

1-2018

# Challenges and Opportunities Facing Successful Women in Moccrocco


Maia Hallward

*Kennesaw State University*, [mhallwar@kennesaw.edu](mailto:mhallwar@kennesaw.edu)

Cortney Stewart

*Kennesaw State University*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.kennesaw.edu/facpubs>

 Part of the [Gender and Sexuality Commons](#), and the [International and Area Studies Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Hallward, Maia and Stewart, Cortney, "Challenges and Opportunities Facing Successful Women in Moccrocco" (2018). *Faculty Publications*. 4129.

<https://digitalcommons.kennesaw.edu/facpubs/4129>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by DigitalCommons@Kennesaw State University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Faculty Publications by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@Kennesaw State University. For more information, please contact [digitalcommons@kennesaw.edu](mailto:digitalcommons@kennesaw.edu).

# Challenges and Opportunities Facing Successful Women in Morocco

Dr. Maia Hallward

School of Conflict Management, Peacebuilding and Development

Kenensaw State University

[mhallwar@kennesaw.edu](mailto:mhallwar@kennesaw.edu)

Cortney Stewart

School of Conflict Management, Peacebuilding and Development

Kenensaw State University

[cstewa72@kennesaw.edu](mailto:cstewa72@kennesaw.edu)

Over a decade since the passage of a revised family status code (*mudawana*) in Morocco, the literature varies in its assessment of the code's impact on women's rights and opportunities. While some studies point to the formal support for gender equality reflected in the revised code, others note that Moroccan women continue to face challenges in the social and symbolic spheres. Drawing on interviews conducted by the authors with women leaders in Morocco in 2016, this paper investigates the opportunities and obstacles these women have encountered in their personal journeys. The paper explores the extent to which elite background, work sector, religion, and legal codes affect women's ascent to leadership roles and shares the women's own views regarding improving women's status.

Keywords: women's leadership, Morocco, women's agency, education, mudawana

This work was supported by the Kennesaw State University Department of Global Affairs under Strategic Internationalization Grant IRSG171.

Thank you to the journal's reviewers for their useful feedback.

## **Introduction**

The Kingdom of Morocco provides insight into women's leadership in a region often perceived as harsh towards women's rights. While questions remain as to the effectiveness of the country's reforms to the family status code (*mudawana*), Morocco is hailed by many as a progressive leader in women's rights within the MENA region (Hursh, 2011; Jay, 2013). The current king, Mohammed VI, is considered a reformist king, having adopted revisions to the family code and promoting a more gender-egalitarian agenda for the country (Gray, 2015; Sadiqi, 2010).

Despite these strides, the 2015 World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap report ranked Morocco 139 out of 145 countries in overall gender equity, with ranks of 140 and 123 in economic opportunity and educational attainment respectively. Comparatively, Morocco ranked 97 in political empowerment, perhaps indicating the sector in which Morocco has made the most prominent strides. Regardless, women commonly face discrimination that undermine the application of legal equality (Kelly, 2010). While women encounter real challenges in Morocco, they have also demonstrated formal and informal leadership in the political, economic, and social spheres. Although women's agency is not as emphasized in Western media and policy attention in the region (Macdonald, 2016), scholars have documented the ways in which women work to disrupt the deeply entrenched patriarchal norms (Krause, 2012).

This article contributes to the debates on women in the MENA region by looking specifically at women who have been leaders in their career fields. We use a broad definition of leadership, looking at roles rather than positions, given that women are more commonly community leaders rather than heads of states and corporations, given their limited access to formal power (Berkley & Lackovich-Van Gorp, 2015; Cockburn, 2013). Drawing on personal stories from Moroccan women in leadership roles across multiple sectors, such as department chairs, parliamentarians, and charity founders, the authors explore the assumptions that women leaders are primarily from elite backgrounds, that

religion and legal codes are key factors in shaping women's socio-economic and political roles, and that women's leadership is limited to specific "soft" fields, such as those related to education, healthcare, and hospitality (Metcalf, 2008; Kemp, 2015). After discussing the relevant literature and Moroccan context, the paper explores the extent to which Moroccan women interviewed by the authors between September 2016 and January 2017 view these elements as important in their ascent to leadership.

### **Factors Affecting Women's Leadership in Morocco**

Despite the important roles women have historically played in Middle Eastern society, women's leadership in the region is understudied. Women leaders and their work within society outside of women's rights movements have rarely been publicly acknowledged or seen as equal to their male counterparts (Beitler and Martinez, 2010; Kelly, 2010). Despite efforts at political and social reform, the limitations imposed on women remain a challenge with battles predicated on morality and social order (Kelly, 2010), and even in "soft" fields women often occupy lower level leadership roles (Karam & Afioni, 2014). In addition to gender, urban/rural and class disparities have kept women from upward advancement (Boutouba, 2014; Jay, 2013; Zizari, 2010). Research suggests that high rates of illiteracy mixed with fundamentalist ideology and socio-economic disparities undercut the advancement of women within society (Sater, 2007), but Skalli (2011) argues that the lack of engagement between women's rights activists and young, educated Moroccans is similarly crippling to women. Skalli notes that young men in particular, embrace human rights broadly but fail to see women's equality as part of the broader human rights agenda, thereby complicating women's advancement economically and socially.

The literature on women's leadership within the MENA region emphasizes the role of religion, debating the challenges and opportunities afforded to women by Islam (Hursh, 2012; Al-Hibri, 2000; MacLeod, 1991). However, a focus on Islam over other factors ignores the diversity and complexity of both the religion and the region, which is comprised of states with varying social structures, economic opportunities, geographies, ethnicities and religions that impact the experiences of women leaders. It also ignores the differences between religious teachings and cultural practices. For example, patriarchal norms that differentiate between the genders and promote inequality between men and women often stem from traditional culture and not from Islam per se (Sikdar and Mitra 2012; al-Ali 2003). Yaseen (2010) argues that Islam supports the right of women to pursue their own careers and control their income but that Arab traditions undermine this equality by seeking to restrict women to the home,

### ***Population and State in Morocco***

The Kingdom of Morocco gained independence from France in 1956 and uses a mixed system of civil French law and Islamic Shari'a law. The indigenous population is described as Amazigh (Berber), although Islamic Arab immigrants have been a part of the population since the eighth century and 99 percent of the population is Sunni Muslim (Pearson, 2016). Today, 60 percent of the Moroccan population is Arab and 35 percent Berber, although the

vast majority of Moroccans have some degree of Berber ancestry (Ilahiane, 2006). Over 60 percent of the population of almost 35 million lives in urban areas (World Bank, 2016). In 2015, the literacy rate was estimated at 68.5 percent for the nation but only 58.8 percent for women (Pearson, 2016).

Primarily due to women's activism, King Mohammed VI revised the *mudawana* in 2004, allowing for the removal of the wife's legal obligation of obedience to her husband and the establishment of equal responsibility between spouses for the household (Zvan Elliott, 2009). These revisions are often seen as a major victory for Moroccan women's movements (de Faria Slenes, 2014). Feminist movements were effective in triggering public debate across sectors, and for the first time in Moroccan history, women's rights were a part of a national dialogue within religious and secular contexts (Zvan Elliott, 2015; Sadiqi, 2006; de Faria Slenes, 2014). In early 2011, pro-democracy protests swept the MENA region and nonviolent protests erupted in Morocco (the February 20<sup>th</sup> movement). They resulted in a constitutional referendum that led to changes in the constitution reducing the king's powers and the advancement of democratic reforms, including greater recognition of gender equality (Sadiqi, 2011). In November 2011, Morocco held parliamentary elections where the moderate Justice and Development Party (PJD) became the first Islamist party to lead the country (McKanders, 2014).

Since the 1980s, women have played important roles in both political and private sectors, with a growing cadre of women leaders who have positively influenced democratization in Morocco (Hursh, 2011; Moghadam, 2014). Some scholars assert that increased female participation in democratic processes has led to a push for family law reform, most notably in the areas of personal status codes and equality within the family unit, and is evidence of the expansion of women's leadership in all spheres of society (Enajj & Sadiqi, 2012; Salime, 2016). Despite a history of strong Moroccan women and active women's movements since the 1980s in particular, there is a dearth of reporting on women leaders in the local press, and there is a "disjuncture between the changing biographies of Moroccan women and the unchanging gender frames and scripts used by the media" (Skalli, 2011, 474).

### ***Leaders of the Elite?***

Public opinion in the West often assumes that female leadership within Arab-Muslim countries is the province of the upper social classes with high status in society, known as the elite by Bottomore's (1993, 14) definition. While some scholars claim that women who rise to top positions do so through navigating complex political structures open only to "those in tight political circles, bureaucrats, and lobbyists" (Basiri, 2016, 138), others argue that, despite still facing significant underrepresentation, avenues have opened up for females to step into leadership positions regardless of their high status within society (El Haitami, 2016).

These debates are best understood within the broader context of how women are framed in Arab-Muslim countries more broadly, and Moroccan women in particular:

Up to now, mainstream upper class Western feminist scholars have viewed not only Moroccan, but all women who live in the Arab-Muslim world, as a singular, monolithic, undifferentiated, subordinate and powerless group, which basically constitutes the opposite 'Eastern' pole of Western women. Western texts have generally promoted universal images of Muslim women and have presented them as poor, veiled, illiterate, victimized, sexually constrained and docile housewives (Sadiqi, 2003, xvi-xvii).

This crucial assumption propagates the “enormous error of essentializing Middle Eastern Muslim women as downtrodden, oppressed and relegated to the private, domestic realm” (Deeb & Inhorn, 2001, 86). This perpetuation of the image of Arab-Muslim women as powerless and outside the public eye reflects orientalist assumptions, bolstering the idea that in order for Arab-Muslim women to assume leadership, it must be through some status of birth and connection rather than merit or achievement. This has led to discussions about the status of women who are able to attain higher levels of leadership, noting that in order for non-elite women to compete with elites, especially in the political field, they must be willing to accept “the reproduction of norms, representations and control mechanisms from above that contribute to reinforcing former power hierarchies” (Berriane, 2015, 1). Some scholarship suggests that while women have been included into spheres of leadership, non-elite participation is limited and dependent on quotas for women in political positions supported by the powerful elite (Berriane, 2015). Gender quotas like the one implemented in Morocco depend upon national lists, which can act as a glass ceiling because they prevent women from being elected beyond the quota requirement. Further, simply having women on the list does not ensure women have decision-making power or leadership roles within the party (Darhour & Dahlerup 2013).

### ***Sectoral Leadership***

Education, nursing and social care are three sectors often equated with women, and in which women leaders are deemed non-threatening as they align with assumptions regarding the appropriate role of women within the workplace (Metcalf, 2008; Hutchings et al., 2012). However, even in these fields women often occupy the lower level of leadership as studies have shown that higher education, for example, is still considered a male-dominated domain (Karam & Afiouni, 2014). Although women have advanced in positions of political leadership, institutional and cultural barriers still exist within the business community (Metcalf, 2008).

Despite these challenges, at least one study demonstrates that female-owned firms within the MENA region are as well established and connected to the global markets as their male-owned counterparts (Chamlou, 2008). In addition, women play a significant role in Morocco's informal economy that includes both firms and self-employed individuals who operate legal licensing. In urban Morocco, the informal sector is responsible for more than 15% of GDP and employs over half of the population (Ilahiane & Sherry, 2008). Of that number, twelve percent are women (Aksikas, 2007).

## ***Secular and Religious Approaches to Women's Rights***

Historically, secular women's movements have focused on political and legal changes to expand the role of women in the public sphere from the top-down, whereas Islamist feminist movements have tended to focus on changing society from the bottom-up (Zvan Elliott, 2015). Morocco has historical, economic, political and cultural ties to the West that have deeply informed its development and financial institutions, including its liberalization reforms (Zvan Elliott, 2015; Miller, 2013; Pearson, 2016). Some also argue that increases in women's rights and women's leadership cannot be divorced from democratic movements, noting that initiatives expanding democratic elections have opened opportunities to improve human rights in general, and women's rights in particular (Basiri, 2016).

In the case of Morocco, some scholars argue that democracy and globalization must not be viewed as the catalyst for women's rights. Rather it was with growing political Islamism and authoritarianism that Moroccan women saw advances in civil liberties (Dalmasso & Cavatorta, 2010). This is illustrated by the political climate under which women's advances were made, particularly the changes to the *mudawana*. As Cavatorta & Dalmasso (2009) point out "When one looks at the historical process and manner in which the new family code was brought into existence, it can be claimed that it simply reinforces the central role of the monarchy as the ultimate, and unelected, arbiter of major policy decisions concerning the country" (494). As a result, liberal steps forward for women seem to be tied to the political will of the king and not to democratic processes.

However, others credit the activism of Moroccan women's movements with creating the pressure for democratic reforms rather than vice versa (Salime, 2016). Salime points to the opening up of spaces for women's discussion in neighborhood mosques in the 1990s as a building block for democratic reforms, noting that this eventually led to women's integration into Islamic institutions, the recognition of women's voices by the Moroccan state and the creation of spaces for women's political and religious participation.

Gray (2015) argues that Islamism has stressed personal choice, even for women, in matters of religion, increasing efforts for women's rights through a change in mentality within a spiritual framework and not necessarily through changes in the laws. Secularists point to conflicting discourses in the Moroccan Islamist movement as it speaks for equality and women's leadership to external audiences, but supports polygamy and other practices of inequality within Morocco (Zvan Elliott, 2015).

### ***Revising the Mudawana: Major Shift for Women?***

While the current *mudawana* legitimizes core feminist demands, it also shows the continued power of conservative elites and affirms deeply entrenched cultural and religious assumptions about gender and social change (Elliot, 2015). According to critics, training and education on changes to the code were minimal, and judges in rural areas had leeway in interpretation; thus, scholars overwhelmingly find a gap between de jure and de facto women's rights (Eisenberg, 2011; McKanders, 2014). Many women continue to face gender-

based discrimination predicated on conservative interpretations of Shari'a law (Desrues & Nieto, 2009; Zvan Elliott, 2014; Errazzouki, 2014; Sadiqi, 2006). Additionally, the *mudawana* revision did not address several key feminist demands, including the abolition of polygamy and equal inheritance across genders. While women now receive primary custody after divorce, the father is still the legal representative of children (Zvan Elliott, 2009). Consequently, husbands and fathers assert power over women's choices, often dictating complete obedience in regards to marriage, divorce, and child guardianship (Dalmasso & Cavatorta, 2010; Desrues & Nieto, 2009; Kelly, 2010). While the new *mudawana* declares reciprocal responsibility between husband and wife for household management, some scholars argue that the code indirectly reinforces complementary rather than mutual roles (Zvan Elliott, 2009, 219).

## Methodology

This research was conducted by purposive and snowball sampling of women leaders in Morocco. Given our emphasis on factors contributing to women's career success—and the challenges experienced—we did not seek a “representative” sample but rather sought to interview women who had achieved success in their respective fields. We compiled a list of women leaders in Morocco based on a literature review and Internet searches. We defined “successful” broadly, and from a woman-centric perspective. Following Chinyamurindi (2016), we selected women who had attained professional accomplishments and recognition and/or made contributions to society. Further, we did not equate success only with money and status, but also with satisfaction, fulfillment and goal achievement. Since we were interested in women of diverse age backgrounds, we interviewed some women who had demonstrated leadership in their communities but who had not yet achieved typical career success. We also contacted our university's partners at Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane and University Hassan II, Faculty of Letters-Ben M'sik Casablanca to generate contacts. We sent introductions and interview requests in advance of our fieldwork, and asked every interviewee for additional names of women we should interview.

In total, we interviewed 21 women, ranging in age from 21 to 70+<sup>1</sup> in Ifrane, Tangier, Rabat, and Casablanca. Interviews ranged from 45 minutes to two hours, were conducted in English or French<sup>2</sup> and later transcribed and analyzed. Despite our efforts to reach women in the Islamic movement, we were unable to confirm any interviews. We did however interview women with varying degrees of personal religiosity. The study that follows analyzes particular themes that emerged during the interviews and furthers the discussion on key questions in the literature on women leaders in the Arab world in general and Morocco in particular, namely the extent to which these women leaders were from elite

---

<sup>1</sup> Ages approximated through references to dates; some mentioned them directly. Women wishing to remain anonymous are assigned a pseudonym; names are given as written on the informed consent form for women who agreed to be identified.

<sup>2</sup> French interviews were conducted via an open-ended questionnaire in French.



backgrounds, whether they had leadership positions in sectors deemed suitable for women, and the extent to which the revisions to the *mudawana* affected them as leaders. Given time and budget constraints, as well as lack of response, we were unable to conduct interviews in rural areas, and thus our sample has an urban bias.

## **Sharing the Experiences of Moroccan Women Leaders**

### ***Challenging the Assumption of Elite Upbringing***

Despite the assumption of many in the West that women leaders in the Arab world are necessarily from upper class, high status families, this did not emerge from our interview sample. Although two women we interviewed (sisters) noted they were from one of the oldest families in Tangier, their father died when they were young and this had a direct impact on their social and financial status. Another woman noted she was from a “bourgeois” family that was French in orientation but otherwise the women did not necessarily come from upper class backgrounds, and in a number of cases, had disadvantaged upbringings by conventional standards of measurement. Further, several women noted explicitly that they earned their appointments through long and rigorous application and interview processes. After describing the lengthy, competitive process for her current post in the Ministry of Education, one woman lamented the assumption that it was connections and status that landed her the job:

When...I was selected to this post, it was very strange. Some people, even professional people, not friends, who knew how I worked, they said, well, maybe she knows someone at the ministry. It’s not because you are qualified or because you have presented a good project. No, she knows someone at the ministry and then he gave her the job or something. There was this interpretation. Another one said, oh, she is affiliated with a political party or union. I’m not affiliated to any political party or any union.<sup>3</sup>

Another woman, in a university leadership position, also noted the assumptions of others that posts were allocated based on factors other than merit and that connection or gender would prevail.

When I passed my competitive exams, for the application, there were 10 men, and I was the only woman. And there were friends of mine, men, who told me, “there are too many men, maybe you won’t have much of a chance.” And I said, “I will take this exam as a human, and I have all the skills and abilities to pass,” and I told the person

---

<sup>3</sup> Noor. Interview with Authors. Casablanca, Morocco, October 17, 2016.

who told me, and I scored at the top, I was ranked in the first place on the list. The King chose the first place, he chose me. That's it.<sup>4</sup>

These quotes affirm that societal assumptions continue to reflect a tradition where connections, status, and gender prevail when leadership positions are at stake, but also demonstrate that, at least in certain circumstances, changing systems do provide opportunities for women to attain leadership positions based on their own merits. Further, they provide additional illustration that such challenges continue to exist even in “soft” fields like education. The challenges in business may be starker for women, as indicated by a leader who worked her way up in multinational corporations. She attributed her success in part to “being a part of a global organization that can give you opportunity to show what you are able to do”, noting that for “women in Morocco ... it's very tough for them to have leadership positions...I was lucky to start my career with an international company.”<sup>5</sup>

At the same time, however, personal connections did provide several women from traditional backgrounds with the support needed to further their studies and/or move away from home. As one woman, recalled, “my father didn't believe that I could leave home. The dean at the University of Rabat called my father and they had a long discussion and he told him, I am responsible for your daughter...give her permission to leave home.”<sup>6</sup>

In several cases women indicated that precisely because they suffered adverse circumstances—the loss of a parent through death or divorce and/or a relatively poor or rural upbringing—they knew they had to work hard and rely on their own initiative to achieve their goals. One woman, a research professor and former Director of Women and Families and Social Development for the Minister of Solidarity shared that her father “died when I was 12 years old, and for me my studies were the only way out.”<sup>7</sup> Another leader noted “I lost my mother when I was very young...but I had an extraordinary aunt from my mother's side. She was a real leader, and my grandmother also from mother's side was a real leader, but that does not mean she could read or write.”<sup>8</sup> Former Parliamentarian Nouzha Skalli's father died when she was nine, and her mother raised seven children without any money, three of whom ended up serving in Parliament after long struggles.<sup>9</sup> Several others also described the hard work of their divorced or widowed mothers; one noted her mother worked two jobs to support them, and another interviewee went to work at age 16 to help support her family as a result. Such challenges also provided the women with strong female role models.

---

<sup>4</sup> Sabah. Interview with Authors. Casablanca, Morocco, October 17, 2016.

<sup>5</sup> Aalya. Skype Interview with Authors. Kennesaw, Georgia, January 27, 2017.

<sup>6</sup> Rana. Interview with Authors. Ifrane, Morocco, October 11, 2016.

<sup>7</sup> Meryam Ahardane. Interview with Authors. Casablanca, Morocco, October 15, 2016.

<sup>8</sup> Hayat Zirari. Interview with Authors. Casablanca, Morocco, October 17, 2016.

<sup>9</sup> Nouzha Skalli. Interview with Authors. Casablanca, Morocco, October 18, 2016.

Two women very explicitly discussed their Amazigh<sup>10</sup> heritage and their subsequent cultural and economic marginalization as an important factor in their success. One of these women opined “it’s good that I was born at the foot of a ladder, like society, so I could see the whole spectrum. It’s better than being born at the top and then you see nothing but the sky.”<sup>11</sup> The other woman attributed her dedication in school and career to the fact that if she did not excel she had to stay home and learn to be a housewife. “My father used to be a taxi driver and we had limited income. So I had an objective to be rich and to give myself the opportunity to be outside [the home], not to be inside.”<sup>12</sup> Such stories indicate career success despite non-elite origins.

### ***Sectoral Leadership: Gendered Fields of Leadership?***

Although our sample was influenced by contacts at Moroccan universities, we did interview women in other sectors. Nine of those interviewed were in higher education (two in administrative positions), one in secondary education, seven in non-profit organizations, two in government, two had medical degrees, and four in the private sector. Some of the women fit in multiple categories. Table 1 provides the sectors and the numbers of women in each category.

**[Table 1. Here]**

Many of the women interviewed demonstrated attention to women’s issues and leadership even if their job was not specifically gender-related. An undergraduate student, for example, developed her own cell phone app to improve women’s safety based on her own experience of harassment. Another stated that her “strong personality, who is not afraid of saying things” cost her while working as the Director of Women and Families and Social Development for the Minister of Solidarity. “It was not okay to contradict the Minister, I was supposed to enter into a mold, that means... the process. One enters, “hello”, one sits, one stands up, there are things one has to say, things one is not supposed to say, and I did not come to be the Director of Women for that.”<sup>13</sup> Another, who worked in radio, asserted, “I was one of the first women in Morocco, really one of the first, to have spoken of women like I did on my first radio program... We were the first ones to talk about women in Morocco in

---

<sup>10</sup> These two women actually used the term “Berber” and not “Amazigh” in their interviews. As one noted, “I say Berber because I’m used to Berber but actually now the politically correct term to use is Amazigh. But I suggest this change from Berber, even though for me Berber is easier, but when I write I use Amazigh.” Fatima Sadiqi. Skype Interview with Authors from Zurich, Switzerland. October 13, 2016.

<sup>11</sup> Fatima Sadiqi.

<sup>12</sup> Rana. Interview with Authors. Ifrane, Morocco, October 11, 2016.

<sup>13</sup> Meryam Ahardane.

a free way.”<sup>14</sup> Given the high illiteracy rate among Moroccans at the time—78% of women and 82% of the rural population in 1982<sup>15</sup>—disseminating such information via radio meant it reached a much broader audience.

Women across sectors demonstrated entrepreneurial tendencies. A pediatric cancer specialist founded Maison l’Avenir, a center to help families of children with cancer.<sup>16</sup> Another was involved in a network of 220 associations working toward a strategy for women’s empowerment.<sup>17</sup> Aicha Echenna shared her story of seeing needs of unwed mothers in Morocco and building institutions to help them gain financial footing in society by providing childcare facilities and employment opportunities.

One question raised by the interviews is whether higher education is more conducive to women’s leadership than other sectors. One woman working at a private American system university shared that “we live together. And at the university, we are all either educators or faculty members or staff members or students themselves, that’s why I said it is different from the rest of Morocco. It’s the concept of seeing females in different positions and witnessing all the success that females are achieving.”<sup>18</sup> However, academia also has its challenges for women, and as one highly published scholar asserted, the “academic field is a male field still.”<sup>19</sup> Women in the private sector shared challenges but at least one woman expressed pride in the number of Moroccan women who “were able to break the glass ceiling” in business.<sup>20</sup>

### ***Religion vs. Traditional Culture as a Constraint***

Although women were not asked explicitly about religion, it often emerged in discussions. A former well-known radio host who later started her own magazine stated, “First I am a Muslim by choice, it is my choice to be a Muslim woman, and I am of course Moroccan, that’s not by choice, I was born here.”<sup>21</sup> A number of women distinguished what they viewed as “authentic” Islam with its misrepresentation or misinterpretation. One

---

<sup>14</sup> Badria Ahardane. Interview with Authors. Casablanca, Morocco, October 15, 2016.

<sup>15</sup> Badria Ahardane estimated 60-80% in 1983. These figures are according to Table 4.1 in James Sater (2016), *Morocco: Challenges to tradition and modernity* (New York: Routledge)

<sup>16</sup> Fouzia Alaoui. Interview with Authors. Casablanca, Morocco, October 17, 2016.

<sup>17</sup> Hayat Zirari.

<sup>18</sup> Rana. This institution has several factors that might also influence women’s leadership, notably the fact that it is American system (cultural differences) and that it is private (socio-economic class difference).

<sup>19</sup> Fatima Sadiqi.

<sup>20</sup> Hiba.

<sup>21</sup> Meryam Ahardane.

woman remarked that, “When I see that women in Saudi Arabia cannot drive or travel alone, I am scandalized, this is not my Islam, it has nothing to do with it. That is the ‘Islam’ of men.”<sup>22</sup> An anthropologist active in women’s movements stated that it was important to base arguments in sacred texts because “we find many ...religious men [who] they are educated or trained exclusively in religion and not in sociology, economy, or anthropology, and they interpret our Qur’an with a vision of past centuries. It’s a retrograde vision that imprisons not only women, but also men.”<sup>23</sup> Interviewees noted that not all practices used to restrict women are actually religious in nature. As a young entrepreneur observed:

There are some entrenched values and perceptions in peoples’ minds and they associate them generally with religion. And because people usually don’t understand or don’t read much about religion and they just take ideas for granted from school or education or traditional values, they don’t dare to go and do research and understand why things are the way they are.”<sup>24</sup>

Further, as an anthropology professor stated, Muslims do not hold a monopoly on restricting women:

If you take for example Judaism, it is even more closed in relation to women’s rights... I have Jewish Moroccan female friends, and I see it myself, but nobody speaks about it...I think that all religions are macho, patriarchal, at the base because of their history, but all religions can also be open to evolve, keep the faith, but integrate evolution.<sup>25</sup>

Along these lines, Aicha Echenna, who founded a society for unwed mothers that challenges many social taboos, pointed to her Muslim grandfather, a theological scholar, who she remembers saying, “Nobody is ever a bastard, they are children of two people who came together in a kind of agreement, and you cannot call them ‘bastard’. A ‘bastard’ is an adult who knows what he is doing and makes big mistakes.”<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Hayat Zirari.

<sup>24</sup> Samia Haimoura. Interview with Authors. Ifrane, Morocco, October 10, 2016.

<sup>25</sup> Hayat Zirari.

<sup>26</sup> Aicha Echenna. Interview with Authors. Casablanca, Morocco, October 18, 2016.

At the same time, a number of women pointed to increasing conservatism in society affecting the status of women. For example, “When I was young, minority of women putting veils...now, that’s different. We’re becoming the minority and we are judged”.<sup>27</sup>

Another woman stated, “I take the example of Tangier... Tangier was very special, very open... But now everyone is looking at al-Jazeera or Arabiya. And really it has changed.”<sup>28</sup> While some women mentioned conservative influences from outside Morocco, others pointed to the influence of the ruling Islamist party, PJD, “which is very much allergic to women’s rights.”<sup>29</sup> Another woman emphasized, “There is a rise of Islamism, a certain conservatism that is setting in, so all the forces of the left and modernists, they must unite. The Moroccan left should work on their social projects, the modernists and liberalists also, to try to balance against the conservative forces that are setting in.”<sup>30</sup>

For some women, including the Associate Director of the [Tangier American Legation Institute for Moroccan Studies](#), having the king as the guardian of the Constitution helps protect Morocco from the influence of the Salafists and preserves the constitutional nature of the state.<sup>31</sup> One even stated that she was grateful that the February 20<sup>th</sup> movement failed, because it helped prevent “the extreme Islamists from tak[ing] over.”<sup>32</sup> A law professor who is also vice president of the International Association of Constitutional Law shared her story of gender discrimination in the PJD hiring process; they did not consider her application for the position she had been serving in an interim capacity, appointing instead an Islamist with no credentials for the position. In her words, “They [PJD] use ‘democracy’ but really, underneath it they break the rules of democracy”<sup>33</sup> in a way that doesn’t overtly violate legal codes.

Women interviewed suggested the issue of religion’s influence on women’s leadership is more complicated than whether a woman is veiled or unveiled, religious or secular. While only three of the women interviewed wore the headscarf, several women expressed their religiosity and stated being Muslim was core to their identity. Women differentiated between Islam as a religion and the political use of religion by scholars or politicians. Women also qualified what they meant by “secular” in that several supported the continuance of the king’s role as “Commander of the Faithful” precisely because they felt this twinning of “religion” and “state” helped preserve the secular nature of the public sphere and buttressed women’s equality by reducing the influence of the Islamist PJD.

---

<sup>27</sup> Zainab. Interview with Authors. Ifrane, Morocco, October 10, 2017.

<sup>28</sup> Yhtimad Bouziane.

<sup>29</sup> Nouzha Skalli.

<sup>30</sup> Sabah.

<sup>31</sup> Yhtimad Bouziane.

<sup>32</sup> Sabah.

<sup>33</sup> Nadia Bernoussi. Interview with Authors. Rabat, Morocco, October 13, 2016.

### ***Legal Equality vs. Lived Reality***

Despite the heavy emphasis in the literature on legal equality and changes to the *mudawana* those interviewed had mixed reactions to the code's impact on women's leadership. Several positive changes were identified. One woman stated:

One of the revisions of the *mudawana* that I feel is among the most important, is that we have replaced "obeying" with "mutual respect". So in my opinion, this is an extremely important and fundamental change. The possibility, too, for the woman to ask for a divorce; the ban on repudiation, the possibility of marrying without asking for father's permission...The Moroccan woman has obtained these significant rights.<sup>34</sup>

On the point of shifting from obeying to mutual respect, one woman described it as "a revolution. It's very important. A real revolution. It's essential."<sup>35</sup> The change in the code contributed symbolically in that "people talk about rights now. People accept that women could have rights."<sup>36</sup> Further, "when women know that they are equal with men, it changes their behavior....They don't know exactly what is written in the law. But they know that first they are equal so they say, hey, we are equal. The *mudawana* says we are equal."<sup>37</sup>

Even as women documented important legal changes brought about by the revision of the *mudawana*, they also pointed out its limitations, namely that the code did not recognize marital rape and provided amnesty for rapists when they marry their victims.<sup>38</sup> Women also emphasized the need to change laws related to polygamy and gender-equal inheritance. Further, as has been pointed out in the scholarship (McKanders, 2014), women remarked that, "the big problem is the implementation, the practice of the code. For example, with regards to justice, many things were revised to improve women's condition, but on the practical level, it doesn't happen."<sup>39</sup> In addition to insufficient numbers of courts, there are problems with the training and decisions of the judges, particularly those in rural areas. One woman lamented that, "it [the *mudawana*] says what it says but when you go to

---

<sup>34</sup> Nadia Bernoussi.

<sup>35</sup> Sabah.

<sup>36</sup> Fatima Sadiqi.

<sup>37</sup> Nouzha Skalli.

<sup>38</sup> Dou'aa Jazouli. Interview with Authors. Ifrane, Morocco, October 10, 2016.

<sup>39</sup> Assia Benadada. Interview with Authors. Rabat, Morocco, October 14, 2016.

the reality, to the judge, it's another story."<sup>40</sup> Women also noted that social change must accompany legal change. As one woman opined "it's not enough, we need a lot of things, but I think we have to speak a lot with other women, because it's not only the law...women need collaboration to change their minds."<sup>41</sup>

As will be discussed further in the next section, women noted that even with legal equality or political quotas ensuring women on party lists, women are not integrated in the decision making practices of parties or provided with the training and education necessary to take advantage of legal changes. Although the percentage of women elected at the local level has increased from 0.5% in 2009 to 12.4%, this change was "very, very, very difficult."<sup>42</sup> One interviewee observed that

when you talk about equality in a political sense you are basing it on inequality. For example, the women's quota, sounds like equality but at its base it's unequal because even with the quota if there is not the correct mechanism there will be inequality. At the level of decision-making it is not applied, so the quota is still unequal.<sup>43</sup>

## **Challenges Facing Moroccan Women Leaders**

### ***Traditional Views of Women***

Those interviewed pointed to several obstacles facing women leaders stemming from traditional culture rather than political or legal barriers. A leadership scholar in Morocco affirmed that not all Moroccans approved of women leaders "because of the tradition that still prevails."<sup>44</sup> A graduate student who is a member of the Youth Committee in Morocco for Amnesty International observed that

Whenever a woman wants to do something a lot of people say, "She's just a woman." That's a common Moroccan saying. But I guess there are a lot of [leadership] positions that are taken by women.... And these women take their job much more

---

<sup>40</sup> Zainab.

<sup>41</sup> Hanae Bekkari. Interview with Authors. Tangier, Morocco, October 12, 2016.

<sup>42</sup> Nouzha Skalli.

<sup>43</sup> Hayat Zirari.

<sup>44</sup> Assia Benadada.



seriously, not just because they're hard workers but also because all the eyes of society in Morocco are drawn towards them.<sup>45</sup>

Similar to what has been documented in other contexts (Bongiorno et al., 2014), "when it's a woman with a strong personality who succeeds, she is either "big mouthed" or "too aggressive".<sup>46</sup> Another woman observed "when a man screams in a meeting they say he has personality, when a woman screams in a meeting they say she is hysterical."<sup>47</sup> As one woman who has worked for international NGOs in both Morocco and the US observed:

Women are not empowered even in Western societies where you see that in a room, in a workplace, you would find sometimes that women, when a man talks, the decision is taken very seriously; when a woman talks, they would nod and then they would go back to their male colleague.<sup>48</sup>

Another agreed:

The world is male dominated...But in the [Moroccan] culture, it is more so. [When] I worked in the U.S. [as] director of marketing, some of the males...they had a problem having a female boss. ...And here... I felt that some of the faculty didn't like to have a [female] boss.<sup>49</sup>

Quotas alone without a mentality shift means that because "there is no obligation to have, for example, a female president or vice-president, there are no women making decisions...women will always be just there to serve coffee, and that's the real struggle."<sup>50</sup> Women ministers tend to take secondary or "soft" positions such as the Minister of Women's Affairs,<sup>51</sup> and laws supporting women's equality are not always implemented. One woman, who worked for the Ministry of Solidarity noted "what we had in the governmental program we couldn't even apply it *within* the ministry itself... there were too many

---

<sup>45</sup> Dou'aa Jazouli.

<sup>46</sup> Meryam Ahardane.

<sup>47</sup> Nadia Bernoussi.

<sup>48</sup> Houda Abadi. Interview with Authors. Atlanta, Georgia, September 21, 2016

<sup>49</sup> Hiba.

<sup>50</sup> Hayat Zirari.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

contradictions and paradoxes confused in the ministry, what we had to say to the press and international partners, and the reality.”<sup>52</sup> Social taboos also affect women leaders, such as an unmarried woman who rents a hotel room when she has late night out of town work meetings instead of staying with potentially judgmental family.<sup>53</sup>

Married women also face challenges, as men sometimes do not want their wives to be more successful than they are, or prevent them from traveling for their work.<sup>54</sup> Women recounted that “because of her role as a mom could be constrained for moving further” in her career due to the inability to travel to conferences or training until her children were older.<sup>55</sup> On a more basic level, until more recently “the population did not believe in women’s education. I had this luck to have a mom who was educated, able to read and write...now we have about 40% of women still illiterate. Forty is a lot.”<sup>56</sup> Women also pointed to stereotypical images in schoolbooks where “We see always the woman in the kitchen and the man with the newspaper sitting and reading the newspaper. We should change this picture.”<sup>57</sup>

### ***The Double Shift***

A major challenge—not unique to Morocco—is managing the multiple roles of leader, professional, wife, and mother. In feminist scholarship this has been called the “second shift” (Wharton, 1994). It also results in “indirect discrimination that is not visible, vicious”<sup>58</sup> because when meetings or trainings are scheduled at 6:00 when children need to be picked up, women cannot attend. One professional stated that

I am still obligated to manage *everything*: in the house, outside, the family, when there are family problems, even my husband’s family when he doesn’t have time. I think that we women have the capacity to do everything, but that’s not good, I think we should teach women to not do everything...if we teach [men] that we do everything, there is no reason for them to learn.<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> Meryam Ahardane.

<sup>53</sup> Hiba.

<sup>54</sup> Noor.

<sup>55</sup> Rana.

<sup>56</sup> Sabah.

<sup>57</sup> Yhtimad Bouziane.

<sup>58</sup> Nadia Bernoussi.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

A few women challenged the traditional second shift model. One woman's husband was dissatisfied with the amount she was doing outside the home related to her job and volunteer activities and complained to her mother: "She does a lot for the others, I prefer her to do a lot for the house'. And my mother said 'you married her like this, you can go away if you don't like her'"<sup>60</sup> thereby supporting her daughter's non-traditional choices. Another woman's husband helped out with their three small children — partly out of necessity. When they visited her family her father said "listen, when you are at home in Fez you do with your husband what you want. But here he is a guest. I don't want him to take care of the kids. I don't want him to help in any way."<sup>61</sup> As one stated, "in Morocco it is more difficult because the woman is more expected to be devoted to the home. The man is expecting her to have a great position but also to cover all the responsibilities at home."<sup>62</sup> One woman argued with her husband whenever she had to stay late for work because he said "You are made for a family. You can be a mother."<sup>63</sup>

Three of the women interviewed were unmarried<sup>64</sup> and three were divorced. This posed additional challenges but also afforded different opportunities. As one of the divorced women observed, "When we are at a meeting in the ministry, for two or three days you are out of your home. You need to go to another city and stay there. I think because maybe I have the chance, I'm divorced, I have the chance to move the way I want."<sup>65</sup> One woman observed:

I'm single. I'm not married. I don't have children. Maybe that also helps... I know colleagues and friends who, they work late and they still have to come home and do homework with their kids, even though the father is in the house and got home earlier than they did.<sup>66</sup>

### ***Non-gendered Leadership Challenges***

---

<sup>60</sup> Hanae Bekkari.

<sup>61</sup> Fatima Sadiqi.

<sup>62</sup> Aalya.

<sup>63</sup> Zainab.

<sup>64</sup> Of these three, two were students.

<sup>65</sup> Noor.

<sup>66</sup> Hiba.

Women mentioned non-gender-specific leadership challenges, stressing they were “not related to gender” but rather due to a “mentality which does not accept change.”<sup>67</sup> The women noted issues of culture, geography, and age as additional obstacles, underscoring the importance of intersectionality when studying women’s leadership. Several women mentioned the significant challenges facing Moroccans in rural areas, such as lack of transportation to and toilets in schools. While these obstacles may impact women more adversely than men, both boys and girls raised in urban poor communities or rural villages have limited opportunities.<sup>68</sup>

Age was mentioned more commonly than gender as an obstacle to leadership. One woman stated, “I was told many times, you are too young for this position...I felt like here they believe that age equals experience, which is not true all the time. Age can be a negative point. Age can put people in who are tired.”<sup>69</sup> One woman reflected, “In Morocco we said, ‘you [a woman] work like a million men.’ But it took time. It really took time. I think with the man it would have taken less time. But for me it took time and again because of the gender and the age. And I think the age more than the gender.”<sup>70</sup>

Some women found that Morocco’s lack of material and human capital created barriers to business success. A student entrepreneur had to outsource her work because “the technology environment is not really that present...And you can find a lot of people with the skills but it remains limited.”<sup>71</sup> Others pointed to the decreasing quality of education in public schools as well as an overall environment that is not conducive to freedom of speech.<sup>72</sup>

Personality, tenacity, and hard work were mentioned repeatedly as important to career success. Women reported how they were different than their sisters or how they had an “attitude to have success”<sup>73</sup> or “wanted to make my own decisions ... outside of my parents’ supervision.”<sup>74</sup> One woman described herself as “a woman who likes challenges...I want to prove that I can”<sup>75</sup> and another as “ambitious.”<sup>76</sup> Stories shared by respondents

---

<sup>67</sup> Noor.

<sup>68</sup> Yhtimad Bouziane, Nadia Bernoussi and Rana.

<sup>69</sup> Rana.

<sup>70</sup> Zainab.

<sup>71</sup> Samia Haimoura.

<sup>72</sup> Zainab.

<sup>73</sup> Aalya.

<sup>74</sup> Samia Haimoura.

<sup>75</sup> Rana.

<sup>76</sup> Noor.

indicated a degree of independence, rebelliousness (as one termed it) and free spirits that were willing to take nontraditional risks.

## Conclusion

Although as multiple women highlighted, “we cannot talk about Moroccan women generally,”<sup>77</sup> because of distinctions between rural and urban women and between circumstances in different parts of the country shaping women’s autonomy,<sup>78</sup> this study suggests that women with leadership positions in their respective careers do not necessarily come from elite origins as is sometimes assumed in the Western scholarship in particular. Despite a relatively small sample size, six (29%) of our respondents were raised in lower class circumstances, and seven (33%) noted hardships as a result of the loss of a parent and/or maternal illiteracy. An additional four (19%) mentioned marginalization and low social status due to Berber heritage. The study also suggests that the traditional division between ‘secular’ and ‘religious’ approaches to women’s rights in some of the scholarship – the binary between ‘religious’ and ‘secular’ has been increasingly challenged by scholars such as Gray (2015), Salime (2011), and Asad (2003) -- was not reflected in our interviews. Women discussed the need for both legal reforms (the top-down ‘secular’ approach) and for grassroots socio-cultural change (the bottom-up ‘religious’ approach) to further improve women’s access to leadership positions. Although some women celebrated changes in the revised *mudawana*, differences persist between *de jure* and *de facto* changes in the law. Women emphasized the openings provided by the reforms for further cultural shifts regarding how women are viewed. As Nouzha Skalli shared, “when women know that they are equal with men, it changes their behavior...they know they can go their own way...[the changes to the *mudawana*] made a very important change in the behavior of people.” However, women stressed that “mentalities” must change more, through educational reforms, training programs for women leaders, and increased access to decision-making roles rather than simple quotas.

The interviewees underscored the importance of social change mechanisms, particularly providing new images of women in school books, teaching critical thinking skills over rote learning, and increasing educational access, particularly in rural areas, in changing societal views of women. The research also suggests that parental involvement and encouragement fosters career success, which indicates a need for engagement with parents. Further research should be done regarding the relationship between family members’ encouragement and educational/professional success to see if this is also significant in more individualistic societies. Does the relative importance and centrality of family in the social fabric of Morocco make the views of the parents’ more significant in the future trajectory of their daughters, or is this a trend that has more universal prevalence?

---

<sup>77</sup> Hayat Zirari.

<sup>78</sup> Noor.

Despite previous research that suggests education alone does not change the status of women (Zvan Elliott, 2015), the leaders interviewed for this project overwhelmingly pointed to education as necessary, albeit not sufficient, for changing the status of women in Morocco. Distinct from studies that suggest education provides economic agency that leads to social and political agency (Johansson de Silva et al, 2014), our interview subjects promoted education not for the sake of economic gain, but rather for social change. Women encouraged increased informal and formal educational opportunities as well as mentorship. One woman has spoken to lower income students about her own path to success. She recounted one girl asking:

Can you please come to my home and speak with my parents? They want to marry me but I don't want to get married.' I told her it's you who has to do this. You have to discuss with your parents, and if they don't listen to you then you have to laugh, and if they don't want to laugh with you, you have to cry, you have to do everything, but you have to educate your parents to understand...Then I saw that people in Morocco, not only women but girls too, want to have some role models; to see how they can live.<sup>79</sup>

Thus more visible female role models are needed for students and parents alike, to know that alternative life paths not only exist, but Moroccan women are living them. Another woman suggested that women's education "should let women think that they can be successful; they should take risks. I know, for example, some friends who are very active. They are successful professionally but they wait for their husband to drive them to this city or this city."<sup>80</sup> Another emphasized the need for critical, outside of the box thinking, observing "if women are not able to have that kind of education, there is no way that they can be any kind of a position of leadership."<sup>81</sup>

Affirming the existence of what Skalli (2011, 474) calls "unchanging gender scripts" several women criticized schoolbooks and media for portraying women and men in stereotyped roles. "If you put it in a book, a photo of a man reading the newspaper and a mother washing the dishes, you are letting it enter their minds that the woman is for the home and that the man is for reading and culture. That's not okay."<sup>82</sup> While this happens in schools, women leaders observed that these educational patterns begin even before children attend school. As one woman opined:

---

<sup>79</sup> Hanae Bekkari.

<sup>80</sup> Noor.

<sup>81</sup> Houda Abadi.

<sup>82</sup> Sabah.

in addition to education, the discourse of the woman in the way she teacher educates her son should change. It should be the same discourse as is given to the girl. ...Women educate boys and girls differently, and so somehow she is the designer of her own misfortune, because somewhere down the line this boy will do what his mother taught him to do...he will think he can do anything because his mother told him that, he thinks he has the right to everything.<sup>83</sup>

Women also emphasized the need to train women for leadership within political parties and government posts. While some of these changes can be legislated or enshrined into law, i.e. quota systems, women in parliament also face challenges inside their parties and within the broader government structure's traditional mindsets and assumptions about women.<sup>84</sup> Although the existence of a quota is a positive (legal) step, women want more involvement in the decision-making and not be "just there to serve coffee."<sup>85</sup> As one argued:

What we need today is for our political parties to receive training; that the old people in the parties leave the place for the young, for new talent and skills, and for women. Our parties need to be trained, developed, regenerated, and work, because Moroccans are courageous and hard-working people.<sup>86</sup>

Interviewees stressed that *social* not *religious* change is necessary, seeing no conflict between their faith and their leadership roles. Further, they argued culture rather than religion per se constrained women. Although some worried about rising conservatism and Wahhabi influences, they emphasized this did not reflect all of Islam; thus this study supports the body of scholarship demonstrating the compatibility between Islam and women's rights.

. Several women emphasized the need to educate women about existing laws, and secular and religious women alike stressed the importance of implementing legal changes while introducing additional reforms, including the abolition of polygamy. Highlighting the link between law and culture, one woman observed,

You can still have laws but what happens in society and the norms and how the people react and the culture, the culture, is very powerful. But it really helps to have

---

<sup>83</sup> Meryam Ahardane.

<sup>84</sup> Nouzha Skalli & Meryam Ahardane.

<sup>85</sup> Hayat Zirari.

<sup>86</sup> Badria.

the law. If the law is there you can still stand and fight for all those things. The culture says there is a law. Let's go by the law.<sup>87</sup>

Regardless of legal and social codes, however, the interviews indicate that individual personality, not just legal and social structures, plays a vital role in women's leadership. Those interviewed described themselves as passionate, determined, hard-working, rebellious, and differentiated themselves even from their sisters in their drive to succeed. Further research should be done into the personality traits that best serve women leaders in more traditional and collectivist societies given that many leadership studies are focused on management specifically and grounded in Western, individualist assumptions (Gabdreeva & Khalfieva, 2016; Gupta & Bhawe, 2007).

---

<sup>87</sup> Zainab.



## References

- Aksikas, Jaafar. 2007. "Prisoners of globalization: Marginality, community and the new informal economy in Morocco." *Mediterranean Politics*, 12 (2): 249-262.
- Al-Hibri, Azizah Y. 2000. "Muslim women's rights in the global village: Challenges and Opportunities." 15 *J.L. & Religion* 37.
- Asad, Talal. 2003. *Formation of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Basiri, Nasim. 2016. "Defining the role of women in the future of political leadership in the Middle East." *Slovak Journal of Political Sciences*, 16 (2):134-145.
- Beitler, Ruth Margolies, and Angelica R. Martinez. 2010. *Women's Roles in the Middle East and North Africa*. Santa Barbara, Calif: Greenwood.
- Berkley, Lisa A., and Ashley Lackovich-Van Gorp. 2015. "Female leadership for peace and human security: Case study of Israel/Palestine." In *Women and Leadership Around the World*, edited by Susan R. Madsen, 23-42. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing.
- Berriane, Yasmine. 2015. "The micropolitics of reform: gender quota, grassroots associations and the renewal of local elites in Morocco." *Journal of North African Studies*, 20 (3): 432-449.
- Bongiorno, Renata, Paul G. Bain, and Barbara David. 2014. "If you're going to be a leader, at least act like it! Prejudice towards women who are tentative in leader roles." *The British Journal Of Social Psychology* 53 (2): 217-234.
- Bottomore, Tom B. 1993. *Elites and Society*. London: Routledge.
- Cavatorta, Francesco., & Emanuela Dalmaso. 2009. "Liberal outcomes through undemocratic means: the reform of the Code de statut personnel in Morocco." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 47 (4), 487-506.

Chamlou, Nadereh. 2008. *The Environment for Women's Entrepreneurship in the Middle East and North Africa*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Publications.

Chinyamurindi, Willie T. 2016. "A narrative investigation into the meaning and experience of career success: Perspectives from women participants." *South African Journal Of Human Resource Management* 14 (1): 1-11.

Cockburn, Cynthia. 2013. "War and security, women and gender: an overview of the issues." *Gender & Development*, 21(3): 433-452.

Dalmaso, Emanuela, and Francesco Cavatorta. 2010. "Reforming the Family Code in Tunisia and Morocco – the struggle between religion, globalization and democracy." *Totalitarian Movements & Political Religions*, 11(2): 213-228.

Darhour, Hanane, and Drude Dahlerup. 2013. "Sustainable representation of women through gender quotas: A decade's experience in Morocco." *Women's Studies International Forum*, 41(2): 132-142.

de Faria Slenes, Rebecca. 2014. "Human Rights, Religion, and Violence: Strategies of Moroccan Activists Fighting Violence against Women." *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences* 161: 247-251.

Deeb, Lara Z., and Marcia C. Inhorn. 2001. "The contested public lives of Middle Eastern women." *Reviews In Anthropology*, 30 (1): 85-97.

Desrues, Thierry, and Juana Moreno Nieto. 2009. "The development of gender equality for Moroccan women – illusion or reality?" *Journal of Gender Studies*, 18 (1): 25-34.

Eisenberg, Ann M. 2011. "Law on the books vs. law in action: Under-enforcement of Morocco's reformed 2004 family law, the Moudawana." *Cornell International Law Journal*, 44: 693-728.

El Haitami, Meriem. 2016. "Islamist feminism in Morocco." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies*, 37 (3): 74-91.

Ennaji, Moha, and Sadiqi, Fatima. 2012. "Women's activism and the new family code reforms in Morocco." *IUP Journal of History & Culture*, 6 (1): 54-70.

Errazzouki, Samia. 2014. "Working-class women revolt: gendered political economy in Morocco." *The Journal of North African Studies*, 19 (2): 259-267.

Gabdreeva, Guzel Sh., and Alisa R. Khalfieva. 2016. "The Features of Female Managers' Personality Traits in Organization." *International Journal of Environmental And Science Education* 11, no. 6:1195-1203.

Global Gender Gap Report 2015," World Economic Forum,  
<http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2015/economies/#economy=MAR>, (February 7, 2016).

Gray, Doris. H. 2015. *Beyond Feminism and Islamism: Gender and Equality in North Africa*. London: IB Tauris.

Gupta, Vishal K., and Nachiket M. Bhawe. 2007. "The influence of proactive personality and stereotype threat on women's entrepreneurial intentions." *Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies*, 13 (4): 73-86.

Hursh, John. 2012. "Advancing women's rights through Islamic law: The example of Morocco." *Berkeley Journal of Gender, Law and Justice*, 27 (2): 252-305.

Hutchings, Kate, Pamela Lirio, and Beverly Dawn Metcalfe. 2012. "Gender, globalization and development: a re-evaluation of the nature of women's global work." *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 23 (9): 1763-1787.

Ilahiane, Hsain. 2006. *Historical Dictionary of the Berbers (Imazighen)*. Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.

Ilahiane, Hsain, and John Sherry. 2008. "Joutia: street vendor entrepreneurship and the informal economy of information and communication technologies in Morocco." *Journal of North African Studies*, 13 (2): 243-255.

- Jay, Cleo. 2013. "Acting up: performance and the politics of womanhood in contemporary Morocco." *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 25 (3): 305-318.
- Johansson de Silva, Sara, Pierella Paci, and Josefina Posadas. 2014. "Lessons Learned and Not Yet Learned from a Multicountry Initiative on Women's Economic Empowerment". Herndon, US: World Bank Publications.
- Karam, Charlotte. M., and Fida Afiouni. 2014. "Localizing women's experiences in academia: multilevel factors at play in the Arab Middle East and North Africa." *International Journal Of Human Resource Management*, 25 (4): 500-538.
- Kelly, Sanja. 2010. "Hard-won progress and a long road ahead: Women's rights in the Middle East and North Africa." In *Women's Rights in the Middle East and North Africa: Progress Amid Resistance* edited by Julia Breslin and Sanja Kelly, 1-14. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Kemp, Linzi J. 2015. "United Arab Emirates: Influence of the network and networking." In *Women and Leadership Around the World* edited by Susan R. Madsen, 43-64. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing.
- Krause, Wanda. 2012. *Civil Society and Women Activists in the Middle East: Islamic and Secular Organizations in Egypt*. London: I.B.Tauris.
- Macdonald, Myra. 2016. "Muslim women and the veil." *Feminist Media Studies*, 1: 7-23.
- MacLeod, Arlene Elowe. 1991. *Accommodating Protest: Working Women, the New Veiling, and Change in Cairo*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- McKanders, Karla Mari. 2014. "Anatomy of an uprising: women, democracy, and the Moroccan feminist spring." *Boston University International Law Journal*, 32 (147): 151-190.
- Metcalf, Beverly Dawn. 2008. "Women, Management and Globalization in the Middle East." *Journal of Business Ethics* 83 (1): 85-100.

- Moghadam, Valentine M. 2014. "Democratization and Women's Political Leadership in North Africa." *Journal of International Affairs*, 68 (1): 59-78.
- Pearson, John. 2016. "Morocco." *Our World: Morocco*, 1.
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2003. *Women, Gender, and Language in Morocco*. Leiden: Brill.
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 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.
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2010. "Morocco." *Women's Rights in the Middle East and North Africa: Progress Amid Resistance* edited by Julia Breslin and Sanja Kelly, 311-336. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2011. "Gender at heart of new Moroccan constitution." *Common Ground News Service*. Retrieved from: <http://www.commongroundnews.org/article.php?id=30326>, July 28, 2017.
- Salime, Zakia. 2011. *Between Feminism and Islam: Human Rights and Sharia Law in Morocco*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press.
- Salime, Zakia. 2016. "Embedded counterpublics." *Frontiers: A Journal Of Women Studies*, 37 (3): 47-73.
- Sater, James, N. 2007. "Changing politics from below? Women parliamentarians in Morocco." *Democratization* 14 (4): 723-42.
- Skalli, Loubna. H. 2011. "Generational politics and renewal of leadership in the Moroccan women's movement." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13: 329-348.
- Wharton, Carol S. 1994. "Finding Time for the 'Second Shift': The Impact of Flexible Work Schedules on Women's Double Days." *Gender and Society*, 8 (2): 89-205.

World Bank. 2016. "Morocco." Retrieved from:

<http://data.worldbank.org/country/morocco>. Accessed February 12, 2017.

Yaseen, Zahi. 2010. "Leadership styles of men and women in the Arab world." *Education, Business and Society: Contemporary Middle Eastern Issues*, 13 (1): 63-70.

Zvan Elliott, Katja. 2009. "Reforming the Moroccan personal status code: A revolution for whom?". *Mediterranean Politics*, 14 (2): 213-227.

Zvan Elliot, Katja. 2014. "Morocco and its women's rights struggle: a failure to live up to its progressive image." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 10 (2): 1-30.

Zvan Elliot, Katja. 2015. *Modernizing Patriarchy: The politics of women's rights in Morocco*. Austin: University of Texas Press.