commissions. In 2005, the presidency of the foreign affairs commission went to a woman, Soumaya Khaldoun from the Islamist conservative party for Justice and Development (PJD). According to one MP, depending on the strengths of political parties themselves, women have had advantages over men because their level of education is generally superior to that of men.

Given women's political constraints in men's sphere, they are more active and better qualified. By comparison, the lack of interest of many male parliamentarians once they have gained office is evidenced by a lack of regular attendance regularly reported by the Moroccan press. On the other hand, when it comes to women's public activities, women often feel ignored by the media. As the vice-president of the parliament from 2003 to 2004, Fatna El Khel (Popular Movement) explains, 'whenever the [male] president of the parliament received a delegation of XYZ all the media talked about it. "When I subsequently met with another delegation, there was no media coverage whatsoever, as if it was completely unimportant". In her analysis, this well illustrates the role that women play in Moroccan society. In family matters, only women are blamed if anything goes wrong, and only women are subject to public scrutiny, whereas their positive contributions are hardly ever recognized.¹⁸⁰(Sater 733)

According to UNESCO, various challenging gender stereotypes introduce politics as a man's sphere, in which a woman's role is related to the family and the private sphere and the man's role is oriented outwards towards the public sphere. Political affairs are still men's arena which are conceived of as 'deviant' and involving the mixing of the sexes and eventually dangerous or not authorized for women. Given that, politics in general terms, is a sphere confined to men for certain; hence, the political

Islamist movements have provided women opportunities for political participation, swelling the ranks of the membership and leadership with women, and creating greater political space for discussions of Islamic feminism, but this remains relatively significant given the fact that it is impossible to imagine a female Secretary General at the head of PJD. The Party for Justice and Development (PJD) has offered women a number of opportunities, including the creation of a PJD Women's Committee, an emphasis on voting as an Islamic obligation, and the seating of a certain number of women in Parliament of any political party. But, despite the supposedly greater female participation as members and leaders within both movements, challenges to greater integration

¹⁸⁰Ibid.,733

abound. The creation of separate women's sections serves to marginalize women participants and isolate "women's issues" to concerns only women should address. Some policy positions of both movements have been deemed antithetical to gender progress, including the emphasis on *shariaa* law, the rejection of projects to integrate women into development, and the failure to challenge inequalities in the private sphere. Some Moroccans fear that the PJD, have embraced women's participation as a means of boosting membership and claiming their commitment to modern, moderate policies. Some fear they are "hiding their real ideas" about gender while encouraging participation to legitimize the movements and disarm those who criticize them as being against women's rights.

Paradoxically, the statements about PJD's boosting women's membership and political participation only as a means to claim they have moderate policies, has been completely negated when we had an interview with Amina Elamrani El Idrissi a parliamentarian member affiliated to Justice and Development Party who asserted that women have always been strongly present in the political debate. The MP said that the principle of women's political participation has always existed and that since the beginnings of Movement of Unification and Reform alongside with the Islamic Youth (Shabibaal'Islamiya). She added that the changes that have been brought about with the arrival of the conservative party, have not exclusively been at the level of the rhetoric and principle of women participating in political decision-making but probably at the level of women's membership and their number at parliament which goes to eighteen MPs who can form a considerable number of governmental groups and whose number does not exist in any other political parties. When we asked her about her stance vis-à-vis the political performance of the party she replied that the PJDist government is a democratic government and that is based on coalitions with different secular and leftist groups that collaborate with each other for more genuine democratization of the state. Of course, this view remains confined to the very moral contract with the party, and does by no means negate the fact that the current political status-quo of female political actors would probably witness a shift following the recent declarations of head of the government, SaadEddine El Othmani, when he considered suppressing state secretary service from the government, which is a problematic given the fact it most gathers female actors.

During a Round Table organized by Takamul Center for Interdisciplinary Research and Studies on Friday July 10, 2015 at 22h in Merrakech (Kenzie Farah Hotel) on Politics and Women, we asked Maa El Aynayn Amina an MP affiliated to Justice and Development Party about her stance regarding the political performance of PJD and whether women parliamentarians who are affiliated to PJD have greater political participation, and the response was that she sometimes has

clashing dissidences with Abdelilah Benkiran at some levels when it comes to the political action of the party but her stance is generally positive since PJD is one of the political parties that most integrate women into political work and women are the most voters for Justice and Development Party and are the ones that have close contact with other women voters when it is elections time.

During two interviews with Elalaam Abderrahim a Moroccan researcher and expert in political sciences, he said that PJDist women have always been present in the political scene. During elections there would be massive collective work gathering women and men and the appointment of the president of the Movement would take the votes of each side; women and men and the former have always the largest number of voters during elections. But, what Elalaam confirmed about the eighteen women parliamentarians, is that this number goes to their success in the quota and that this number is very small in comparison with the number of PJDist men parliamentarians. In the first version of the government in 2011, Justice and Development Party elected only Elhakkaoui Nassima among twelve men ministers and in the second version of the government in 2012, they added one minister Benkhaldoun Sumaya which, in one way or another, proves that eighteen parliamentarians is not enough. Adding to that, the fact that women are fewer at regional offices affiliated to PJD. Finally, Elalaam declared that PJDist parliamentarian women are not very influential when it comes to decision-making regarding the main political action, and remained & remain as a democratic forefront to Benkiran and Saad Eddine Elothmani's government, assuring that it is hard to imagine a woman Secretary General to Justice and Development Party. Clearly, the political participation of women is not as influential as it should be when it comes to decision-making, but they are making big moves.

Conclusion

This work has looked at the position of PJDist women and how they conceive of the party's dealing with female actors, whether the latter has given more space to women for political participation or their role is limited. And realized that women have always been present in the political scene with different degrees of influence but very active in the political participation. Still, as we have discussed before; the number of women parliamentarians affiliated to Justice and Development Party is a small number in comparison to the number of men parliamentarians which poses questions on whether PJD has really succeeded in giving more space to women for political contribution and participation or it has put women as a democratic forefront to prove it has moderate policies with regard to women's political participation. Women's political participation is still hugely invisible regardless of quota implementation, and that is due to low media coverage of

women during the electoral campaigns, which leads to invisibility that exacerbates the negative perceptions of women in politics.

Bibliography

1. -Elalaam, Abderrahim. “BaynaJamaa’tal’adlwalIhssanwahizbal’adalawaAtanmia” (Between Justice and Charity Movement & Justice and Development Party). *Hespress*.10Nov.2014:n.pag. Web.16Jan.2015. Retrieved from: <http://www.hespress.com/writers/245970.html>
2. -AbdelmajidReda.” [Al Othmani Yasaalahadfqitabatal’ dawlahwadamjjamalihama’aal’wizarat”](https://www.almaghribtoday.net/) (El Othmani Seeks to Suppress State Secretary and Integrate it with Minitries). *Al Maghrib Today*.9Sept.2018:n.pag.Web.12Sept.2018.Retrieved from: <https://www.almaghribtoday.net/>
3. -Sater, James.N. “Changing Politics from Below: Women Parliamentarians in Morocco”. *Democratization*. 14:1(2014): 723-742. Web.5Aug.2014. Retrieved from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13510340701398352>
4. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13510340701398352>
5. Interviews:
 - Elamrani El Idrissi, Amina. Telephone interview. 1Jul.2015.
 - Elalaam, Abderrahim. Telephone interview. 20Jul.2015.16Sept.2018
6. -UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). “Counting (on) Women in Politics: Experiences from Morocco &Tunisia.*UNESCO, Division for Gender Equality*. 2017: 1-34. Web.11Aug.2018.

GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

Sofiene Mnedla , Zeineb Zerai and Hafsi Bedhioufi

Sports Challenge and Educational Goal of Tunisian Sportswomen

(Mannouba University, Tunisie)

Abstract

After 1956, the socio-political context allowed Tunisian women to enter the sports field. This integration started in the school institution and is characterized, in its beginnings, by a slowness and notable timidity. In few decades, she manages to make podium positions in education area and sports events at the Arab, African and Mediterranean levels.

Several Tunisian women marked the beginning of women's sports: Zaghdoud Dalila, Bouabdallah Beya, gold medalist at the Mediterranean Games of Tunis 1967. The period of the 70s-80s, represented the period of development of the sector of women's sport. Rightly, the women's national team of Handball won the title of African champion (1976). In recent years the women's sport has developed further according to a number of revealing indicators. The annual report on sport (2007) describes the situation of women's sport in terms of both quantity and quality.

The sporting challenge for the Tunisian woman was certainly of crucial importance. At the same time, every woman had an educational duty which she is supposed to do well. First were calls that girls represent 59.5% of students in higher education. In addition, the illiteracy rate for women aged 10 and over increased from 96% in 1956 to 58.1% in 1984, 42.3% in 1994 and 31% in 2004, although the male rate is 14%, 8% in 2004.

Introduction

En 2007, les femmes tunisiennes représentent 26 % de la population active alors que les jeunes filles représentent 51 % des élèves de l'enseignement secondaire et 59 % des étudiants de l'enseignement supérieur. Au même moment, plus du tiers des quelques 56 000 diplômés qui sortent annuellement des universités tunisiennes sont des jeunes filles. Depuis quelques décennies la femme Tunisienne était présente dans des postes clés de l'état. Déjà, le 1^{er} novembre 1983, le président Habib Bourguiba nomme les deux premières femmes ministres : Fethia Mzali (famille et promotion de la femme) et Souad Yaacoubi (santé publique).

La femme sportive Tunisienne et l'éducation

Les filles représentent 59,5 % des étudiants de l'enseignement supérieur. Le un dixième de l'effectif total représente des athlètes actives dans des clubs sportifs civils. De plus, le taux d'analphabétisme des femmes de 10 ans et plus est passé de 96 % en 1956 à 58,1 % en 1984,

42,3 % en 1994, 31 % en 2004 et puis à 28%, bien que le taux masculin soit de 14,8 % en 2004. Cela s'explique notamment par le fait que le nombre de filles au primaire est de 52 en 1965 et de 83 en 1989 pour 100 garçons et au secondaire de 37 en 1965 et de 75 en 1989. Nous mentionnons que 29,4% des élèves de sexe féminin sont actives dans des clubs sportifs.

La femme sportive Tunisienne : enjeux et réalités

La situation sociopolitique forgée après l'indépendance a permis à la femme tunisienne d'intégrer le domaine sportif. Cette intégration a débuté au sein des établissements scolaires et se caractérise, au début, par une lenteur et une timidité notables. Toutefois le milieu scolaire a favorisé le développement du sport de masse et, par extension, du sport d'élite. Selon Mustapha Zouabi (2000), « la jeune tunisienne intègre, non sans beaucoup de difficultés, le sport de masse, connu sous le vocable de sport civil ». En quelques dizaines d'années seulement, elle parvient à se faire des places sur les podiums dans les manifestations sportives à l'échelle arabe, africaine et méditerranéenne.

Plusieurs femmes tunisiennes ont marqué le début du sport féminin : Zaghdoud Dalila, Bouabdallah Beya, médaille d'or aux jeux méditerranéens de Tunis 1967. Les années 1970-1980, représentait la période de l'épanouissement du secteur du sport féminin. En effet, l'équipe nationale féminine de Handball a gagné le titre de championne d'Afrique en 1976. Ces dernières années le sport féminin s'est encore développé selon un nombre d'indicateurs révélateurs. Le rapport annuel sur le sport (2007)¹, décrit la situation du sport féminin sur le plan quantitatif et qualitatif. Sur le plan quantitatif le nombre des femmes licenciées a évolué comme suit :

Saison sportive	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2014
Nombre des licenciées	10978	1782	8272	9262	1230	2358	5953	7449	8210

Tableau : Evolution du nombre des filles licenciées entre 2000 et 2007

Le nombre de femmes licenciées qui s'élève de 10978 à 27449 en 2007 et puis à 38210 en 2014 semble considérable. Il demeure assez réduit quand on le compare à celui des hommes licenciés (98557). En 2017, le nombre des licenciées qui s'est élevé à 39.500 sportives sur un ensemble de 151.000 licenciés.

Un autre indicateur concerne le nombre des associations sportives féminines. Celles-ci comptent 67 associations spécialisées pendant la saison sportive 2007-2008 et en 2013-2014 le

nombre a passé à 75. Par ailleurs, le nombre de sections féminines rattachées aux différents clubs sportifs s'élève à 422 sections lors de la même saison sportive.

Sur le plan qualitatif, la pratique sportive féminine de haut niveau compte 76 équipes nationales féminines. Elles se composent de 775 jeunes femmes élites ayant remporté 42% du nombre total des médailles recueillies. Celles-ci s'élèvent à 386 médailles dont 166 sont en or. Les femmes tunisiennes élites ont aussi remporté 3 titres de championnes du monde. On doit de même rappeler que pendant les jeux panarabes 2007 ayant eu lieu au Caire, elles ont représenté 42% de la totalité des participants et sont parvenues à décrocher 58% du nombre total des médailles.

Au niveau des performances aussi, les résultats de l'élite féminine ont constitué 47,3% des 626 médailles décrochées au cours de l'exercice 2016-2017 dont 112 médailles d'or contre 110 médailles remportées par des athlètes masculins. En 2017, les sportives tunisiennes ont réussi à s'adjuger 31 médailles à l'échelle internationale sur un total de 61 médailles. Parmi les athlètes qui se sont illustrées au cours de cette année figurent l'escrimeuse AzzaBesbès, médaillée d'argent au sabre féminin lors du dernier championnat du monde à Leipzig, la lutteuse MarwaAmri, vainqueur de la médaille d'argent lors des Mondiaux de Paris, et la judoka NihelCheikhRouhou qui a obtenu la médaille de bronze au dernier championnat du monde à Marrakech, sans oublier le sacre des volleyeuses du Club féminin de Carthage en championnat d'Afrique des clubs champions.

D'autre part, plusieurs mesures ont été prises pour promouvoir le sport féminin et renforcer la présence de la femme dans toutes les catégories et spécialités à travers notamment l'exonération des associations et des sections féminines des tarifs d'adhésion aux fédérations sportives, la gratuité d'exploitation des installations sportives pour les entraînements et les rencontres, d'autant que les primes sont accordées aux associations en fonction de leurs programmes de développement du sport féminin. Le ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports envisage, d'autre part, d'élargir le nombre des licenciées à 44.000 sportives d'ici 2020, et d'augmenter le nombre des manifestations destinées aux différentes catégories sociales et tranches d'âge.

Les institutions de la jeunesse ont, de leur côté, adhéré à ces efforts en multipliant les débats sur les questions de la femme et de la famille et en encourageant les jeunes filles à pratiquer le sport en tant que droit constitutionnel, dans le cadre des clubs de citoyenneté, alors que le ministère s'apprête à lancer, au niveau des maisons des jeunes, des programmes de sensibilisation pour lutter contre la discrimination des femmes et pour consacrer l'égalité entre les deux sexes. Une telle situation du sport féminin est incontestablement tributaire d'une politique de l'Etat qui organise le secteur et fixe ses tendances générales, parallèlement, dans les zones urbaines et rurales.

Bibliography

1. Caractéristiques éducationnelles de la population [archive] sur le site de l'Institut national de la statistique.
2. *L'enseignement supérieur et la recherche scientifique en chiffres. Année universitaire 2008/2009* [archive], éd. Bureau des études de la planification et de la programmation, Tunis, p. 4.
3. Organisation des Nations unies, *Traités multilatéraux déposés auprès du Secrétaire général*, éd. United Nations Publications, New York, 2004, p. 246 (ISBN 9212333907).
4. Politique de l'Etat en matière de sport féminin en Tunisie. Belfkih Chiraz et MoniaLachheb (2009).
5. Tunisie [archive] sur le site de l'Organisation internationale du travail.

Chedlia Fitouri, Zerai Zaineb, Hajer Ben Jomaa, Monia Lachheb

L’entrepreneuriat au Féminin en Tunisie

(ISSEP de Ksar-Saïd, Tunisie)

Résumé :

Face à une crise économique grave, l’entrepreneuriat en Tunisie prend tout son sens pour faire face au taux de chômage de plus en plus lourd. Créer son propre projet devrait représenter un défi que les diplômés universitaires devraient relever pour un avenir riche d’opportunités, et ce dans un esprit d’équité entre les deux sexes. Cette égalité souhaitée n’est pas uniquement pour un objectif de justice sociale, mais aussi comme condition essentielle de complémentarité et de développement économique sain.

Cependant, selon l’OIT (2016), la situation des femmes en Tunisie est paradoxale : d’un côté, elles représentent plus que des deux tiers des diplômés de l’enseignement supérieur ; D’un autre côté, le taux de participation des femmes à la population active est seulement de 26%, contre 70% pour les hommes. Cette situation est également vécue au niveau des indicateurs de l’entrepreneuriat.

Cette étude documentaire présente ainsi, un état des lieux de la femme entrepreneuse en Tunisie, en se basant sur les derniers recensements de la population tunisienne de 2014, mais aussi sur une enquête de terrain, réalisée par l’Organisation Internationale de Travail en 2016. L’objectif étant de sensibiliser à ces écarts importants entre les hommes et les femmes en termes d’entrepreneuriat.

Face à ce taux de 68% de diplômées femmes de l’enseignement supérieur, L’entrepreneuriat au féminin devient une réalité et contribuera certainement à l’équité socio-économique, en assurant également, leur indépendance vis-à-vis de l’Etat.

Mots clés : Femme tunisienne - Entrepreneuriat au féminin - Création d’entreprise -

La Population Tunisienne Selon Le Genre

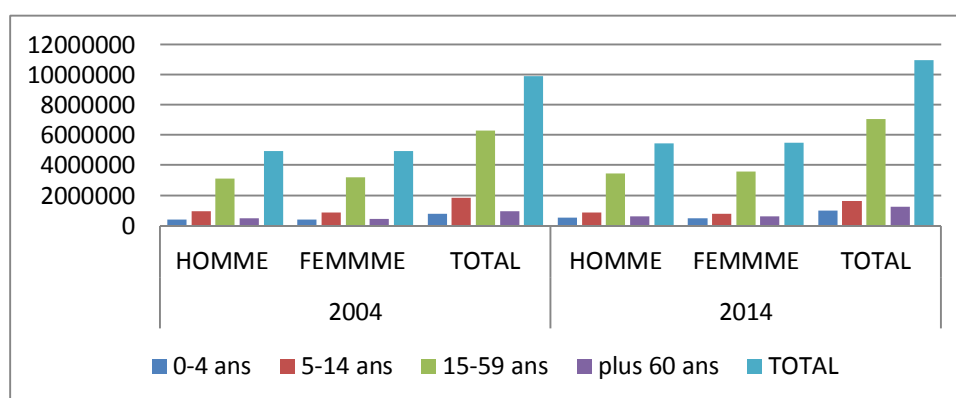
Pour faire un état des lieux de la population tunisienne en termes de genre, nous avons opté pour une étude documentaire, qui consiste à récolter des informations déjà existantes et disponibles sur la situation des femmes et des hommes en Tunisie. Cette étude est une étape est un point d’entrée à des études de terrain plus approfondies en termes de genre et d’entrepreneuriat dans les différents secteurs économiques. Cette étude documentaire se base sur des informations statistiques existantes et sur l’exploitation d’autres enquêtes déjà menées.

Selon l’INS (2014), la population tunisienne est composée de 11 007,3 milliers d’habitants, dont 49,8% d’hommes et 50,2% de femmes. Cette population est majoritairement jeune si on regroupe

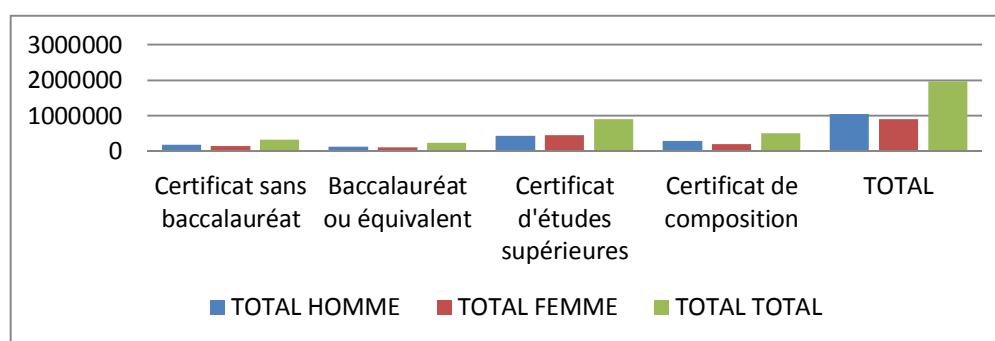
les tranches d'âges de 5 ans à 29 ans (44%). En effet, entre 5-14 ans, le taux est de 15.6%. Entre 15-24 ans, nous enregistrons un taux de 18.9%, et si l'on adjoint la classe quinquennale immédiatement supérieure (25-29 ans), le taux devient 28.4% (voir graphique 1).

Nous enregistrons également une répartition favorisant légèrement les hommes par rapport aux femmes, et ce sur le plan certifiat. Dans l'enseignement supérieur, il semble que les certificats en littérature et en sciences humaines intéressent les femmes plus que les hommes avec un taux de 19,2% contre 12,0%. En revanche, nous notons une réticence des femmes aux sciences et à l'ingénierie, par rapport aux hommes (voir graphique 2).

Graphique 1 : Genre/Evolution de la population par groupe d'âge

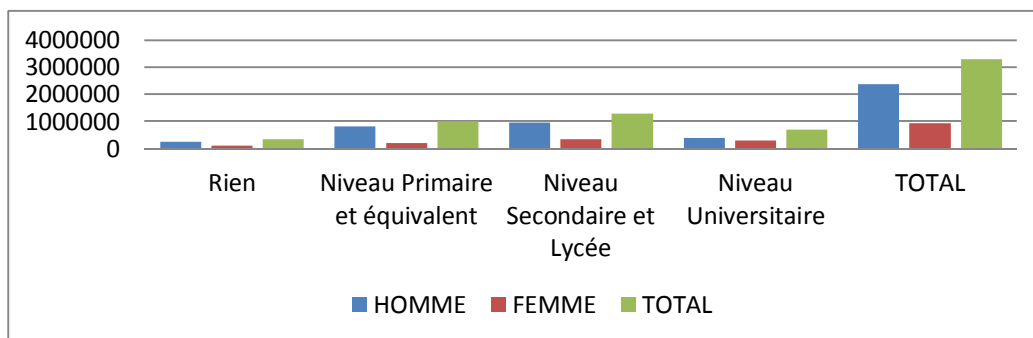


Graphique 2 : Genre/Titulaires du certificat et type de certificat

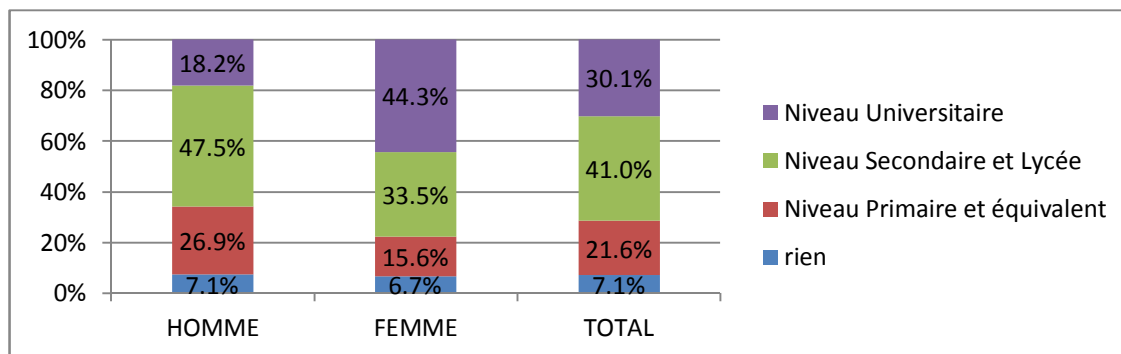


Dans le domaine de l'emploi, les hommes sont largement favorisés par rapport aux femmes tunisiennes. Le pourcentage d'employabilité, surtout avec un niveau secondaire, est supérieur chez les hommes que chez les femmes. Au total, il semble que les hommes arrivent mieux à s'intégrer au marché de travail que les femmes (voir graphique 3).

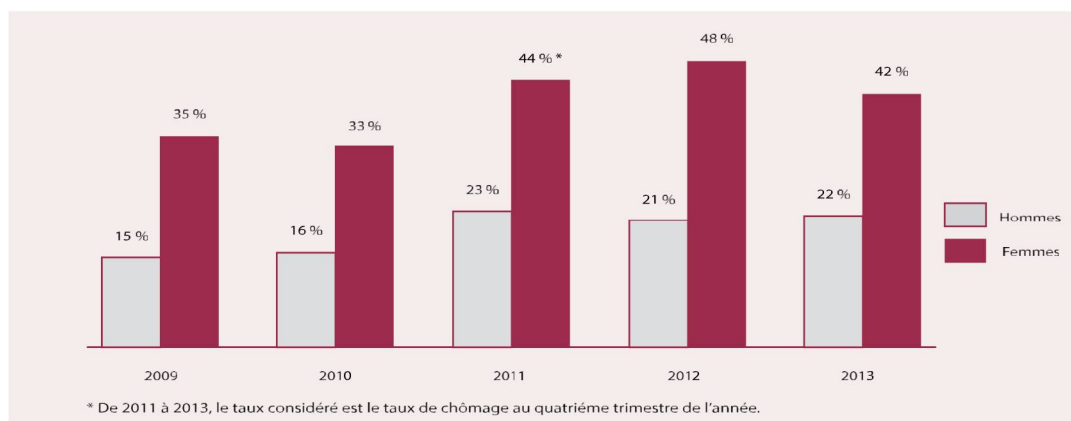
Graphique 3 : Genre/Répartition des employés par niveau d'éducation



Graphique 4 : Genre/Répartition des chômeurs par niveau d'éducation



Graphique 5 : Genre/ Taux de chômage chez les diplômés de l'enseignement supérieur



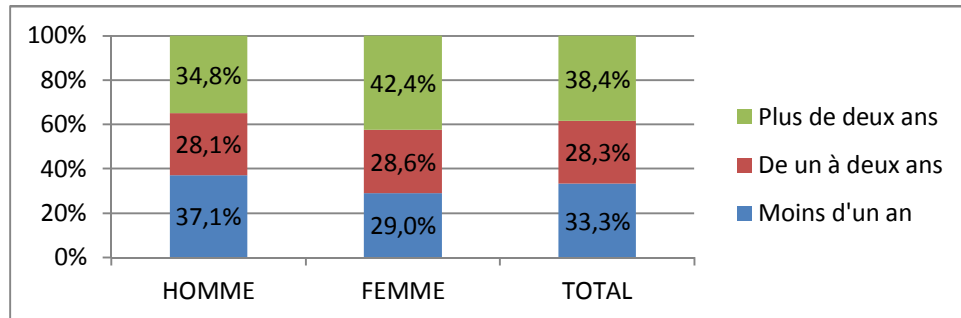
Par ailleurs, le graphique ci-dessous présente la répartition des chômeurs par niveau d'éducation. Les taux les plus élevés chez les femmes et les hommes sont constatés au niveau universitaire et au niveau primaire. Il semble que les lycéens ont plus de chance à décrocher un emploi, et ce pour les deux sexes.

Nous constatons également qu'en Tunisie, les femmes universitaires trouvent de difficulté à travailler par rapport aux hommes. 44.3% de femmes diplômées ne trouvent pas de travail, contre 18.2% d'hommes.

Ce constat est malheureusement remarqué au fil des années sans aucune volonté de changement (graphique 5). Les taux de chômage des femmes ayant un niveau d'enseignement supérieur, dépassent largement ceux des hommes.

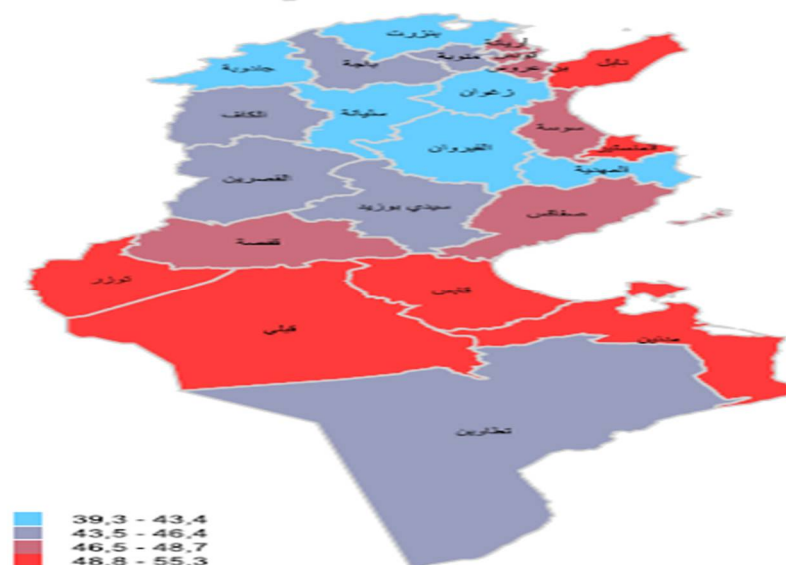
La situation est encore plus critique quand on parle des années de chômage selon le sexe. Elles trouvent plus de difficultés à intégrer le marché du travail que les hommes. Elles passent plus de deux ans au chômage que leurs homologues hommes (voir graphique 6).

Graphique 6 : Genre/Répartition des chômeurs selon la durée du chômage



Pour récapituler, nous présentons ci-dessous une cartographie illustrant les taux de chômage par région sur toute la Tunisie. Cette illustration par région confirme la crise économique, et par conséquent la crise sociale dont vit la Tunisie actuellement. Dans cette carte, on peut constater que le taux de chômage s'aggrave en passant des zones côtières vers l'intérieur de la Tunisie. Le sud enregistre également le taux le plus élevé, probablement à cause d'une politique de centralisation économique et de pouvoir politique dans la capitale Tunis (voir graphique 7).

Graphique 7 : Taux de chômage par région

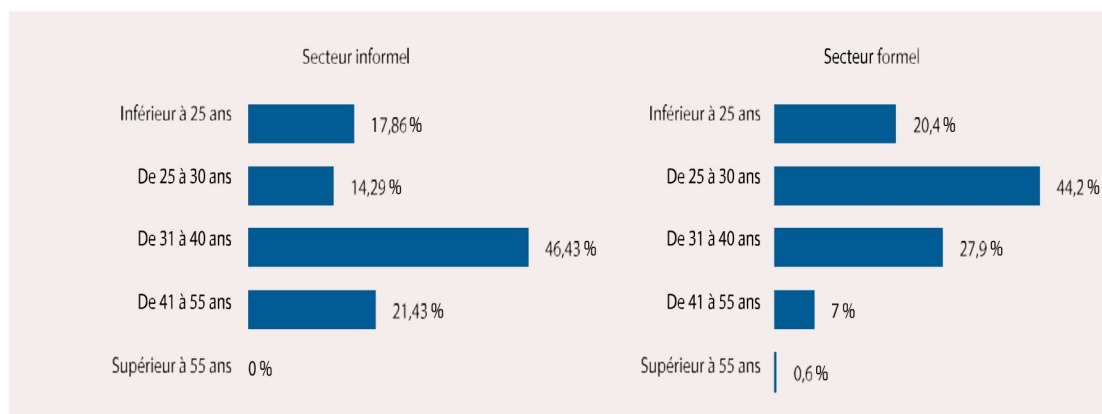


Femme tunisienne et entrepreneuriat

On se basant sur le rapport national de 2012 du Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, uniquement, 9% de la population tunisienne, âgée entre 18 et 64 ans, sont impliquées dans l’activité entrepreneuriale. Toutefois, les hommes sont trois fois plus impliqués que les femmes. Ces constats sont également confirmés par une enquête nationale réalisée par l’organisation Internationale de Travail en 2016, relevons une sous-représentation des femmes entrepreneuses en Tunisie, et ce dans tous les secteurs et à tous les niveaux.

Ces femmes créatrices d’entreprises travaillent dans le secteur formel et le secteur informel. Leur âge au moment de la création est pour presque 50% d’entre-elles varie entre 31 et 40 ans (voir graphique 8).

Graphique 8 : Genre/ Age des créatrices



Ces femmes entrepreneuses sont principalement d’un niveau d’éducation secondaire et universitaire (voir tableau 3).

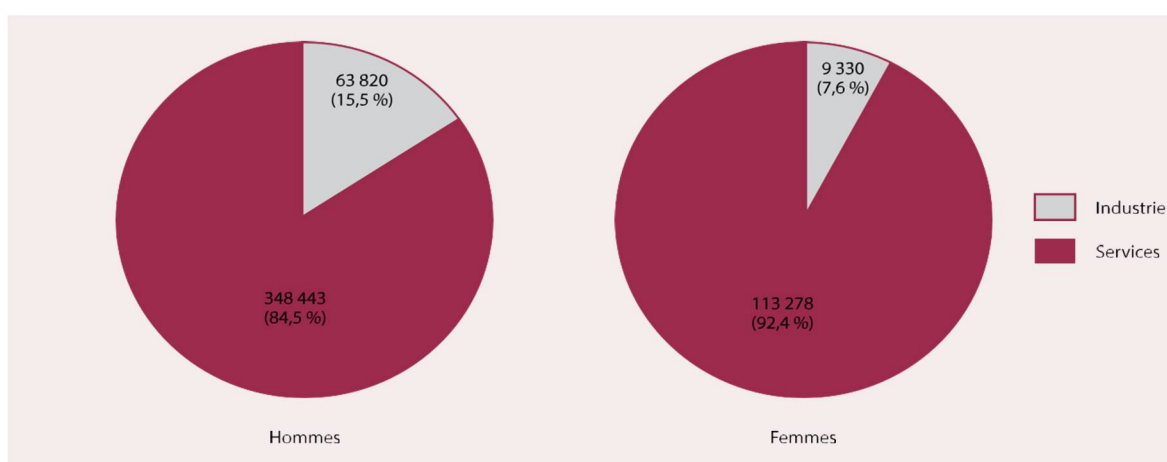
Tableau 3 : Femme/Niveau d’étude/Secteur formel et informel

	Global		Secteur formel		Secteur informel *	
	Ef fectif	%	Ef fectif	%	Ef fectif	%
Collège ou moins	23	12	14	8	9	33
Éducation secondaire ou formation professionnelle	89	45	74	43	15	56
Formation	87	44	84	49	3	11

universitaire							
Total	19	10	17	10	27	10	
	9	0	2	0	0		

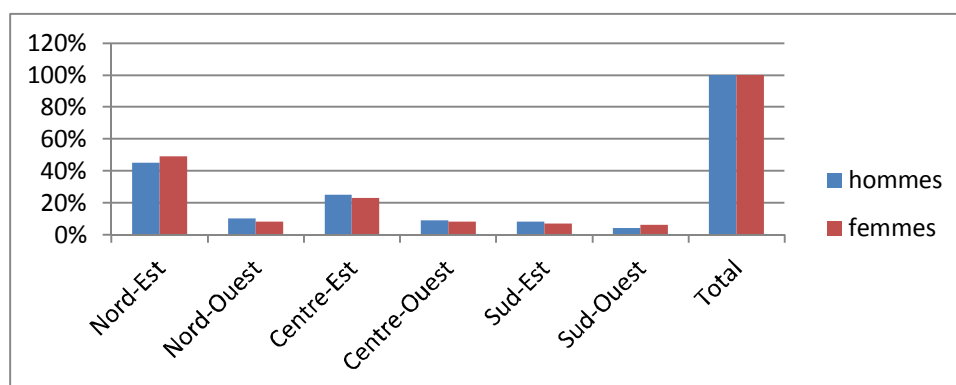
Cette enquête nationale relève également, que les femmes comme les hommes en Tunisie, s'investissent principalement dans le secteur de service. L'industrie ne représente, par conséquent, qu'un taux très faible d'entreprises, aussi bien, dirigées par des hommes que par des femmes (voir graphique 9).

Graphique 9 : Genre/ secteur d'activité



Par rapport à l'implantation géographique, 72% de ces entreprises dirigées par les femmes se trouvent dans la région du Nord-Est et celle du Centre-Est, contre 70% pour leurs homologues masculins (voir graphique 10).

Graphique 10 : Genre/Implantation géographique des entreprises



Néanmoins, le nombre des femmes tunisiennes créatrices d'entreprises de type personne morale est estimé à 18 000, représentant 19% des entreprises de ce type. Quant aux entreprises ayant le statut de personne physique, elles sont près de 123 000, ce qui ne représente que 23% du

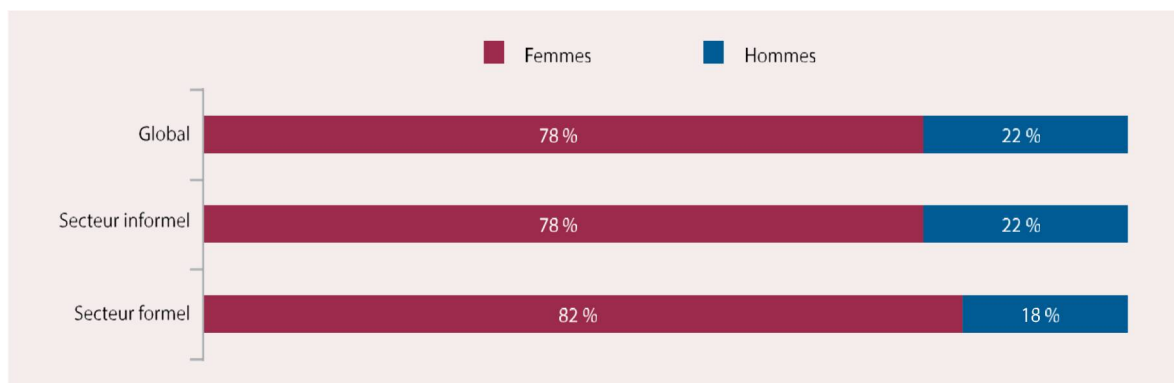
total déclaré. D’autre part, 83% des créatrices interrogées emploient moins de 6 salariés et 78% de ces employés sont des femmes (voir graphique 11).

Graphique 11 : Genre/Entreprises/Employés



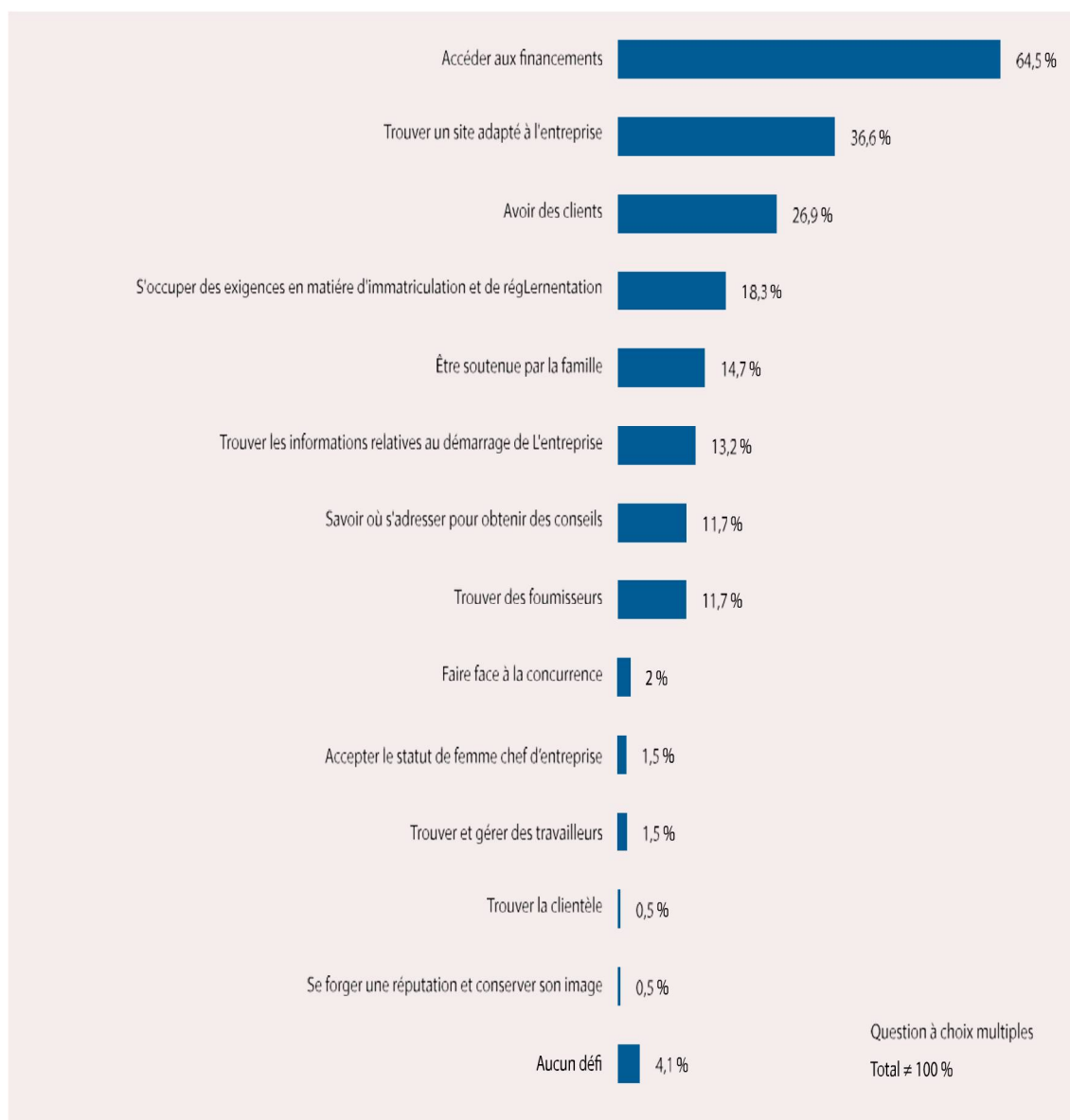
D’autre part, nous constatons que la majorité des femmes entrepreneuses travaillent souvent dans le secteur informel, contrairement aux hommes (78%). Par conséquent, l’impact est négatif sur l’économie du pays, mais aussi ne favorise pas l’exploitation du potentiel de ses tunisiennes et de leurs compétences. Il semble que l’Etat se trouve indifférente face à ce problème et aucune action stratégique n’est programmée dans ce sens, malgré l’égalité juridique en termes d’employabilité (voir graphique 12).

Graphique 12 : Genre/ Secteur informel/secteur formel



Pour ce qui est des obstacles rencontrés au moment du démarrage de leur entreprise, les entrepreneuses pensent que le critère financier constitue le premier obstacle à la création de projet. L'absence également de site adapté à la création d'entreprise au féminin constitue une vraie contrainte pour ces femmes à la recherche d'informations et de coaching.

Graphique 13 : Femmes/ Obstacles liés à la création du projet

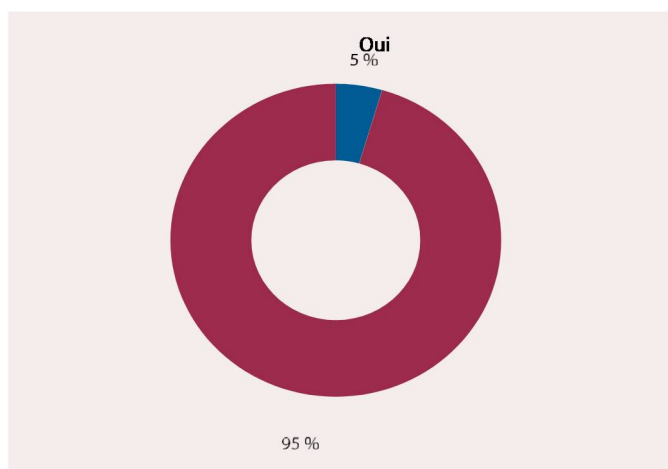


En troisième place, les femmes créatrices pensent que trouver des clients est également un des plus importants défis à relever. En effet, se lancer dans l'entrepreneuriat est une action complexe étant donné les procédures administratives longues et ambiguës.

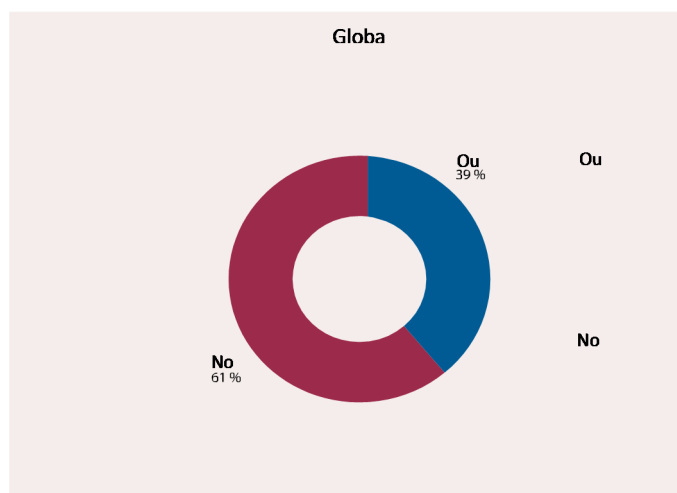
D'autre part, ces femmes interrogées déclarent que l'information et la formation sont nécessaires à l'élaboration d'un projet d'entreprise et qu'en Tunisie, elles ne sont pas souvent disponibles de façon claire et accessible. Ces femmes ont également mentionné d'autres obstacles

vécus lors de la création se rapportant à l'étude de marché, à l'indifférence des structures spécialisées et au circuit de distribution (voir graphique 13).

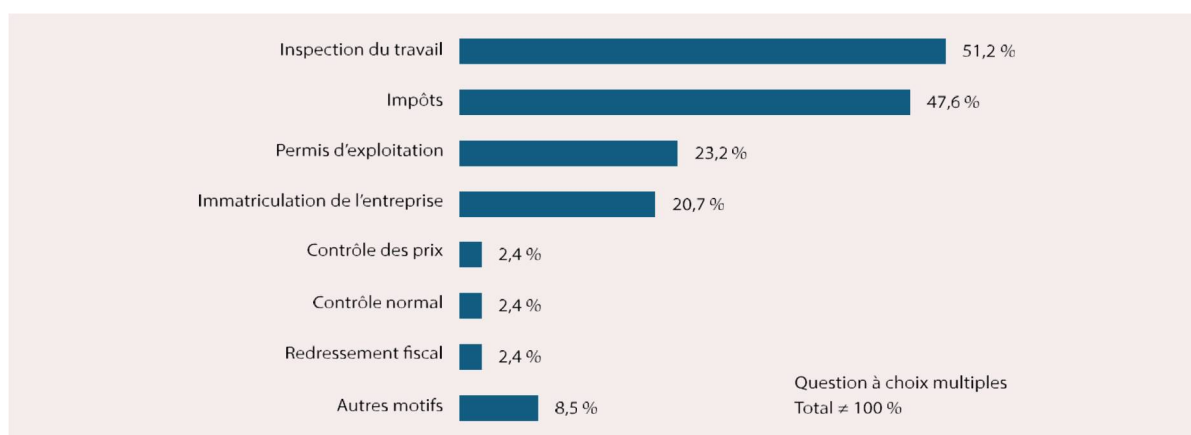
Graphique 14 : Femmes/Taux d'Harcèlement



Graphique 15 : Femmes/Visites des autorités publiques



Graphique 16 : Femmes/Motifs des visites des autorités publiques

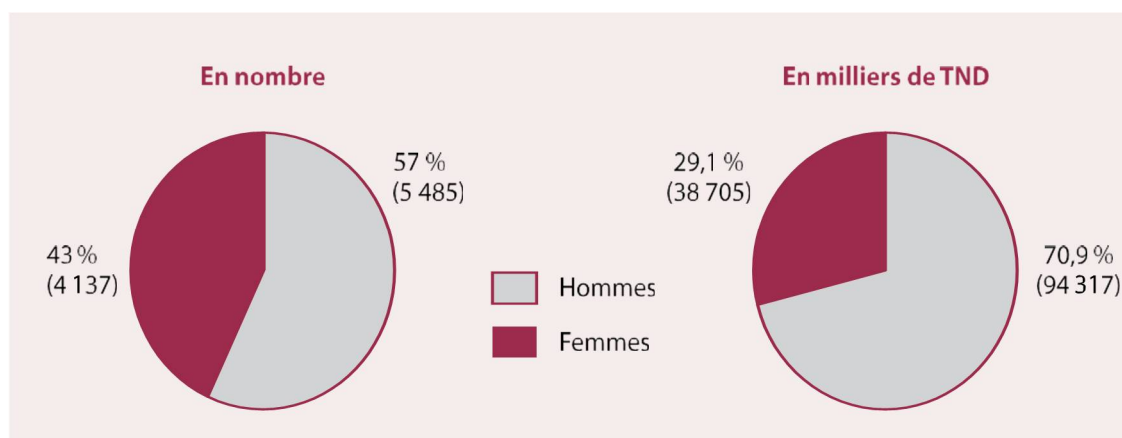


Par ailleurs, malgré l'indifférence de l'Etat face aux écarts importants entre les femmes et les hommes en termes d'entrepreneuriat, la majorité déclarent ne pas être harcelées par les autorités

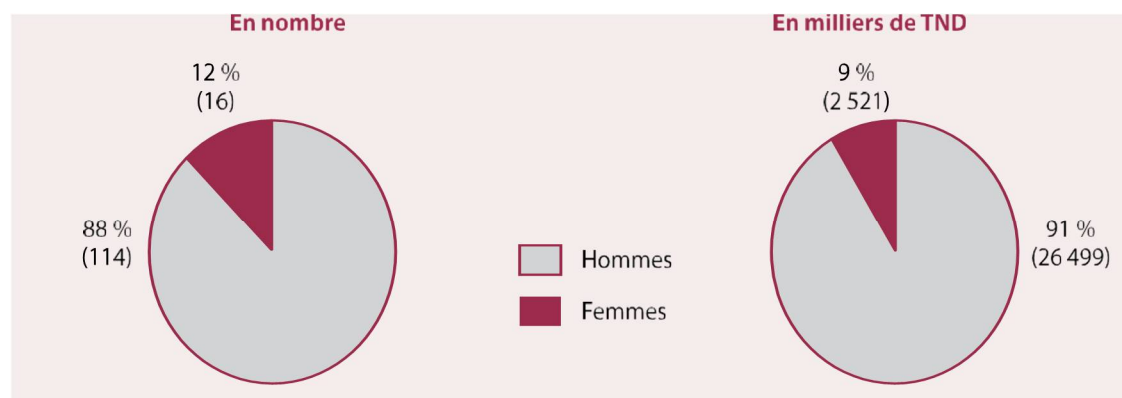
publiques, et ce tout au long des procédures de construction de leur propre entreprise (voir graphique 14). Cependant, ses femmes déclarent uniquement un taux de visite de 39% de la part des autorités publiques. Il semble que le suivi n'est pas une priorité pour l'Etat représentée par ses structures spécialisées (voir graphique 15). Ces visites sont pour la plupart de contrôle, pour des motifs juridiques et financiers (voir tableau 16).

Dans les deux graphiques ci-dessous (17/18), nous confirmons notre constatation quant à l'indifférence de l'Etat face à l'inégalité entre hommes et femmes en entrepreneuriat. En effet, nous constatons un déséquilibre flagrant en faveur des hommes en termes de crédits accordés par les banques spécialisées en création d'entreprises de tous types. Aucune procédure au féminin, n'est prise par ses structures spécialisées dans le but d'encourager les femmes à entreprendre et à bénéficier d'aide financière comme leurs homologues hommes.

Graphique 17 : Genre/Crédits accordés par le BTS



Graphique 18 : Genre/ Crédits accordés par le BTM



Conclusion et discussion des resultats

Selon l'OIT (2016), la situation des femmes en Tunisie est paradoxale : « d'un côté, elles représentent plus que des deux tiers des diplômés de l'enseignement supérieur. D'un autre côté, le

taux de participation des femmes à la population active est seulement de 26%, contre 70% pour les hommes ». Ce constat se concrétise au niveau de l’entrepreneuriat au féminin.

En effet, bien que les femmes tunisiennes ne soient pas exclues du marché de travail d’aucun secteur économique, elles sont cependant sous-représentées. Pourtant, les lois et les réglementations du travail en Tunisie interdisent tous types de discrimination et imposent que les femmes et les hommes perçoivent des revenus égaux pour le même travail. Malgré cette égalité juridique, les femmes principalement dans le secteur privé, subissent une discrimination lors du recrutement et aux postes de décision. En 2013, le taux de chômage des femmes a atteint 22% contre 13% pour les hommes. Ce taux s’aggrave et devient 42% contre 22% pour les hommes, et ce pour les diplômées du supérieur.

Cette situation est également vécue au niveau des indicateurs de l’entrepreneuriat. En effet, les femmes entrepreneuses représentent moins de 20% du total des entreprises en Tunisie (CNFCE¹, 2011). D’autre part, nous constatons qu’une grande partie des femmes entrepreneuses travaillent dans l’économie informelle afin d’éviter le processus administratif complexe et long, mais également suite à l’absence de procédures financières au féminin encourageant leur engagement dans le marché légal (OIT, 2016).

Ainsi, ces écarts importants entre les hommes et les femmes semblent liés principalement aux codes sociaux et culturels contraignants pour des femmes à la tête d’entreprise, et/ou ayant l’intention d’entreprendre. La perception sociale en est méfiante, et au pire, négative vis-à-vis des femmes entrepreneuses. Il semble en effet, que la culture entrepreneuriale n’est pas bien ancrée dans les familles tunisiennes, surtout lorsqu’il s’agit des femmes.

Bibliographie

1. Institut National de Statistique (2014). Recensement nationale de la population tunisienne. Tunisie.

Organisation Internationale du Travail (2006). *Evaluation nationale du développement de l’entrepreneurial féminin*. Tunisie.

Chuyko Oksana

Gender Equality as a Precondition for Female Career Development

(Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, Ukraine)

In the current context of competition and high qualifying requirements that specialists of any level have to meet in diverse fields of social production, alongside with significance of professional and personal self-fulfillment, it is absolutely necessary to study opportunities for men and women to pursue their career. Although, at first glance, career development opportunities seem to be available to every individual, yet the results of social research in Ukraine, Europe and throughout the world reveal gender inequality with regard to employment as a result of discriminatory norms and attitudes, uneven distribution of household chores and childcare responsibilities, as well as poor gender integration solutions in employment. This situation can be illustrated by the gender equality index in any country, based on the following indicators: employment (work) and career opportunities, money, education, time, political rights and opportunities, health care. Not a single country in the world has managed to bridge the gender gap.

These findings demonstrate that the study of gender inequality manifestations with regard to employment, as well as finding ways to reduce it, is of current concern.

This study aims to analyze gender equality as a precondition for female career development.

Issues of gender inequality at the workplace have been widely addressed by Ukrainian and foreign sociologists, economists, psychologists (V. Vasiuta, K. Voznyi, N. Herasymenko, T. Martseniuk, O. Shestakovskiy, I. Dembytska, T. Hovorun, O. Kikinedzhi, T. Martsyniuk, I. Malkina-Pykh, M. Tkalych, D. Greenberg, F. Hutagalung, H. Samuels and others.) The issue of gender-sensitive aspects of career development have been addressed by L. Karamushka, T. Zaichykova, V. Ivkin, O. Kredentser, O. Miroshnychenko, O. Fil.

Theoretical analysis of psychological and sociological literature reveals the phenomenon of gender segregation as an important indicator of gender inequality with regard to employment. For example, the following fields of activity are considered female: education, medicine, human resource management, art, entertainment, mass media, service industry (beauty shops, fitness centers), elderly care and childcare, diverse fields of trade, agriculture. The following fields of activity have been labeled as male: law enforcement agencies, IT technologies, crisis management, raw materials extraction, manufacturing, construction, repair work. The same trend is observed when men and women choose their major in college [1, 2, 4].

Glass ceiling effect is an instance of gender segregation. It manifests itself in a set of rules and practices which set up barriers for promoting women to top management. In Ukraine, top manager and senior executive positions in various sectors are occupied by men mostly. Even if working in female-dominated sectors, men often hold senior positions.

Based on the analyses of psychological literature, we single out major barriers to growth of women in management: gender roles attitudes within the company; double standards as to men and women exercising their managerial skills; necessity of constant expertise proof by women in management; possible non-recognition of female managers as a source of responsibility and power.

Gender inequality is also made apparent through gender pay gap. In this day and age women rarely get lower wages just because of their gender identity. Rate of remuneration for men and women is affected by a number of indirect factors, associated with gender stereotypes concerning their expertise, gender segregation, glass ceiling effect, full-time work opportunities, conventional approaches to performance assessment geared towards formal job description for male-dominated positions; field of activity, company's economic performance, working environment [1].

Female employment appears to be concentrated in highly qualified jobs that require brain work and creative operation, but yield lower salaries as they are mostly in the public sector.

Female career development difficulties may be attributed to “double workload” of women [1]. Present-day women tend to be multitasking: they are busy building a successful career, doing household chores, providing childcare and maintaining relations with their partner. Household chores done by women are viewed as unpaid work which she has to balance with her career. On top of that, female employment has a strong connection to childcare. According to EIGE, in most EU member states, increasing number of children reduces female employment [7]. When hiring staff, some employers consider marital and parental status of women, thus, possibility of sick and maternity leaves in the future. These are factors determining undesirable company employee.

In an effort to be a good mother and wife, a woman can spend less time pursuing her career. This may cause an inner conflict between career goals, aspirations and family obligations.

Gender-based harassment and violence are symptoms of gender inequality. Gender-based harassment is viewed as a bias towards men and women due to their gender identity. This concept is wider than sexual harassment and is much more common in the sphere of employment. Gender-based harassment is part and parcel of gender-based violence. Gender-based violence or violence against women (according to EIGE) is understood as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women and means any acts of gender-based violence [7]. It results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering.

With regard to employment, gender-based violence is used as leverage over employee's decision-making, their career development, employment opportunities, remuneration rate and economic security in general [3, 5, 6].

Gender-based harassment and violence should be treated seriously not only because the victims suffer, but they also contribute to unfavorable social and psychological climate among personnel, which has negative effect on the productivity [6]. Gender-based harassment and violence can be disguised and people do not always recognize that they have fallen victim to gender-based discrimination. Low awareness of gender equality, reliance on gender stereotypes shape an attitude to manifestations of gender-based persecution as to common sight without suspecting any violation of personal dignity based on their gender identity.

Gender stereotypes provide a basis for gender inequality, gender-based discrimination. The following are the most commonly encountered stereotypes that affect attitudes about gender roles in the society and career:

the main purpose of women is childbearing and parenting, as well as homemaking. Therefore, women should confine their self-fulfillment to these spheres;

woman's successful career is not her own achievement, but influence of some kinship, financial means, her husband's position, etc.;

woman's successful career is built at the sacrifice of her personal life, such woman has no happy family relations, has not realized her potential as a wife, mother;

the main purpose of men is to defend his household, family, homeland, as well as breadwinning, career and power structures. Therefore, it is men who should pursue career and work in governmental agencies.

In this way, instances of gender inequality create external barriers for female career development. At the same time, these phenomena are often interiorized to become internal factors for women, thus, causing stress, diffidence, doubts about possible career development and imposing restrictions in various fields of self-fulfillment.

We have outlined primary ways to reduce gender inequality with regard to employment, namely:

public awareness campaign aimed at studying gender dimension of employment, challenging gender stereotypes, preventing and avoiding gender-based harassment and violence;

balancing work, family and private life by women;

practical trainings for successful career, developing professionally important qualities and traits, coaching;

public legal education (awareness of laws on gender-sensitive issues in the labor market);
implementing and abiding by gender equality policies in various sectors, fostering organizational culture based on gender equality.

As you can see, gender inequality in career pursuit sets up barriers to female career development. The following indicators are primary indicators of gender inequality with regard to employment: gender segregation, gap in wages, dual employment of women (family and work), gender stereotypes, gender-based harassment and violence. We think that effective ways to achieve gender equality are public awareness campaign concerning gender-sensitive issues; balancing work, family and private life by women; practical trainings for successful career; implementing gender equality policies in organizations.

References

1. Analitichnedoslidzhenniauchastizhinok u skladirobochoisylyUkrainy (2012) / E.M.Libanova, O.V.Makarova, S.Yu. Aksonova, H.V. Herasymenko et al. K.,212p.Retrieved fromhttp://www.idss.org.ua/monografii/2013_ua_womens%20participation.pdf
2. Gendernanerivnist: zhinkyridkostaiut TOP-menedzheramy. Retrieved from<http://socportal.info/2015/05/15/genderna.html>
3. Martseniuk T. O. Genderna dyskryminatsiia na rynku pratsi v Ukraini (na prykladi seksualnykh domahan). Retrieved fromhttp://ekmair.ukma.edu.ua/bitstream/handle/123456789/316/08_martsynyuk_to.pdf
4. Shestakovskiy O. (2013). Genderna nerivnist na rynku pratsi Ukrainy: strukturni peredumovy ta tryvki stereotypy//*Visnyk Kyivskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni Tarasa Shevchenka. Sociology* 1 (4), – pp.49-53
5. Combating violence against women: European Union. Retrieved from<http://eige.europa.eu/rdc/eige-publications/combating-violence-against-women-european-union>
6. David H. Greenberg. Sexual harassment, discrimination and wrongful termination. Retrieved from<http://mir.zavantag.com/kultura/14221/index.html?page=7>
7. <http://eige.europa.eu>

Lamiae Azzouzi, Jihane Benmassoud

**Gender and Development: the Case of Moroccan Women in Leadership
Positions**

(Moulay Ismail University, Meknes, Morocco)

Introduction

Inside or outside Morocco, women have brilliantly challenged all the social constraints, beliefs or stereotypes related to their ordinary traditional roles in society to successful leadership positions thanks to education, a supportive family, self-trust and perseverance. Moroccan females have proved that no elevated position is reserved to men and only men but have rather subscribed through history that women empowerment in the Arab world is a goal if not a project in which most Moroccan women are targeted to share the unique experience of leadership and be aware of their integrity in the process of development.

This paper, then, considers in-depth the issue of gender development shedding light on women leadership positions in education, politics, science, sport and business and the role these women play to assure a sustainable development in Morocco. In this context, the questions that this study tends to answer are: how much efforts are deployed to improve public accountability to women in the development process in Morocco? And how Moroccan female leaders take part in the process of a sustainable development?

The paper is organized as follows: section 1 is devoted to define gender development in Morocco. Section 2 covers women achievements in Morocco throughout history, while section 3 exposes some famous Moroccan figures that marked history so far. Section 4 is devoted to the methodology adopted in this study, taking as a sample five female leaders belonging to different fields in Morocco who were guests of the program 'Mutaalikat' (distinguished successful women) retrieved from 'Aloula' channel. Section 5 discusses the results and implications of the study. Section 6 constitutes a conclusion to the present study.

Keywords: Gender, development, Leadership.

Gender Development in Morocco: Definitions and concepts

Gender Development is based on gender analysis and mainstreaming denoting how women may have the same rights and opportunities in life as men, including the ability to participate in the public sphere. It also denotes the equivalence in life outcomes for women and men, recognizing their different needs and interests, and requiring a redistribution of power and resources. As a

matter of fact, this cannot be operationalized without an organizational strategy to bring gender perspective to all aspects of an institution’s policy and activities through building gender capacity and accountability. In this case, gender development should abjure gender discrimination in a society where beliefs do not favour the role of women beside men. In other words, women and development concerns, in Morocco, are a peculiar anomaly since a proliferating number of policies and plans of action for women still fail to be translated into practice. In the same realm, the unfavourable treatment of individuals on the basis of their gender, which denies their rights, opportunities or resources, systematically affect the hierarchical relations of power between women and men that tend to disadvantage women. At this point, Understanding the concept of Gender Development requires first to clarify the difference between Women in Development (WID) and Gender and development (GAD) since this study tends to highlight the role (s) of female leaders and their engagement in the development of our country. Women in Development approach calls for greater attention to women in development policy and practice, and emphasises the need to integrate them into the development process. In contrast, Gender and Development approach focuses on the socially constructed basis of differences between men and women and emphasises the need to challenge existing gender roles and relations. In this investigation, however, our concern is not to analyse the dysfunctional patriarchal system in Morocco but rather to study gender achievements in different arenas to better identify and prioritise gender needs and therefore realize dignity and social justice at least for the coming generations.

Gender Achievements in Morocco: a Historical Background

Several decades ago, women in Morocco were referred to as ‘alharem’. The word ‘horma’ means that it is forbidden to any man (but not the father and the brother) to talk or have a look on a female inside or outside her home (See Azzouzi, 2018, for more details). Females were condemned to stay in their ‘Mesria’ own room or her husband room’ in the presence of men even relatives. Females got married in a very early age, give birth to many children (sometimes up to 15 children if not more). Their roles were limited to house chore and children’s and husbands’ care. They used to leave with and entertain the whole family in law and practically have no freedom to voice themselves or complain about their miserable conditions (Some females were satisfied with their situation as far as they have a husband). Few girls had access to schools at that time and may drop from school if they have to get married. In the period of colonization and thanks to the awareness and the support of some Moroccan families (especially the father), females started to integrate schools, excelled brilliantly in their studies, and even travelled abroad to further their studies. They started to get married lately, limited multiple pregnancy, and took decision freely. Integrating girls

in education raised a significant psychological liberation among females. In this case, there is compelling evidence that the education of girls and women has promoted both individual and national well-being. In other words, poverty, illiteracy, discrimination, subordination and inequality have never been a hurdle to Moroccan women as traced back in history. It is true that women development suffered from several limitations but women's empowerment and development in several fields, today, gain much space compared to the previous decade. Before embarking in analysing the outcomes of gender achievements in Morocco and their impact on a sustainable socio-economic development, we will expose some of the most successful figures in Morocco and overseas.

Moroccan Females in Leadership Positions

Moroccan women in the position of leadership have always attracted the media and the public opinion about their accomplishments and the secret of their success, the following are top 8 female leaders in and outside Morocco as retrieved from happyknowledge.com:

Asmae Boujibar: The first Moroccan woman to integrate the prestigious American center of research NASA at an age of 27 years old.

Touria Chaoui: First Arab and Moroccan female as a pilot at an age of 16 years old. Despite all the social constraints, pressure and delicate conditions, she managed to impose herself in a male dominant society and be congratulated and supported by many political figures and organizations and, then, by the king Mohamed V.

Nadia Ben Bahtane: the first Moroccan woman who swam across the Strait of Gibraltar. She exercised for about 6 months to realize her dream. This challenge shows females' abilities and determination to overcome all the difficulties they may encounter in their courses of life.

Bouchra Baibano: The first Moroccan woman to climb the highest summit of the world the Kilimanjaro (5.895m), le Mont Blanc (4.810m) and l'Aconcagua (6.962m).

Zineb El Adaoui: First Moroccan woman Wali in the history of Morocco. The integration of women in such prestigious position was a starting point for Moroccan women to benefit from elevated positions in politics equally to men. Women, in their turn, demonstrated outstanding abilities to fulfill positions of leadership and succeeded brilliantly in their missions.

Najat Vallaud-Belkacem: A Moroccan female minister of national education in France. Achieving one's dream starts by a good education, self-trust and setting objectives.

Miriam Bensaleh Chaqroun: the most influential woman in the Arab world, a successful businesswoman, and the CEO of Holmarcom and CGEM group. Mrs Chaqroun is a role model to

any woman who wants to share the experience of leadership, challenges herself, and keeps faith in opportunities to accomplish her dreams.

Nawal El Moutawakel : the first African and Moroccan woman to win the 400m hurdles medal in the history of the Olympic games in the world. An active member of NGOs in Morocco.

These women have significantly participated in the change of the economic, social, sportive and political profile of Morocco. Other successful female figures are exposed in this study with a more profound discussion.

Methodology

The study adopted the qualitative methodology to collect data on female leadership and development in Morocco. Data is composed of 5 face to face TV interviews recorded from a TV interview show [mutaalikat] ‘successful women’ directed by the host Asmae Benfassi, on the Moroccan channel *Aloula*. The interviewees are all female professionals from different domains such as authors, actors, researchers, doctors, politicians, entertainers among others in order to have varied interviews as far as backgrounds, roles, and identities are concerned.

The sample is consisted of five leading Moroccan women in different fields. All TV interviews were conducted in the Arabic language. Furthermore, the recorded videos of the TV show which last from 19:17 min to 27: 19 min were retrieved from YouTube and then translated into English. The sample includes a case study of five women leaders from Morocco as demonstrated in the tables below:

Table 1. Demographic data

Participant	Field	Marital Status	Origin	Philosophy of life
Loubna Mouna	Pilot	Married (3 children)	Ait Benhadou	Be courageous
Leila Sadikki	Scientist	Married (2 children)	Khoribga	Be ambitious
Houda Farah Kssous	Entrepreneur	Married (2 children)	Marrakech	Self confidence
Asmae Elmraabet	Author and a doctor	Married (1 child)	Tafraout	Be curious
Sofia Benyahya	Jewelry Designer	(Not mentioned)	Fes	Be creative

--	--	--	--	--

This qualitative case study is an attempt to understand the factors leading to the success of Moroccan women in leadership positions. It is also an exploration of the actual relevant categories that can form the basis for further detailed quantitative studies. The sample of five women is sufficient to fulfill the aim of the study, considering the redundancy of the answers after the fifth interview (Ritchie et al., 2003, p. 84; Morse, 2000, p. 4).

Results

During the interview, many general questions and answers were given, which were very informative about the participants. They were, almost, asked four general questions. First, to give a general background knowledge about their achievements. Second, to share an unforgettable memory of their childhood. Third, their role models in life. And fourth, their philosophy in life. The present study focuses on four different main concepts which are family commitment, gender role, and role models.

All participants were described by their families and friends as confident, powerful, unbeatable, courageous, ambitious, leaders, hard workers and problem solvers. Their motivation to have their own businesses or excel in their domains is merely challenge, gain autonomy, voice themselves socially and politically and simply achieve their dreams. The answer to the study's main questions, and understanding the effect of social status, challenges, gender role and role model on the participant's road to success, can be summarized in the following table :

Table 2. Summary of the Findings

Code	Participants	Social Status	Gender role	Role model	Challenges
1	Loubna Mou na	Acceptance and care	support	Grand mother	Less mobility
2	Leila Sadikki	Support and pressure	Respect	Father	Investment in research
3	Houda Farah Kssous	Support	Understanding	Not mentioned	access to career-making roles as men

4	AsmaeElmr abet	Pressure and support	Respect	Father	Family or work
5	Sofia Benyahya	Opportu nities	Understa nding	Grand father	Not mentioned

Family and Social Status

Most participants, notably,(1, 3, and 5) expressed positive feelings about the family status effect, describing it as supportive, balancing, and providing opportunities. Participant (1) described the family status effect as acceptance, which is considered positive, without criticism. The other two participants (2 and 4) described the effect of their social status as a source of pressure because they need to give priority to their children and husbands, but still it is not considered negative because participant 2 stated in the interview that:

On the weekends my husband volunteers to join me to the university lab and help me with everything which need physical strength while our two girls are playing in the universities garden, so I do believe when you do things with love you won't feel the pressure anymore.

Similarly, participant 1 reported that her husband's support allowed her to progress in her career and she said:

I have a job that requires long hours, evenings out, and a lot of trips and therefore I can't rely on my husband who has the same job as mine to take care of the children while I am away and the same thing for him.

Worth mentioning here that the role of men in the life of these successful women is pertinent because of their understanding, love and support that should be considered as an awareness that have helped to reorganize the whole family structure of the new millennium.

Gender Role

Most of the participants did not mention anything about gender role effect on their professional life which meansthat there is a gender role prototype in our society and male leaders tend to accept females in certain careers. However, for participant (3), there are not enough females in the field of entrepreneurship:

In this field, we were only two females who applied to this position and I wasselected because of my high qualifications, skills and competencies in this domain.

We can deduce from what was claimed earlier, that the main motivation of female leaders to succeed is ultimately to achieve a global progress toward the millennium development goals.

Role Model

Two of the participants (2, 4) named their fathers as their role model, participant (1) cited her grandmother and participant (5) referred to her grandfather and one of the participant had no role model (3), maybe she doesn't need a role model to achieve her goals as far as she trust her own abilities as a female.

Challenges

According to the interviews, the participant female leaders claim that they have managed to defy all social expectations and constraints by fulfilling their dreams. The host and the guests altogether preferred to avoid the topic of gender equality, because complaining about inequality can be seen as a threatening to gender development. As a pilot, participant (1) claims that distance remains a constraint. It is quite difficult for women to pursue employment outside home. They have to work nearby their home and avoid a lot of trips per week, as she stated "*I fly a different plane now because I need to be close to my family*". Therefore, spending long hours at work might result in having a difficulty in meeting the demands of the family.

To most participants, it is difficult to decide to choose between family and work. Both choices are difficult and both require sacrifice. For that reason, a woman has to be self-confident, maintain her goals in being a wife, a mother and a leader.

For participant (2), female scientist researchers are not sponsored enough by the government and the sponsors to attain high-visibility. Sponsors' job is to use their influence intentionally to help others advance forward which is essential to ensure career advancement and professional development. She also believes that researchers get enough help from their supervisors and administrators at the universities; but they need sponsors who will give them visibility, talk about their accomplishments behind closed doors, and promote them for stretch opportunities.

Implications of the Study

The development of women in Morocco is one of the most remarkable revolutions of the past 50 years. More precisely, millions of women who were once dependent on men have taken control of their own economic, educational, and political fates. Nevertheless, if the empowerment of women was one of the great changes of the past 50 years, coping with its social consequences will be one of the serious challenges of the next 50 years. The present study has explored the stories of five successful women to illustrate their perceptions of what it takes to become a woman leader. As a matter of fact, leadership in any particular field requires unique competencies to navigate the complexities involved in managing social or gender changes. Lived experiences of women leaders can help understand how to unlock this potential by identifying the challenges and sharing

successful strategies used to become effective female leaders. Lessons learned from the female leaders in this study have identified some of the key ingredients to a sustainable development, recognizing that in addition to individual competencies, governmental systems can be enhanced to provide supportive context and background to improve women’s potentials in different fields. In this context, four recommendations are made, based on the challenges aforementioned by the interviewees in this study. However, further research on the effectiveness of these mechanisms in different contexts is required, but they are presented here for further research:

To organize conferences, workshops and training for female students in schools of medicine, law, economics, education and other fields. Training should include mentorship elements that connect young women leaders to established leaders and help broaden their networks.

To create time and space for females and males leaders alike to discuss a shared vision of the future and understand the processes to be undertaken in order to achieve mutually beneficial goals. Dialogue and discussion should be facilitated by communication specialists who are sensitive to providing equal opportunities for engagement by both men and women, taking context-dependent cultural factors into account.

To pair young girls with existing women leaders to serve as role models and mentors and help develop young potential leaders.

To develop a career development curriculum in schools where girls would visit role model's work environment and engage in a related project over several months.

Conclusion

The study has answered all its questions, on the four aspects of family social status, gender role, role model and challenges. The study has also answered its central question on the factors affecting women leaders’ success in Morocco. It has, also, found a combination of factors affecting success in Morocco. However, the most significant factor is the woman herself: her personality, the need to achieve her aims, the need for independence and achievement. Regardless of background and family status, women have shown very strong self-confidence, abilities, and determination to reach their goals.

References

1. Al-lamky, A. (2007) Feminizing leadership in Arab societies: the perspective of Omani female leaders. *Women in Management Review* 22(1),49-67.
2. Azzouzi, L. (2018). Moroccan women and socio-economic well-being: The case of home-based business in Fez region. *Gender, Identities and education*. GeSt project, Vol I pp 40-53, 2018.
3. Morse, J. M. (2000). Determining sample size. *Qualitative Health Research*, 10(1), 3-5. <https://doi.org/10.1177/104973200129118183>

4. Paloma, V, Garcia-Ramirez, M, De la Mata, M, (2010). Acculturative integration, self and citizenship construction: The experience of Amal-Andaluza, a grassroots organization of Moroccan women in Andalusia. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 34 (2), 101-113.
5. Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., & Elam, G. (2003). Designing and selecting samples. In J. Ritchie & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice. A guide for social science students and researchers* (pp. 77-108). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
6. Rogers, B. (2005). *The domestication of women: Discrimination in developing societies*. Routledge, [www. Content.taylorfrancis.com](http://www.content.taylorfrancis.com)
7. Sadiqi, F and Ennaji, M. (2006). The feminization of public space: Women's activism, the family law, and social change in Morocco. *Journal of Middle East women's studies* 2 (2), 86-114.

Oleksandr Boyko, Oleksandr Samoilenko

Influence of Gender Stereotypes on Personality's Development

(NizhynMykola Gogol State University, Ukraine)

Gender stereotype is an organic element of spiritual culture that highly influences the self-awareness of a person, their socialization, self-identification, the development of their social roles, the nature and model of communication, and other vital processes. For the first time, the term "stereotype" was introduced by U. Lippmann, journalist in 1922 [9]. Then the issue of social stereotypes was most successfully investigated by H. Tajfel, R. Gardner, P. Hinton, and others. [11,7,8]. The specificity analysis of gender stereotypes is presented in the writings of such western authors as I. Broverman, S. Basow, D. Schneider [6,5,10]. In Ukraine, V. Aheieva, O. Vilkova, O. Kis, S. Oksamytna, etc. studied the gender stereotypes affect [1-4]. However, in most cases the scientists focused on the negative effects of stereotypes on an individual, in particular, and on a society as a whole. That is why there is a need for a comprehensive, balanced, comprehensive analysis of the impact of gender stereotypes on the formation of an individual as a subject of society.

The influence of gender stereotypes on the personality development can be divided into "conditional constructive" and "destructive". Such differentiation happens due to the very nature of stereotyping phenomenon, which is based on the innate ability of the human psyche to perceive and record information about homogeneous objects, phenomena, facts, objects, etc. in the form of stable and homogeneous mental stereotypes (representations, images, assessments, etc.). Such world perception model is recorded in the collective memory and allows an individual as well as a society to establish a communicative contact (to understand each other, to exchange information, to carry out the identification, to consolidate, etc.). In general, stereotyping is a very important social tool that provides vital functions for an individual as well as society, since it regulates the perception of the surrounding world.

As a rule, stereotyping reaches two diametrically opposed stages in its development: adequacy - inadequacy. The first stage of "adequacy" begins when the born image (gender stereotype) is fully consistent with the social realities in which it appeared; it orientates, mobilizes and to some extent contributes to the development. At this stage, the stereotype is characterized by concretion, dynamism, and correspondence of time. The transition of a gender stereotype in the second phase of its development - the stage of "inadequacy" is due to the fact that society's life varies much faster than stereotypes generated by them. As a result, a gender stereotype at this stage is increasingly

beginning to show conservatism, agility, non-compliance with time requirements, and eventually begins to live their own lives and slow down social development. Moreover, it shows the reason to subdivide the influence of gender stereotypes in the personality development into "conditional-constructive" (since the right-oriented stereotype has an ability to lose its positive charge in the course of time and even become its opposite) and "destructive".

Positive functions that gender stereotypes perform in society state about their constructive effect on the formation, development and socialization of a person:

accumulate standardized collective experience, help a person orient and adapt in the surrounding reality better and faster, "prompt" behavior in critical situations;

influence on the formation of a single set of conduct rules, common collective memory and a general picture of the world in society, which ensures its integrity and stability, increases its viability;

support the model of gender roles distribution, which provided public safety and development in the past;

facilitate the group identification of an individual, which creates the conditions their successful socialization;

contribute to the integration of the social community and act as a factor supporting the sustainability of the social system as a whole;

form and support the picture of mutual perception of men and women and thus facilitate the establishment of contacts and communication;

simplify and systematize orientation in the information flow;

save time for decision-making because they include a community-based scheme of behavioral patterns based on previous generations and fixed in established norms and traditions.

However, as it was already noted, some gender stereotypes lose their relevance in the course of time, becoming more conservative and retarding the society development. Such a mechanism of gender stereotypes "aging" and causes the transformation of once quite "correct" stereotypes, which in the past effectively ensured the survival and development of society, to opposite stereotypes. In fact, there is a mirror transformation that changes the "pluses" to "minuses". Under these circumstances, outdated gender stereotypes begin to affect the development of an individual as well as the society destructively:

justify and support gender inequality and discrimination in society at family and state level;

support vertical gender stratification, in which a man is "higher" on the social ladder and a woman is "lower";

exaggerate differences in roles between men and women artificially;

maintain the existing model of labor relations, based on gender segregation, defined by the asymmetric distribution of men and women in the labor field, both at the job position and field and professional subdivision;

hinder the active inclusion of women in the production and science, in the economic and political management of society;

derogate from human rights and lead to gender discrimination - violation of human rights on the grounds of gender identity;

contribute to the stability of intergroup and interpersonal relationships based on the principles of domination and subjugation;

interfere with the objective perception of the opposite sex both at the group and individual levels;

spur into different interpretation and evaluation of the same actions, acts and behavior, depending on the gender of the person who made it;

lower the self-esteem of a person who believes that it does not correspond to stereotyped gender role patterns;

due to its natural conservatism, retard the progressive development of the human potential of both men and women and become an obstacle to their self-realization;

can negatively affect individual development and mental state of an individual, since roles and patterns of behavior imposed by gender stereotypes often contradict their own aspirations and desires;

can be a basis for justifying or concealing unlawful acts - acts of aggression and humiliation; physical, sexual, psychological and economic violence; ill-treatment of children and others;

lead to the emergence of prejudices - a set of negative emotions, settings and feelings in relation to a certain group and its members.

To sum it up, the influence of gender stereotypes on society and the process of personality development are controversial and ambiguous. On the one hand, they accumulate collective experience, ensure the integrity and stability of the social system; promote group identification of a personality; simplify the decision-making process; on the other hand, they support gender inequality and discrimination in society; constrain the development of human potential, hindering the self-realization of individuals; create tension in communication between men and women and others.

References:

1. Ahieieva, V.P., Kobylanska, L.K., &Skoryk, M.O. (2006). *Osnovyteoriiigenderu [Fundamentals of gender theory]*. Kyiv: K.I.S. [in Ukrainian]

2. Vilkova, O.Yu. (2003). *Protsesformuvannia ta naslidky vidtvorennia gendernykh stereotypiv [Formation and reproduction of gender stereotypes]*. Zaporizhzhia: «Nova paradyhma». P. 185-190. [in Ukrainian]
3. Kis, O. (2002). *Etnichnigenderni stereotypy ta dzherelayikhkonstruyuvannia [Ethnic gender stereotypes and their emerging sources]*. Drohobych: «Kolo». P. 26-43. [in Ukrainian]
4. Oksamytna, S.M. (2004). *Genderniroli ta stereotypy [Gender roles and stereotypes]*. Kyiv: «K.A.S.». P. 157-181. [in Ukrainian]
5. Basow, S. A. (1992) *Gender Stereotypes and Roles*. Pacific Grove.
6. Broverman I., Vogel S., Broverman D., Clarkson F., Rosenkrantz P. (1972) *Sex Role Stereotype: A Current Appraisal*. Journal of Social Issues. Vol. 28, No.2.
7. Gardner, R.C. (1994) *Stereotypes as Consensual Beliefs*. The Psychology of Prejudice: The Ontario Symposium/ed. by M.P. Zanna, J.M. Olson. Vol. 7. Hillsdale.
8. Hinton, P.R. (2000) *Stereotypes, Cognition, and Culture*. East Sussex; Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.
9. Lippmann, W. (1992) *Public Opinion*. N.-Y.: Harcourt.
10. Schneider, D.J. (2004) *The Psychology of Stereotyping*. New York: Guilford Press.
11. Tajfel, H. (1982) *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme.

Larysa Semeniuk, Oleg Semeniuk

Gender and Geographical Aspects of the Employment in Ukraine (on the example of the Kirovohrad Oblast)

(Volodymyr Vynnychenko Central Ukrainian State Pedagogical University, Ukraine)

Annotation: Issues related to the integration of women into the processes of economic development are ones of the most difficult and debatable problems that the modern industrial society has faced in the 21st century. Ukraine is no exception. It is a state that has a rather developed system of protection of social rights of the population, including gender equality. This article considers the socio-geographical features of employment of the population (women and men) under the influence of socio-economic factors in the conditions of the transformational social processes of the last decades in one of the typical Ukrainian regions – the Kirovohrad Oblast. The study notes that solution for gender problems in unemployment within Ukraine and Kirovohrad Oblast specifically, overcoming gender imbalances of the labour market is generally inhibited by the low democratic developments in the country, mentality and national culture peculiarities, traditional set ideas about women’s roles in the society. Such problems can be solved only when social policies and welfare of women, labour code and laws concerning salaries of women are improved.

Keywords: gender equality, gender imbalance, employment, economic activity, Ukraine, Central Ukrainian region.

The social and economic transformations process in Ukraine is followed by the increased differentiation of the society. One of its manifestations is gender inequality characteristic of any society independently of its political order and the level of social and economic development. It is apparent as women and men have unequal abilities in respect of public agencies, education sphere and employment, incomes and property. On the one hand, the transformation of the gender correlations in Ukraine for the sake of gender equality issues needs to be well-grounded on reliable analysis of gender correlations within Ukraine both nationwide and regionally; on the other hand it demands considering of the positive global experience in gender democracy. The solution of the gender inequality problems as well as the increase of the women’s role in the society provides for the urgency of the scientists and scholars representing various sciences, including social geography. Gender geography is still new for Ukraine though it has been in active development throughout the

world since the 1960s. Gender geography is a branch of social geography covering territorial differences of gender identification and gender roles perception.

Gender correlations in Ukraine manifest striking regional differences and have been characterised by variegated social and economic factors, psychological, mental, and cultural preconditions. The most distinct these territorial differences of gender correlations are in cross-regional disproportions and disproportions between cities and countryside. Such a research is important for the process of gender culture formation in society as well as fighting negative stereotypes. Gender culture as a set of sexual and role values, needs, interests, and forms of activities in social life is preconditioned by democratic order and related democratic institutions.

In our paper we will analyse the gender aspect of employment in the Kirovohrad Oblast / Region, the heartland of Ukraine and its central region.

According to the Law of Ukraine "On Ensuring Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women and Men" gender equality is equal legal status of women and men and equal opportunities for its implementation, which allows persons of both sexes to take an equal part in all spheres of public life. In Ukraine the gender equality issue is not related to the absence of women's rights, but to the process of ensuring them. Women are not discriminated in the society, but there are still stereotypes which still need to be changed because they see men and women's roles in the society, their social status and norms of economic behaviour [2]. The researchers claim that the gender equality rating is made up by summarised assessment of four main criteria: economic participation and possibilities (salaries, access to highly qualified jobs, employment level), education level (basic and higher education access level), political authority (representation in public agencies and bodies), health condition and life expectancy.

As of 2018 women constitute more than half of the Kirovohrad Oblast population (53.9 %), its most educated and socially active part. The most urgent problems of the women in the region are employment, job placement, and unemployment issues.

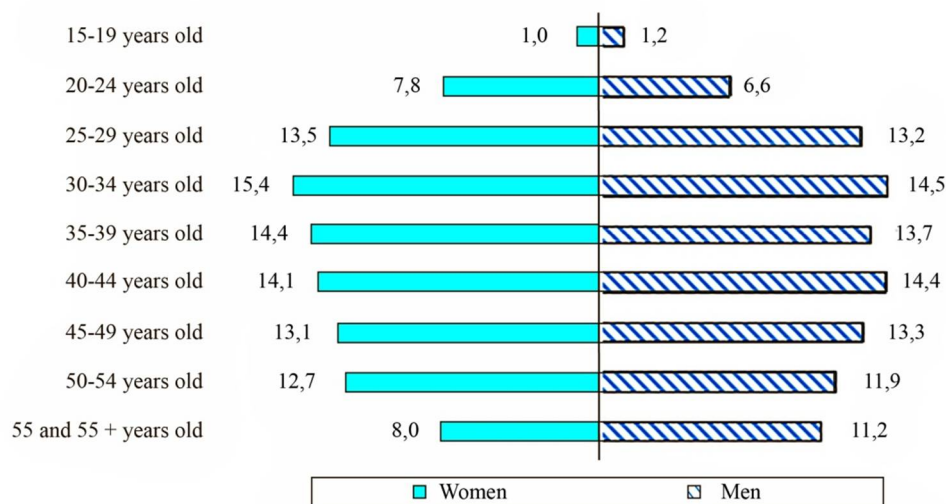


Fig. 1. Registered unemployment levels by age groups and gender (as of the end of the year, in percentage) [Relevant data [1,3,4] have been used here and further on]

As of mid-2018 the number of registered unemployed in the Kirovohrad Oblast has constituted 12,200 people within which 60.8 % are women.

In the last decade in the region and in Ukraine generally there has been a significant decline in the employment of women. According to the MD data in respect of the economic activity of the Oblast population the employment level of the women ranging 15–70 years old from 2006 to 2016 has decreased from 52.0 % to 48.5 %. The respective figures for men are 63.6 % and 57.8 %. The lower level of women’s employment occurs in comparison with men one in all age groups. The level of the women’s economic activity is also quite low (54 % compared to 67.8 % of men). Besides, over the years, the level of the women’s economic activity in the oblast has decreased from 57.5% to 54.5%.

At the same time, as a rule, in any least economically developed regions, the situation has a more negative connotation: in Vilshanka, Onufriivka, Kompaniivka, Blahovishchenske, Novoarkhanhelsk Raions, these figures are lower than the average regional ones. In many ways, this decline was caused by the restructuring of the economy, led to increasing in the general unemployment, as well as by the peculiarity of the general economic structure of the agrarian region, characterized by the pronounced patriarchal character. In addition, new factors have emerged that influence the position of women in the labour sphere. In the period of market development of the economy, the phenomenon of unemployment arose, and women, for a number of reasons, are usually the first candidates for dismissal.

The economically active population unemployment level calculated according to the International Labour Organisation methodology made 6.6 % for women in 2006 and 7.0 % for men.

As of 2016 these indicators have much worsened and made up 10.2 % for women and 14.2 % for men. What should concern is the increasing trend of the women's unemployment in age groups of persons 40+ years old. It means that discriminatory tendencies in labour market formation are still there. Women still face the competitiveness risks, danger of losing jobs, decreased possibilities to find a new job, to undergo professional growth, further training and retraining too.

Both in Ukraine and Kirovohrad Oblast gender imbalance is evident in respect of income which is much higher for men due to the better-paid positions they occupy. In 2016 the salary of the employed women throughout the region made just 77 % of the men's salary.

Table 1.

*The average monthly salary of full-time employees
by the type of the economic activity in 2016 in the Kirovohrad Oblast*

Types of the economic activity	Women, UAH	Men, UAH	Women's salary compared to men's salary, %
Total	3497	4516	77,4
Agriculture	3012	4106	73,4
Industry	3784	5044	75,0
Construction	2799	3224	86,8
Transport	4909	5915	68,0
Education	3382	3448	98,1
Health care	3075	3541	86,8
Professional, scientific and technical activity	3536	3476	101,7
Arts, sports, entertainment and recreation	2902	2978	97,5
of which activities in the field of the functioning of the libraries, archives, museums	3205	2577	124,4

The occupational pattern of Ukraine reflects the conservatism of the gender order in social and labour relations. The branches of economy involving women's work are wholesale and retail services, education, healthcare, and social welfare. It seems clear that inequality in economic sphere starts at the level of occupational conditions and salary levels. Generally, the abovementioned spheres of economy are characterised by underemployment and underpayment if compared to others.

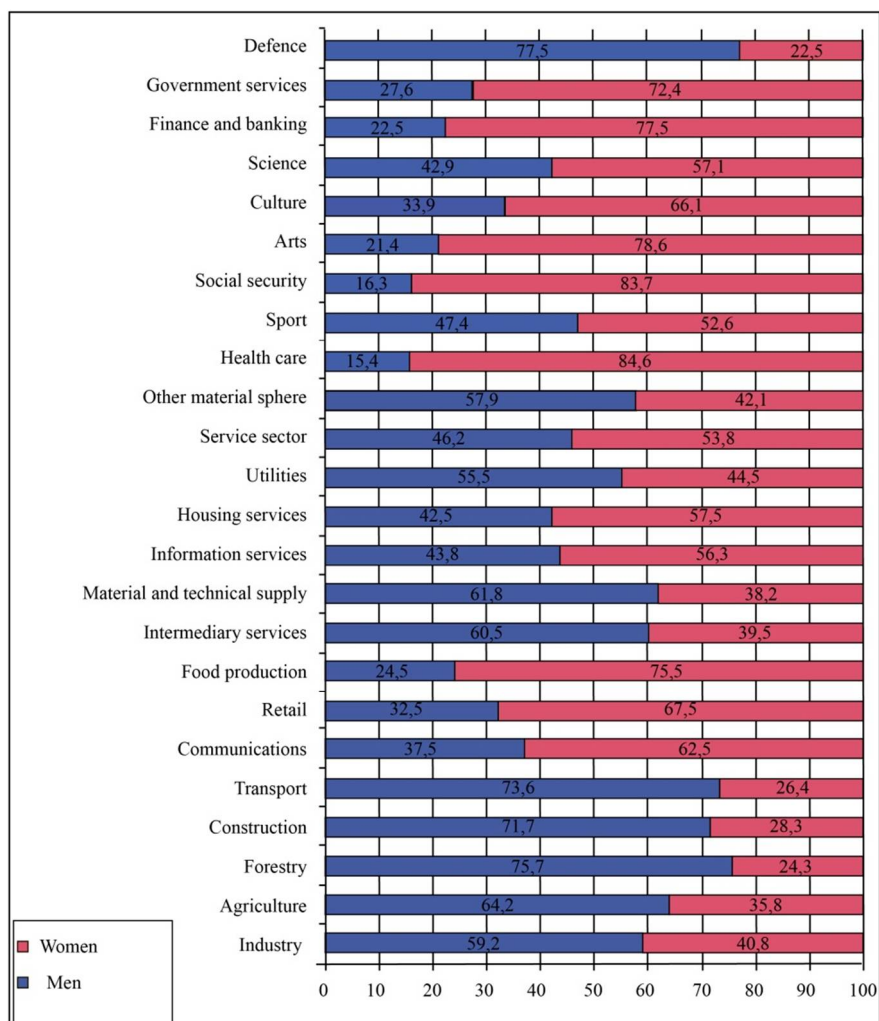


Fig. 2. Correlation of representation of men and women in the types of economic activity in the Kirovohrad Oblast [1,3,4].

The analysis of people who are employed in the fields of economy, presented in Fig. 2, shows fields with predominantly "women's" (wholesale trade, retail and catering, communications, finance, credit, insurance, pension protection, culture and arts, education, health care, physical culture and social security), predominantly “men's” (defence, industry, transport, construction) employment, as well as fields with a mixed composition of employees (housing maintenance and utilities, non-productive consumer services).

The Kirovohrad Oblast also falls under the nationwide tendency of low capacities for the employment of the vulnerable categories of population. The percentage of youth, women with children, and unqualified workers who have some difficulties looking for jobs is traditionally high. Women also witness some issues such as unwillingness of employers to hire women due to the need of raising children and taking care of them or their passive attitudes.

The overall analysis of the correlations between men and women represented in various branches of economy proves that the regional tendency is women dominating in education, healthcare and social welfare institutions (83-84 %), food production (75 %), finances and banking (77 %). The lowest percentage of the employed women is vice versa seen in the highly-paid economies: defence (22%), forestry (24 %), and transport (26 %).

In 2016 the significant field salary differentiation remained. As in previous years, a high level of wages was saved in the fields with predominantly men's employment: in the mining industry (160% of the average wage level in the oblast), defence (127%), and transport (124%). The lowest level of salaries was in the fields with predominantly women's employment - culture and arts (74% of the average regional level), health care (78%), education (85%).

As of now the most urgent gender issue throughout the region is the women's condition in countryside. Under the processes of agricultural sector reforming, payments for land and property shares lease women need accentuated attention and assistance from executive power. As the result district state administrations throughout the region create information and consultation centres for social assistance and consultations to women. The initiators are NGOs and some public agencies, such as departments of youth and sport, women councils etc. Some districts even have their mobile consultant teams of specialists around towns and villages, like Holovanivsk, Kirovohrad, and Novoukrainka Raions.

The high level of education of women is also traditional for the region. Every second employed women in the Kirovohrad Oblast has higher or specialised secondary education, while men can boast of only 35 %. Although unlike men women avail of further education or retraining much rarer than men if compared to the access to higher or secondary education. Certainly, it influences their competitiveness on the labour market.

So, the state policy in respect of womanhood implemented by the regional public agencies of executive power, local governments and participated by women's NGOs needs to be redirected toward creating favourable conditions for Kirovohrad Oblast women and empowering their work and efforts of prosperity, optimum and equal abilities both for men and women.

The women's employment forecast is generally unfavourable. The new-born economic growth requires more jobs for men in construction and processing industries, the publicly-funded spheres which mostly employ women see the overall decrease in services demand. Further reductions are highly probable due to the demographic decline and incomplete schools, kindergartens closing down etc. Still women's advantage over men is evident both throughout

Ukraine in general and the Region itself only in respect of education level, gender structure of the population and life expectancy.

The main conclusions of our study are the following points.

In the studies of Ukrainian economic geographers with the help of the ranking method, the regions of Ukraine were grouped by the level of women's activity in the labour market. In terms of employment level, economic activity, correlation of salaries of women and men in the Kirovohrad Oblast shows typical, average Ukrainian indicators. Thus, the socio-geographical analysis of a particular Region makes it possible to draw correct conclusions regarding gender trends in the country in general.

The development of market relations in the economy, new economic labour conditions, particularly in the sector of employment, the individualization of the processes of human activity have changed the current balance of labour resources. The objective difficulties that society faced in the context of the transformation of the economy had an impact on women primarily and to a greater extent.

In the recent decades negative trends of the gender asymmetry in the economy began to be found in many regions of Ukraine: difficulties in the employment process, the growth of predominantly female unemployment, the dismissal of qualified female labour, etc., which resulted from the difficult economic situation and limited choices due to gender inequality.

Socio-economic reforms taking place in the Ukrainian society have certain specific gender regional characteristics. Despite the legal proclamation of equality, there is no equal distribution of society scarce resources. The difficulties of the transition period have increased gender inequality in the economic and social spheres. And nowadays women have a smaller amount of money, wealth, power, although they work on a level with men, and often even more. They have fewer opportunities for personal and professional self-realization, having a great intellectual potential and a high level of education, but more often are subject to discrimination in employment.

As the researchers note, only a number of factors influence the level of female employment and the model of realizing the benefits of employment; they are: economic (macroeconomic), microeconomic and social and socio-cultural (ideological). The main factors and content of gender inequality are gender and age differences, social and professional status, differences in the positions of competitiveness in the labour market, in access to the authoritative, financial, educational and informational resources of the society.

The main signs of discrimination of women in the labour market of Ukraine are the excessive representation of women in the fields with low prestige and salaries, insufficient

representation of women in certain promising and highly paid employment, lower wages for women, and lower competitiveness of women compared to men [4].

The problem of overcoming gender inequality in the sector of employment requires the development of fundamentally different socio-economic relations alternative to the existing patriarchal order, where the solution of gender issues is a natural and necessary condition for solving social problems. It requires theoretical studies on the formation of the new policy, the main task of which should be to change the consciousness of people, their world perception and world outlook.

Bibliography

1. Головне управління статистики у Кіровоградській області. Режим доступу: <http://www.kr.ukrstat.gov.ua>
2. Мезенцева Н. І. Гендер і географія в Україні: монографія / Н. І. Мезенцева, О. О. Кривець; КНУ ім. Т. Шевченка, - К. : Ніка-Центр, 2013. - 193 с.
3. Економічна активність населення Кіровоградської області за 2016 рік. Статистичний збірник; ГУС у Кіровоградській області. – Кропивницький, 2017. – 120 с.
4. Жінки і чоловіки у Кіровоградській області. Статистичний збірник; ГУС у Кіровоградській області. – Кропивницький, 2018. – 107 с.

Chedlia FITOURI

GENRE LEADERSHIP ET MOTIVATION AU TRAVAIL

DANS L’ADMINISTRATION SPORTIVE

(Université de la Manouba, TUNISIE)

INTRODUCTION

De manière générale, chaque organisation sportive conçoit, organise et gère ses ressources selon une manière propre. Elle serait ainsi une entité singulière, caractérisée par un mode de management et un style de direction spécifique à elle. Selon qu’on soit manager et/ou leader, l’identité de l’organisation se construit, se démarque et évolue à travers les multiples interactions avec son environnement interne et externe.

Cependant, face à une construction sociale différente entre les hommes et les femmes, le titre de manager et/ou leader est souvent associé aux hommes et n’est que la représentation d’une masculinité forte (Blumen, 1992). Les femmes dans les postes de décision sont ainsi incompatibles et se trouvent dans la contradiction avec le rôle de genre dans la société (Schein, 1973).

En effet, selon Bass (1985), il s’agit de deux styles qui distinguent les femmes et les hommes aux postes de décision, à savoir le leadership transformationnel caractérisant les femmes, et le leadership transactionnel propre aux hommes. Néanmoins, malgré cette classification sociale stéréotypée, d’autres courants de recherche pensent que le style de management repose sur le contexte et l’analyse de la situation managériale, indépendamment du genre (Bartol et Martin, 1998).

Dans le contexte tunisien, il semble que les organisations sportives se trouvent confrontées à un problème de représentation équilibrée des hommes et des femmes aux postes de direction. Pourtant, dans une société représentée par 51% de femmes et aussi diplômées que les hommes (68%), investir également dans leur ascension professionnelle est l’un des moyens les plus efficaces d’accroître l’égalité, mais aussi de promouvoir la croissance économique durable. Ces femmes ont aussi droit de bénéficier des mêmes opportunités que les hommes dans les postes de décision, ce qui répond aux exigences d’équité et de justice sociale.

C’est dans cet esprit qu’il nous semble légitime d’établir un constat réel décrivant la situation actuelle des femmes et des hommes dans les postes de direction, à savoir : leur profil, leur parcours, leur style de direction et les obstacles qui freinent leur ascension professionnelle aux

postes de décision. Ce constat concernera les femmes et les hommes dans l'administration sportive, et ce pour un regard croisé en termes de genre, ascension professionnelle et motivation au travail. L'objectif étant d'identifier les facteurs qui tiennent ses femmes à l'écart du cœur du mouvement économique durable et sain.

GENRE ET CONSTRUCTION SOCIALE

D'après Simon (1967), « *on ne naît pas femme, on le devient de même on ne naît pas homme* ». Cette citation confirme que c'est la société, à travers ses normes et son éducation, qui attribue les qualifications spécifiques aux femmes et aux hommes. Ainsi, les rapports entre les femmes et les hommes sont les conséquences d'une construction sociale et en aucun cas innés. Cette distinction est en effet genrée liée aux stéréotypes sociaux, et en aucun cas n'est pas le cause d'un déterminisme biologique.

Selon la théorie d'Eagly (1987), les individus sont soumis aux normes sociales qui conditionnent leurs manières de penser, d'agir et de se comporter. Il s'agit d'une construction purement masculine, basée sur la virilité et la force physique, qui distinguent les garçons des filles. Par conséquent, ils sont placés hiérarchiquement plus haut que les filles, et dont meilleurs (Sonh, 2009).

Cette conception purement biologique continue à persister jusqu'à nos jours et constitue la base de la détermination de l'identité féminine et de celle masculine. Les femmes dans la vie professionnelle sont ainsi confrontées à la conciliation vie privée et vie professionnelle. Elles sont également confrontées à phénomène de plafond de verre qui inhibe leur ascension professionnelle aux postes de décision.

GENRE ET STEREOTYPES SOCIAUX

Selon Desert et all (2002), les stéréotypes sociaux sont des « *croyances partagées concernant les caractéristiques personnelles, généralement des traits de personnalité, mais souvent aussi des comportements d'un groupe de personnes* ». Quant à Eagly et all (2000), ces chercheurs prédisent que « *le stéréotype est l'image que nous avons des autres, un ensemble de croyance qui présente une image simplifiée des caractéristiques d'un groupe* ».

Ainsi, nous constatons que la tendresse, la féminité et la sensualité, caractérisant les femmes ne sont pas en leur faveur dans le poste de manager et/ou leader. Quant aux attributs liés aux hommes relatifs à la domination, à l'agressivité et à l'autonomie, ils ne peuvent que contribuer à son succès dans son rôle de leader.

Par conséquent, ces stéréotypes sociaux associés aux femmes sont de véritables obstacles à leur ascension professionnelle, face à des attribues masculins qui sont des avantages pour une gestion de carrière fluide et légitime.

GENRE ET LEADERSHIP

Selon Burns (1978), le leadership est un « *processus réciproque de mobilisation par des personnes avec certains motifs et valeurs de diverses ressources, afin de réaliser les objectifs de manière indépendante ou mutuellement tenus à la fois par les leader et le suiveurs* ». Il s’agit ainsi, d’une action et d’une interaction entre des personnes, permettant l’atteinte des objectifs fixés. De sa part, Northouse (2009) définit le concept de leadership comme étant un : « *processus par le quel un individu influence un groupe d’individu dans le but d’atteindre un objectif organisationnel* ». Le leader est donc une personne constructive, capable d’influencer positivement son groupe pour un résultat meilleur. Par ailleurs, nous distinguons deux styles : le leadership transactionnel et le leadership transformationnel (Bass, 1985).

Le leadership transactionnel

Ce style de leadership, spécifiant les hommes, est caractérisé par une forte hiérarchisation basée sur un management stratégique et opérationnel pré-établi. Il s’agit d’un style de management imposé selon une démarche fixe à respecter. Cette théorie du leadership transactionnel suggère ainsi, l’exécution avec des responsabilités claires et selon une hiérarchie forte imposée par les supérieurs hiérarchiques.

Le leadership transformationnel

Le leader transformationnel repose sur les qualités humaines et relationnelles. Selon Rosener (1990), ce style spécifie les femmes qui sont pré-disposées à la collaboration, au partage et à l’entre-aide. Ainsi, la consultation, les discussions et la créativité sont les principales qualités de ce style transformationnel.

GENRE TRAVAIL ET MOTIVATION

La motivation est définie comme étant « *le construit hypothétique utilisé afin de décrire les forces internes et/ ou externes produisant le déclenchement, la direction, l’intensité et la persistance du comportement* » (Vallerand et Thill, 1993). Ce concept de motivation est un facteur clés de réussite au travail. En effet, plusieurs théories ont expliqué l’impact de la motivation sur l’efficacité du travail. Nous citons dans ce qui suit certaines de ses théories de motivation au travail.

La théorie de Maslow

Selon Maslow (1943), « *pour motiver quelqu’un, il faut d’abord comprendre à quel niveau de la hiérarchie cette personne se situe, puis s’attacher à satisfaire les besoins correspondants à ce*

niveau ou ceux du niveau immédiatement supérieur ». Ainsi, cette théorie adapte le salarié aux spécificités de l'environnement interne et externe de l'entreprise, mais aussi aux exigences de l'organisation vis-à-vis de ce personnel salarié.

La théorie de l'auto-détermination Deci et Ryan

Selon ces deux chercheurs (1985 ; 2000 ; 2002), la théorie de l'auto-détermination est basée sur l'adaptation aux besoins psychologiques réels de l'individu, et ce comme suit :

- Besoin d'auto-détermination : « *la personne a besoin de se percevoir comme la principale cause de ses comportements* » ;
- Besoin de compétence « *la personne a besoin de se sentir efficace dans les activités entreprises* » ;
- Besoin d'appartenance sociale : « *la personne a besoin de se sentir relié à des personnes importantes pour soi et ceci pour un versant émotionnel...* ».

La théorie des caractéristiques du travail d'Hackman et Oldham

Hackman et Oldham (1976,1980) proposent le modèle des caractéristiques du travail comme source de motivation interne. Selon ces chercheurs, ils existent trois états psychologiques qui suscitent la motivation interne au travail :

- La valorisation du travail accompli et l'implication au travail ;
- La responsabilité assumée face aux résultats du travail ;
- L'évaluation systémique et le degré d'accomplissement du travail.

Ainsi, « *il semble ainsi, nécessaire que ces trois états psychologiques soient toujours présents pour que la motivation au travail se développe et se maintienne* » (Hackman et Oldham, 1980, p. 73).

METHODOLOGIE DE LA RECHERCHE

Notre étude a pour objectif d'aboutir à une meilleure connaissance des freins et des moteurs dans l'ascension des femmes et des hommes aux postes de décision tout en s'inscrivant dans un objectif pragmatique d'identification des causes réelles. Pour cela, nous procédons à une démarche exploratrice basée sur une étude qualitative selon la technique des entretiens semi-directifs.

Selon Romelear (2005), « *ces entretiens permettent de centrer le discours des personnes interrogées autour des différents thèmes définis au préalable par les enquêteurs et consignés dans un guide d'entretien* ». Cette pratique de l'entretien individuel est un mode de recueil très largement utilisé dans le domaine du management car il est centré autour de thèmes précis à aborder (Mazodier, 2008).

LA POPULATION DE L'ETUDE

Pour notre recherche, nous avons choisi des hommes et des femmes aux postes de décision, et ce dans des organisations sportives. Nous avons ainsi interrogé des individus de différentes régions de la Tunisie. Ce choix, même s'il paraît marginal, permet également de croiser les regards des femmes et des hommes aux postes de décision.

La population étudiée est composée de vingt individus, répartis à part égale en dix femmes et dix hommes. Ces interviewés sont des directeurs, des sous-directeurs et des chefs de service. Les entretiens individuels ont été menés dans les lieux de travail des personnes en question, et ont été animés et enregistrés par nous-mêmes. Leur durée est d'une moyenne d'une heure et se sont déroulés sur une période d'environ trois mois. Le dépouillement des entretiens s'est opéré selon l'analyse qualitative par thème selon les recommandations de Bardin (2013). Cinq thèmes ont été formulés, et ce comme suit :

THEME1 : Le parcours des interviewés

THEME2 : Les stéréotypes et codes sociaux en rapport avec le genre

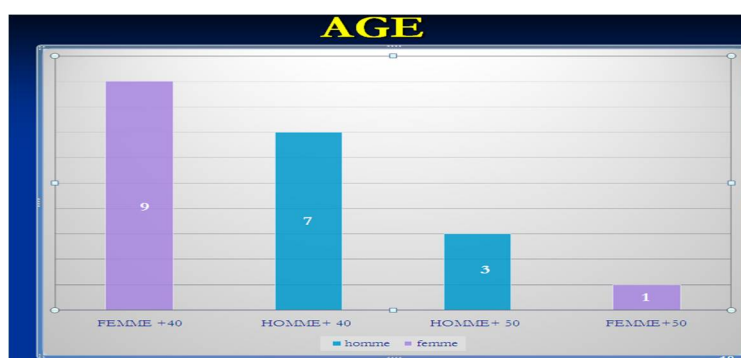
THEME3 : Le style de direction approprié à chaque genre

THEME4 : Les solutions proposées

THEME5 : Le travail et la motivation

En ce qui concerne l'âge, 9/10 des femmes dépassent la quarantaine et une femme dont l'âge est supérieur à 50 ans. Concernant les hommes, 7/10 des interviewés font la quarantaine contre 3/10 qui ont dépassé la cinquantaine (voir tableau 1).

Tableau 1 : Genre/Âge



Quant au tableau 2 ci-dessous, il illustre la répartition genrée de notre échantillon selon les régions. D'autre part, 90% des hommes et des femmes interviewés ont une maîtrise et seulement 10% ont obtenus le doctorat (voir tableau 3).

Tableau 2 : Genre/Région

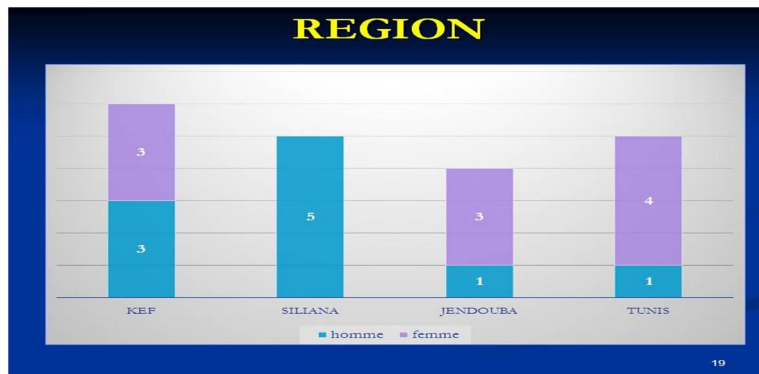
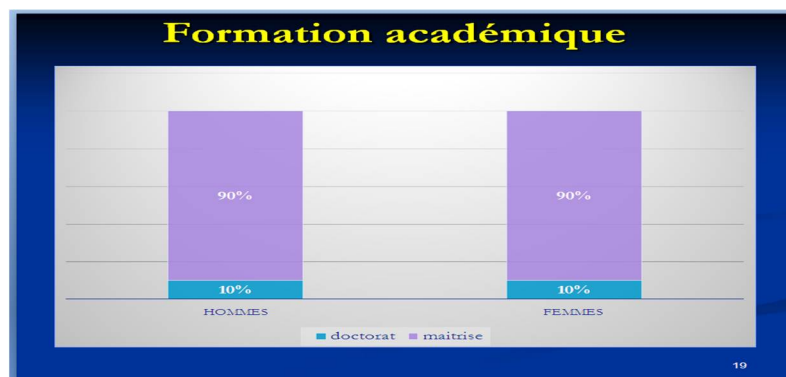
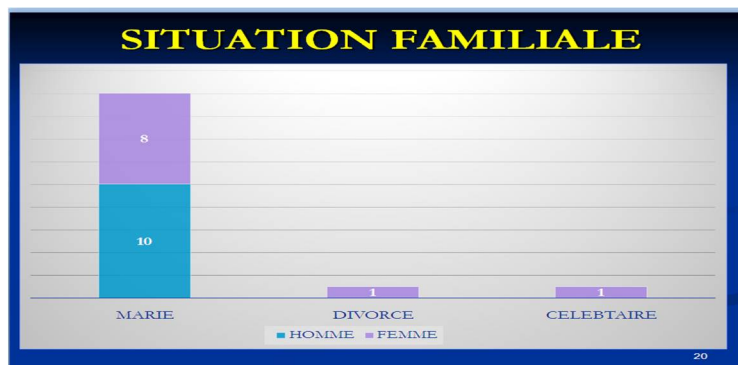


Tableau 3: Genre/Formation académique



Tous les hommes interrogés sont mariés, alors que nous trouvons 8/10 des femmes sont en couple, une femme divorcée et une autre célibataire (voir tableau 4).

Tableau 4: Genre/Situation familiale



RESULTATS ET INTERPRETATIONS

Suite aux différents entretiens tenus avec les hommes et les femmes dans les postes de décision, nous avons dégagés les freins et les moteurs dans l'ascension aux postes de leader, le

qualificatif du parcours, le style de direction envisagé pour chaque genre, les stéréotypes sociaux et enfin la relation entre le travail et la motivation.

Le parcours

En ce qui concerne le parcours des femmes et des hommes, ils considèrent que leurs parcours est long mais satisfaisant et en voie de progression. En effet, l’ascension au poste de leader, aussi bien pour les hommes que pour les femmes, dépend de la compétence à l’exception de quelques unes qui affirment le passage par concours sur dossier, mais cette ascension est difficile pour les femmes vue la conciliation vie privée et vie professionnelle qui pèsent lourd pour eux.

Les stéréotypes et codes sociaux

Selon les hommes interviewés, les femmes sont désavantagées et rencontrent énormément de problèmes de types relationnels hors de l’institution, étant les spécificités du sport. En effet, ces interviewés hommes pensent que la gestion des événements est un monde d’hommes, spécifiquement après la révolution. Ces hommes pensent également que la charge familiale des femmes est une contrainte lourde, empêchant les femmes d’être disponible sur le terrain.

Le style de direction approprié

Ces femmes et ces hommes, de façon similaire, ont tendance à travailler en collaboration. Ainsi, tous nos interviewés ont favorisé le travail participatif et la coordination entre tous les membres de l’organisation, ce qui correspond au style de leadership dit transformationnel.

Les solutions proposées

Face aux stéréotypes et aux codes sociaux qui marquent une sous-représentation des femmes dans les postes leaders, ces dernières suggèrent du courage, de l’ambition et de la persévérance pour accéder aux postes de décision. La conciliation travail/famille est également primordiale. Cependant, les hommes de notre échantillon suggèrent aux femmes une forte personnalité et de ne pas montrer de sensibilité, ni de faiblesse pour s’imposer. Le soutien des hommes et d’un réseau relationnel hors de l’organisation sont également nécessaires pour un renforcement de leur position en tant que leader.

Le Travail et la motivation

La relation travail et motivation est intimement liée selon nos interviewés hommes et femmes. En effet, ces derniers mentionnent que le travail sans motivation individuelle reste inachevé et sans efficacité. Ainsi, l’implication au travail et l’atteinte des objectifs sont une source de motivation individuelle et collective. L’autonomie, l’auto-critique et l’évaluation au sein du groupe salarié sont également, d’une importance primordiale dans le processus de réalisation des objectifs d’une façon efficace et efficiente.

CONCLUSION ET DISCUSSION

Bien que, d'une manière générale, le marché de l'emploi est plus favorable aux hommes, nos interviewés n'ont pas manifesté de difficultés liées au genre en ce qui concerne l'ascension au poste de décision dans l'administration sportive. Ceci ne va pas dans le même sens que la majorité des résultats liés au genre et à la carrière professionnelle (Blumen, 1992 ; Rousseil, 2007 ; Gaies et Fitouri, 2018). Ceci pourrait correspondre aux principes du mouvement sportif qui est fondé sur l'égalité des chances et la non-discrimination (De Coubertin, 1888).

En ce qui concerne le style de direction, nous constatons également un management transformationnel adopté aussi bien par les hommes que par les femmes. Ce mode de management repose sur la participation collective, la consultation et l'initiative pour gérer les imprévus liés aux problèmes de terrain. Ce constat va dans le même sens que celui de Bartol et Martin (1998) qui soulignent que le style de direction ne dépend pas du genre, mais par contre du contexte environnemental de l'organisation. Néanmoins, d'autres courants de recherche associent le style transformationnel aux femmes et le transactionnel aux hommes (Bass, 1985).

Cependant, les hommes interviewés ont manifesté des comportements liés aux stéréotypes sociaux et pensent que la conciliation entre la vie professionnelle et la vie privée présente un obstacle pour les femmes. Par conséquent, ces femmes n'ont pas le temps de gérer les événements sportifs pendant le weekend et leur sensibilité ne permet pas également d'avoir de l'autorité sur le terrain. Ainsi, selon les interviewés hommes, le titre de manager correspond au mieux aux hommes et nécessite une forte masculinité (Blumen, 1992).

Nos constatons, ainsi, que les stéréotypes sociaux liés au genre sont toujours manifestés, et ce indépendamment du profil de l'organisation. En effet, malgré que le mouvement sportif impose l'équité des chances et sanctionne les actes liés à la discrimination, il n'est pas facile de changer des valeurs et des réflexions liées aux normes sociales en termes de genre.

Quant aux solutions proposées par les femmes et les hommes de notre enquête, elles ne sont que la reproduction du processus de domination et suggèrent une forte personnalité, une persévérance et l'absence de sensibilité chez ces femmes. La conciliation entre la vie professionnelle et la vie familiale est demandée aux femmes, sans pour autant proposer de débattre en profondeur ces rôles prescrits au sein de la société et de la famille (Bessin, 2005).

En ce qui concerne la motivation au travail, nos résultats vont dans le même sens que ceux de Hackman et Oldham et nos interviewés ont confirmé que l'implication individuelle et collective au travail, le suivi et l'évaluation, sont source de motivation interne et sont également indispensables

à l’atteindre des objectifs prévus. Arnold et House (1980), de leur part, ont confirmé cette théorie et ont montré que la motivation intrinsèque est fonction de ses trois indicateurs psychologiques.

Cependant, Loher et al (1985) ont constaté que cette relation est plutôt modérée et que le besoin d’évolution personnelle agit comme modérateur de cette relation. Fried et Ferris (1987) ont également montré que les relations entre les caractéristiques et les états psychologiques sont plus fortes que les relations entre les caractéristiques et les réactions affectives.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

1. Arnold, H.J., et House, R.J. (1980). Methodological and substantive extensions to the Job Characteristics Model of motivation. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 25, 161-183.
2. Bartin L. (2013). *L’analyse de contenu*. Presses Universitaires de France, Collection Quadrige, p296.
3. Bartol K. et Martin D. C. (1998), *Management*, Edition 3, McGraw-Hill Company.
4. Bass B.M. (1985), *Leadership and performance beyond expectations*, New York, Free Press.
5. Blumen J.L. (1992), Connective leadership: female leadership styles, *in the 21st-Century Workplace*;
6. Bessin M. (2005). *Le travail social est-il féminin ?* Dans Ion J. *Le travail social en débat*. La Découverte, p 152-169, Paris.
7. Deci E.L. et Ryan R.M. (1985). *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behaviour*. New York, Plenum Press.
8. Deci E.L. et Ryan R.M. (2000). The « what » and « why » of goal pursuits : human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological Inquiry*, 11, n°4, p. 227-268.
9. Deci E.L., Koestner R. et Ryan R.M. (2001). Extrinsic rewards and intrinsic motivation in education : Reconsidered once again. *Review of Educational Research*, 71, n°1, p. 1-7.
10. De Coubertin P. (1888). *Education en Angleterre*. Librairie Hachette, Paris, DJVU.
11. Desert M. Croizet J.C. et Leyens J.P. (2002). *La menace du stéréotype : une interaction entre situation et identité*. L’année psychologique, p 555-576.
12. Eagly A.H. (1987). *Sex differences in social behavior : A social-role interpretation*. Hillsdale, New Jersey.
13. Eagly, A. H., Wood, W. et Diekmann, A. B. (2000). *Social role theory of sex differences and similarities: A current appraisal*. In T. Eckes, et H. M. Trautner (Editions.). *The developmental social psychology of gender*. p123 – 174, Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

14. Gaies J. et Fitouri CH. (2018). Genre et leadership : quelles spécificités dans les organismes sportifs ? 4^{ème} Congrès International des Sciences du Sport de l'ONS, Hammamet, Tunisie.
15. Hackman, J. R., et Oldham, G. R. (1976). Motivation through the design of work: Test of a theory. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 16, 250-279.
16. Hackman, J. R., et Oldham, G. R. (1980). Work redesign. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
Hackman, J. R., Oldham, G. R., Janson, R., et Purdy, K. (1975). A new strategy for job enrichment. *California Management Review*, 17, 57-71.
17. Loher, B. T., Noe, R. A., Moeller, N. L., et Fitzgerald, M. P. (1985). A metaanalysis of the relation of job characteristics to job satisfaction. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 70, 280-289.
18. Maslow A. (1943). *A theory of human motivation*. Edité par Martino Fine Books, United States (2013).
19. Mazodier M. (2008). Une étude exploratoire de l'attitude du public face à la révélation du pseudo-parrainage d'événements sportifs. *Revue Européenne de Management du Sport*, 23.
20. Northouse's P. G. (2009). *Introduction to Leadership : Concepts and Practices*. International Journal Of Leadership Studies, Volume 4 Iss. 2, p. 251-254.
21. Romelaer P. (2005). *L'entretien de recherche*. In : P. Roussel & F. Wacheux éd. *Management et Ressources Humaines. Méthodes de recherche en sciences sociales*. Bruxelles, De Boeck Université, p.101–137.
22. Rousseil M. (2007). *Femmes et hommes dans le secteur social*. Empan n°65, p 74-78.
23. Rosener, J. B. (1990). Ways Women Lead. *Harvard Business Review*, n°68, p. 119-125.
24. Schein V.E. (1973), the relationship between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 95-100.
25. Sonh L. (2009). *Sociologie de travail*. Volume 51, issue 2, p 170-182.
26. Simon, H. A. (1967). Motivational and emotional controls of cognition. *Psychological Review*, 74(1), 29-39.
27. Vallerand, R. J. et Thill, E. E. (1993). Introduction à la psychologie de la motivation. *Revue Des Sciences De L'éducation*, Volume 20, n°2, p. 411–414.

