



## UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

### Introduction

Ennaji, M.; Sadiqi, F.; Vintges, K.

**Publication date**

2016

**Document Version**

Final published version

**Published in**

Moroccan Feminisms

[Link to publication](#)

**Citation for published version (APA):**

Ennaji, M., Sadiqi, F., & Vintges, K. (2016). Introduction. In M. Ennaji, F. Sadiqi, & K. Vintges (Eds.), *Moroccan Feminisms: New Perspectives* (pp. 1-12). Africa World Press.

**General rights**

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

**Disclaimer/Complaints regulations**

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

# MOROCCAN FEMINISMS

New Perspectives

Edited by

*Moha Ennaji, Fatima Sadiqi, and Karen Vintges*



AFRICA WORLD PRESS

TRENTON | LONDON | CAPE TOWN | NAIROBI | ADDIS ABABA | ASMARA | IBADAN | NEW DELHI



**AFRICA WORLD PRESS**  
541 West Ingham Avenue | Suite B  
Trenton, New Jersey 08638

© Copyright 2016

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, digitized, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the proper written permission of the publisher.

Cover design by Joshua Porter  
Book Typeset by SpiralUp Solutions Pvt. Ltd.

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Ennaji, Moha, editor. | Sadiqi, Fatima, editor. | Vintges, Karen, editor.

Title: Moroccan feminisms : new perspectives / edited by Moha Ennaji, Fatima Sadiqi, and Karen Vintges.

Description: 1 Edition. | Trenton : The Red Sea Press, 2016. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016004644 | ISBN 9781569024744 (pb : alk. paper) | ISBN 9781569024737 (hb : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Women--Political activity--Morocco. | Feminism--Morocco. | Women--Legal status, laws, etc.--Morocco. | Women--Morocco--Social conditions.

Classification: LCC HQ1236.5.M8 M67 2016 | DDC 305.40964--dc23  
LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2016004644>

*To the Memory of Fatema Mernissi*

# CONTENTS

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Introduction  | 1   |
| MOHA ENNAJI, FATIMA SADIQI, AND KAREN VINTGES   |     |
| 1 Women and the Politics of Reform in Morocco   | 13  |
| SOUAD EDDOUADA  |     |
| 2 Secular and Islamic Feminist Movements in Morocco:<br>Contentions, Achievements, and Challenges | 29  |
| MOHA ENNAJI   |     |
| 3 An Assessment of Today's Moroccan Feminist<br>Movements (1946–2014)                             | 51  |
| FATIMA SADIQI   |     |
| 4 Moroccan Feminism at the Grassroots Level   | 77  |
| SUSAN SCHAEFER DAVIS AND AMINA YABIS  |     |
| 5 Islamic Feminism in Morocco: Concepts and Perspectives  | 95  |
| MERIEME YAFOUT  |     |
| 6 Islamic Feminism in Morocco: The Discourse and<br>the Experience of Asma Lamrabet               | 111 |
| SARA BORRILLO   |     |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 7 Decolonizing Feminism: a Look at Fatema Mernissi's Work and its Legacy<br>RAJA RHOUNI   | 129 |
| 8 Deconstructing Female Identities within a Polyphony of Feminist Voices<br>SOUMAYA BELHABIB  | 145 |
| 9 The Women of 20-February Movement in Morocco: A New Feminist Consciousness<br>MOHAMMED YACHOULTI  | 163 |
| 10 Divas, Psychos and Action Chicks: Depictions of Women's Place and Space in Moroccan Cinema in the Age of Globalization<br>VALÉRIE K. ORLANDO                     | 185 |
| 11 The Empowering Legacy of Women Saints: Venerators and Islamist Feminists<br>AZIZA OUGUIR   | 203 |
| 12 The Implications of having Drunk the Water of the Netherlands: Narrations on Agency and Communion in the Life Story of a Moroccan-Dutch Woman<br>MARJO BUITELAAR | 221 |
| <i>Biographies of Contributors</i>  | 245 |
| <i>Index</i>  | 251 |

## INTRODUCTION

*Moha Ennaji, Fatima Sadiqi,  
and Karen Vintges*

Feminist activism in Morocco, where Islam is the prevailing religion, has been growing since the 1980s. The last three decades have witnessed the emergence of numerous women's organizations in Morocco, with a considerable national and regional impact, such as among others, the well-known women's associations: Association Démocratique des Femmes Marocaines, Union de l'Action Féminine, and Josour. However, Moroccan feminism, thus far, has not received the attention of many researchers. This book aims to fill this gap and to promote academic debates about the interplay between women's movements and corresponding counter movements in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). It discusses the various strands of Moroccan feminism and women's organizations which strive for the empowerment of Moroccan women. Its main focus is the various practices of female Moroccan activists and the vocabularies they use to underpin their struggle for women's emancipation, political participation, and legal rights. The book adopts a comparative approach to underscore women's agency in various political and socio-economic contexts, and highlight the fact that agency can be appreciated only within a specific context.

Contemporary Moroccan women today openly challenge the disparities in the legal treatment of women and other practices which have long been understood as Islamic, and formulate their own interpretations of Islamic sources and local traditions concerning

the position of women. Moroccan Muslim women both individually and through organized efforts, claim various forms of full citizenship and identity (religious, national, ethnic) by appropriating cultural and / or religious traditions. Other strands of the Moroccan women's movement are frankly secular in character or secularist in that they criticize any religious base for women's organizations. Thus, feminism in Morocco, which is becoming polyvocal in character, necessitates the use of the plural form "Moroccan feminisms" rather than "Moroccan feminism."

The present volume aims to take stock of these feminisms as constitutive of Morocco's situation, and as an aspect that qualifies the country as an important player in the Middle East and North Africa. Morocco is characterized by its linguistic and cultural diversity. Along its multilingual character – the languages being used include Berber, Arabic, French, and Spanish – its multicultural consists among others of deeply committed Arab-Muslim and Berber identities. The multilingual and multicultural aspects of the country obviously color Moroccan feminisms as well. However, Moroccan feminisms succeeded in the past in overcoming these differences in their struggle for women's rights.

They namely played a central role in the struggle for democratization and women's rights, and made a vital contribution to important societal changes such as the reform of the Family Code in 2004 (Sadiqi and Ennaji 2006). Secular women's groups rallied with the progressive and democratic forces, while Islamist feminists joined the Islamist Parti de la Justice et du Développement (PJD), and later obtained important social and political gains (new seats in parliament and decision-making positions in the government (Moghadam 2012, Jaquette 2001). The Consultative Council of Human Rights and the Equity and Reconciliation Commission, created in 2003, are major signs of reconciliation within Moroccan society that reinforce democratization. Women's movements have contributed to a dialogue between secular strands and Islamists and managed to find a balance or compromise between these two poles. Likewise, the feminist movement has democratized public space and transformed the political history of Morocco. The reformed Family Code, which gives more rights to women and ensures gender equality before the law, has affected a country so deeply religious and patriarchal, to the

extent that the Code has become an integral part and a constitutive component of the process of democratization and modernization.

Most currents of the Moroccan feminist movement negotiate Morocco's cultural heritages and display an outspoken commitment to gender equality and justice, which has been established as an international norm since 1981 as defined by the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and brought into force by the United Nations. Recent legal and institutional reforms in Morocco, particularly the amended constitution of 2011, which guarantees gender equality and women's political participation, along with the reform of the Family Code in 2004, have significantly impacted democracy and the modernization in Moroccan society.

Unlike Libya and Egypt, Morocco did not experience a revolution. Yet, it did not escape the tumult of the so-called Arab spring. Thousands of protesters took to the streets in a dozen of cities led by the February 20 Movement, which demanded the end of corruption and the right to social justice and democracy. This social movement displayed strong disgruntlement with the prevailing authoritarian political system. Women were strongly represented in these protests for democracy; they came from different religious and political backgrounds and marched alongside the men, demanding social and political change. On March 9th, 2011 King Mohammed VI responded by promising several political and social reforms. He amended the constitution which guaranteed gender equality, human rights, women's political participation, and the division of powers. In the November 2011 elections, the moderate Islamist party (PJD) won a majority of seats, beating the traditional *Istiqlal* (independence) party, the Party for Authenticity and Modernity and the socialist party which all have strong ties to the monarchy.

This peaceful transition was marked by the government's attempts to send an image of a modern and moderate Islam through the respect for women's rights. The government has committed to implement the new constitution through women's increased political participation. Yet, Prime Minister Abdelilah Benkirane's first ministerial cabinet comprised only one female minister, Bassima Hakkaoui. In the amended government of 2012, more women joined the cabinet, mostly as deputy ministers or as ministers in charge of specific

departments. Bassima Hakkaoui kept the Ministry of Solidarity, Women, Family, and Social Development. Soumiya Benkhaldoun became “Ministre Déléguée” for Higher Education, and three liberal unveiled women took the reins of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Mines and Environment, respectively; but they were all “Ministres Déléguées”, which is equivalent to Deputy Ministers. By contrast, the government prior to the Arab Spring included a total of seven women ministers from 2007 to 2011. This decrease in the number of women in government has caused unease amongst secular-liberal activists who viewed it as a regression. By contrast, more women joined parliament through the quota system for women and youth. Thus, a total of sixty eight women reached parliament after the 2011 legislative elections. The 2011 constitution reserved ten per cent of seats for women and ten percent for youth, in the hope of encouraging their political participation and their representation in parliament and government (Ennaji forthcoming).

This move, however modest it may appear, is an indicator of the new opportunities created for women by the Arab Spring: the state would simply not have authorized such a large number of women to enter parliament had it not been put under strain to democratize (El Haitami 2013).

### **Moroccan Feminism: an exemplary case?**

Despite the positive changes in Morocco and the growing emancipation of women in all domains, there are still hurdles that hinder their emancipation and participation in public life such as illiteracy (50 percent), lack of education and information, lack of technical and professional training, weak resources available to them, difficult access to loans, and weak or lack of representation in decision and policy-making (Ennaji 2008).

More women than men suffer from social exclusion; their poverty is noticeable in the rural areas and in the poor urban districts, as well as in the growing number of beggars amongst women (generally widows, divorced, sick, or women with many children). Furthermore, cultural hurdles and patriarchal traditions, illiteracy, and lack of information prevent women from invoking their rights or reporting crimes against them, such as rape, child abuse, sexual exploitation

and domestic violence. Concerning such cases, lawyers do not often make legal arguments based on international human rights treaties.

Women’s organizations and civil society in general today do play a major role in sensitizing women, families, and social actors as to the importance of integrating women in economic, social, and cultural development. Further steps in favor of protecting women’s rights are badly needed to ensure their strong contribution to sustainable development. Likewise, education and training are so important for women to enable them to meet the new challenges, and to help them safeguard their rights and interests. The development of society cannot be achieved without the integration of women in the process of growth and democratization.

Whereas recent political developments tend to undo the new coalitions that have arisen in the past, the Moroccan case in our view remains an interesting exemplar, in that internal factors played a significant role in shaping women’s activism and political participation, including their capacity to influence political and social change. Has there been a spirit of cooperation in the past between the several strands of feminism, that might inspire future coalitions, in Morocco and elsewhere? What could such a future polyvocal feminism look like in the Middle East and North Africa?

Along the lines of Moghadam (2012), linking democratization and women’s rights is of paramount importance because women in North Africa are the main advocates of development and social justice, including civil liberties as well as political participation. Across the region, women’s organizations are characterized as democratic as well as feminist, often advocating and campaigning for gender equality, inclusion, and rights.

In the case of the Middle East and North Africa, emphasis ought to be put on women’s participation, and on feminist non-government organizations (NGOs). Thus, the major proposal derived from the debate between feminist theory and democracy theory is that issues related to democratization and to women’s rights cannot be separated, as they are closely linked and reciprocally inter-reliant. In the Arab-Muslim world, demands for democratization and women’s legal rights have recently surfaced concomitantly, and it is of paramount significance not to split them up, or to regard them as two separate projects with different goals, structures, and results (Moghadam 2012).

Today, North African Women are no longer absent from the public sphere. They are activists “claiming equal rights and full citizenship” (Arfaoui 2012). Women’s organizations in the region have made demands of their respective governments and put pressure on their parliaments or on the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women for radical changes in gender roles. Feminist activists continue the fight against all forms of violence and discrimination against women. They articulate diverse struggles to expand women’s rights and for their societies’ transition into the direction of pluralist democracy.

## The Chapters

The chapters of this volume address these issues from various but inter-related perspectives: secular, Islamic, grassroot, etc., sometimes using a specific feminist female figure to make a point. Taken together, the chapters tell the story of feminisms born and developing in Morocco, a Muslim and emerging country where women’s and gender issues are increasingly becoming central to the new actors on the political scene. As such, the chapters of the volume carry hope for future academic research on Moroccan feminist voices and discourses. Hence, in her chapter “Women and the Politics of Reform in Morocco”, Souad Eddouada centers the 1990s reforms which capitalize on progressive representations of women and their political participation as individual citizens to highlight the pivotal role of Moroccan women’s demands not only for the secularization of the Moroccan legal system, but also in the family and penal codes of this country. Women’s call for the adoption of equal rights in legal reforms and in the campaign for the amendment of the penal code served Morocco’s overall trend towards more democratization. For the author, the main challenges to the feminists claims are rural areas, which led her to discuss an alternative ideology of gender justice predating the aforementioned reforms.

Along the same line of thought, Moha Ennaji’s chapter “Secular and Islamic Feminist Movements in Morocco: Contentions, Achievements, and Challenges” argues that the locus of women’s movement in Morocco resides in its political nature, which allowed it to reach a compromise with the Islamic feminist organizations. In this chapter, the

political nature of the Moroccan feminist movement is contextualized in the various secular and religious debates over the status of women and the challenges posed by the contemporary political history of the country. A milestone in the rapprochement between the secular and Islamist feminist trends is the legal status of women and Moroccan women’s agency, reflected in their vibrant activism for legal rights and political participation. More specifically, the chapter reveals the positive role that secular Moroccan women have been playing in the struggle for social change. It also shows that women’s gains are irrevocable and that the future of the country is significantly linked to the fate of women’s movements and women’s emancipation from their oppressed positions.

As for Fatima Sadiqi’s chapter “An Assessment of Today’s Moroccan Feminist Movements (1946–2014),” it retraces the journey of the Moroccan feminist voices, which started as secular voices and developed into diverse, polyvocal and complex expressions. In her assessment of these voices, Sadiqi underlines the fact that, although they may converge for political reasons, the philosophical and ideological concepts on which secular and Islamic feminisms in Morocco are inherently divergent. Being based on an Islamist ideology where religion is foregrounded, Islamic feminism cannot converge with secular feminism, based on a (leftist) progressive ideology where religion is backgrounded. For the author, with the advent of the twenty-first century and especially in the aftermath of the so-called Arab Spring, the “secular/Islamic” paradigm is becoming too narrow a space as it does not encompass the growing and poorly understood feminist voices where concepts like diversity, online synergy, Berber and rural are gaining momentum across the boundaries of gender and class. Although still in the making, these developments are real. In order to give as clear a view of the various feminist voices in Morocco as possible, Sadiqi’s chapter focuses on contextualizing the main trends, secular and Islamic, comparing them, assessing their achievements and failures, and gauging the new feminist nuances where the Berber element is looming in the horizon.

Beyond the secular/Islamic paradigm, Susan Schaefer Davis and Amina Yabis’ chapter “Moroccan Feminism at the Grassroots Level” underlines the importance of grassroots NGOs in promoting feminism in Morocco. Using an in-depth interview with an “average”



woman who grew up in a working class family in the Fes medina and is currently married to a school teacher and living in a middle class neighborhood of a small town, the authors address the ways in which middle and working class Moroccan women view the larger project of feminism. For the authors, the fact that their informant founded a women's cooperative, and was nominated for Morocco's prestigious Khamisa Award as a woman leader, shows that the woman's upbringing, education, and current work place her among other women at a grassroots level rather than at the level of feminist activists – although she works to benefit women. The authors explore how this “average” woman became involved in her work with women, and how she sees feminism in Morocco.

Turning to another aspect of Moroccan feminism, “Islamic feminism in Morocco: Concepts and Perspectives” by Meriem Yafout looks at Moroccan women's engagement in the “male” subject of *Ijtihad* (the interpretation of the sacred texts: Qur'an and Sunnah – the Prophet's Sayings). The author ties the roots of this endeavor in women's frustration with men's interpretations of religious texts which they see as misogynistic, exclusive and patriarchal. The first such endeavors appeared in the late 1980s and aimed at empowering women through focus on the liberating spirit of Islam. Developing jurisprudence from a female perspective has ever since attracted more and more women. The author develops her ideas by considering the thoughts of some figures of Islamic feminism in Morocco.

In the same vein, Sara Borrillo's “Islamic feminism in Morocco: the Discourse and the Experience of Asma Lamrabet” identifies some of the most relevant aspects of the particular trajectory and discourse of Asma Lamrabet as an “Islamic feminist”. Borrillo contextualizes Lamrabet's experience in the Moroccan women's movement and highlights the elements of continuity and innovation in her feminist approach. The author sees the Moroccan women's movement as consisting of various components that need to be singled out and distinguished according to the factors that orient women's different strategies, ideological identities and the forms in which they express protest or the practical outputs of their action.

Using the same broad approach, but tackling a different topic, Raja Rhouni uses her chapter “Decolonizing Feminism: a Look at Fatema Mernissi's Work and its Legacy” to highlight the scholarship

and trajectories of an icon of Moroccan feminism: Fatema Mernissi. Rhouni offers a critique of Mernissi where she stresses the importance of her work in understanding third world and/or postcolonial feminism in comparison with “Western feminism”. At the same time the author states that although issues such as the validity of feminism's universalist claims and the colonial and imperial premises on Islam and Muslim societies lie at the heart of Mernissi's feminist thought, there are instances where this work inadvertently reproduced some of those very premises, hence delaying decolonization. In other words, both the bright and the “less bright” aspects of Mernissi's contribution to the production of Moroccan feminism are critiqued. More specifically, this chapter questions the extent to which Mernissi's work achieved decolonization, allowing ordinary women's voices to emerge. The author underlines the importance of asking this question today especially that Mernissi has immensely contributed to draw a route for a number of feminists both in Morocco and around the globe. Rhouni's critical reading of Mernissi's work is a way of stressing its relevance for present research on Moroccan feminisms.

In “Deconstructing Female Identities within a Polyphony of Feminist Voices”, Soumaya Belhabib uses the female identity as a theoretical paradigm where various social, economic, cultural, linguistic and ethnic criteria intersect. The author addresses women's multi-layered identities, often resulting from various competing socio-cultural models and influences which put women at the heart of the ongoing ideological, philosophical and religious questioning that society goes through. By so doing Belhabib shows that the diversity in women's profiles cannot be represented by one single type of feminist leadership but that it necessarily gives rise to a polyphony of feminist stands with often diverging perceptions of gender equality and justice. Using the intersectionality theory, the author deconstructs women's identities and argues that the social cleavage between modernity and tradition has resulted in conservatism and modernity, giving way to two major feminist discourses: the progressive liberal discourse and the conservative Islamic one. The author adds that different types of feminism are emerging due to this very diverse society that we have today but also as a result of the multiple influences that globalization brings

and the endless virtual possibilities that the new technologies have opened up. For the author, even if these 'feminisms' are not always on the same line, they nevertheless manage through opposing positions to advance women's rights and be in that difference truly representative of all identities.

As for Mohammed Yachoulti's "Women of February 20th Movement in Morocco: A New Feminist Consciousness", Moroccan women have managed in 2011 to forge a new political identity in the public arena. Through embracing the February 20th Movement's claims and strategies of activism and most importantly applying the principle of parity in all aspects of its uprisings that swept over the country, the new generation of women activists has drawn a new picture of feminist activism in Morocco. In fact, the dissatisfaction with previous forms of feminist activism and its elite nature not to mention their aspiration to put the whole society on the democracy track are but some of the triggers that pushed the new generation of Moroccan women to seize the Moroccan Spring moment to invest the public arena with new feminist beliefs and assumptions. This new shift is significant in terms of the future action of these actors, as well as in terms of democratic political practice.

In her chapter "Divas, Psychos and Action Chicks: Depictions of Women's Place and Space in Moroccan Cinema in the Age of Globalization", Valérie K. Orlando centers the contemporary film industry in Morocco to reflect on the sociopolitical and cultural transitions that have taken place in the country since 1999. The fact that the country's film industry has fully engaged with some of the most pressing issues of the era, encouraged by increased democratic transparency, men and women filmmakers have started to explore the sociocultural and political debates of their country; a nation, like others across the Arab world, undergoing huge sociocultural and political transitions. Hence, both male and female filmmakers have become more daring in how they depict women's bodies and sexual desires on screen. For the author, the degree to which sexual freedom is explored has, in part, been influenced by several monumental pieces of legislation enacted since 2000 that favor women's rights. These legal initiatives have helped to foster conceptual understandings of how heterosexual sex and sexuality are viewed in Islamic society at large. The positive reforms have, in turn, shaped what is shown on the screen. The 2004

*Moudawwana* (reform to the Moroccan family code) and the 2005 report handed in by the Instance d'Équité et Réconciliation (IER, Truth and Reconciliation Committee), which documented and made public egregious violations of human rights under Hassan II's near-forty-year regime, have greatly impacted women's lives, consequently opening the floodgates for the exposition of controversial subjects on film. Orlando underlines the fact that cinematic heroines in today's Morocco are at the heart of some of the most crucial socio-cultural dualisms that stratify discourse in Morocco; a discourse which is often most effectively transcribed on the screen. Women find themselves imbedded in scenarios which tackle secularism verses religiosity, Western verses Eastern, and French verses Arabic and/or Berber languages.

On the other hand, Aziza Ouguir's chapter "The Empowering Legacy of Women Saints: Venerators and Islamist Feminists" draws on the author's research for her doctoral thesis, which focuses on female religious agents in Morocco's past and present. More specifically, this chapter investigates historical women saints and their reception today by Moroccan women in general and by Moroccan feminist activists in particular. Despite the fact that women saints impacted their communities and marked Moroccan history with their legacy, little is known about them. Their lives, practices, and participation in their religious communities and society are rarely studied by social scientists. This chapter addresses women saints' construction of sainthood within the context of Islam as a religion and Sufism as the mystical dimension of that religion and the significance of this construction for broader discourses on gender and feminism in Morocco.

Finally, "The Implications of Having Drunk the Water of the Netherlands: Narrations on Agency and Communion in the Life Story of a Moroccan-Dutch Woman" by Marjo Buitelaar uses the story of Boushra, a 30 year-old Moroccan-Dutch medical specialist, to interrogate the term 'gastarbeider' as used by Moroccan migrants to describe their fathers, hence evoking the prototype of the rural migrant with little or no formal education and little knowledge about the country of settlement where he performed heavy and often dirty labor for very low wages. By thus characterizing their fathers, the children of migrants point to their fathers' great efforts to provide their families with a better

future, as well as to the enormous social mobility that they themselves have accomplished in comparison to their parents. Boushra belongs to the category of first children of Moroccan background who entered the higher echelons of the Dutch educational system and labor market. Using a longitudinal research methodology, the author constructed a narrative of multiple identifications of highly educated women of Moroccan descent in the Netherlands. For the author, this narrative lends itself *par excellence* to reflect on the agency of female descendants of Moroccan background in the Netherlands. This final chapter moves Moroccan women's polyvocal feminisms beyond the country and opens up on the effect of migration on such feminisms.

## Bibliography

- Arfaoui, Khedija. 2012. "Women on the Move for Gender Equality in the Maghreb", In Di Marco, G. and C. Tabbush, (Eds.). *Feminisms, Democratization and Radical Democracy*, pp. 101–138 Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de San Martin Press.
- El Haitami, Meryem. 2013. "Women in Morocco: political and religious power". In Open Democracy.net <https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/meriem-el-haitami/women-in-morocco-political-and-religious-power> (accessed on March 21, 2014).
- Ennaji, Moha. This volume. "Secular and Islamic Feminist Movements in Morocco: Contentions, Achievements, and Challenges".
- Ennaji, Moha. 2008. "Steps to the Integration of Moroccan Women in Development", *The British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 35 (33), 339–348.
- Jaquette, Jane. 2001. "Regional Differences and Contrasting Views", *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 12, N° 3, July 2001, pp. 11–125.
- Moghadam, V. 2012. "Democracy and Women's Rights: Reflections on the Middle East and North Africa", In Di Marco, G. and C. Tabbush (Eds.). *Feminisms, Democratization and Radical Democracy*, pp. 46–60. Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de San Martin Press.
- Sadiqi, Fatima and Ennaji, Moha, 2006. "The Feminization of Public Space: Women's Activism, the Family Law, and Social Change in Morocco", in *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies (JMEWS)*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

*This study was made possible with the financial support of The Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research*